

**Traveling Women Professionals: A Transnational Perspective on Mobility
and Professionalism of Four Women at the End of the Nineteenth and the
Beginning of the Twentieth Century**

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Peter Diderich, geb. 17.10.1983 in Rostock

aus Rostock

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Gutachterinnen:

Gesa Mackenthun, Institut für Anglistik/Amerikanistik, Philosophische Fakultät, Universität
Rostock

Gabriele Linke, Institut für Anglistik/Amerikanistik, Philosophische Fakultät, Universität
Rostock

Joanna Rostek, Institut für Anglistik, Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen

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Introduction

In 1996, noted historian Natalie Zemon Davis found that “the genre of women’s history is no newcomer on the scene.”¹ Years before Davis’ statement, Gerda Lerner remarked in her book *The Majority Finds Its Past: Placing Women in History* (1979) that feminist authors had been writing for decades about women from the past, but their work had not been acknowledged as a part of the general historiography.² More importantly, she noted that the most striking fact about the historiography of women is the general neglect of the subject by historians.³ Exactly thirty years later and after research on women had since permeated through various theoretical and methodological developments, Angelika Epple and Angelika Schaser acknowledged in *Gendering Historiography: Beyond National Canons* (2009) that Lerner’s critique still holds true and “writing back their names back into public memory is an ongoing enterprise.”⁴ In other words, according to Rosi Braidotti, women’s history has always engaged in acting against the mainstream, enacting a rebellion of subjugated knowledges.⁵

In the context of this effort, since its very emergence, women’s history at its core has always been occupied with “making visible different voices, tracing how women’s and feminist subjectivities changed over time and space,”⁶ making visible the invisible,⁷ a “restitution of subjectivity,”⁸ finding lost voices, “giving voices to the unheard” and counteracting hegemonial silencing (e.g. Gayatri Spivak’s explorations on language and subaltern voices),⁹ writing back those who had been written out, or, as Patricia Fara in *Pandora’s Breeches* (2004) argued, who had “never been written in.”¹⁰ With this in mind, as David Lowenthal once found that “the past is a foreign country whose features are shaped by today’s predilections,”¹¹ as a scholar, it is thus necessary to take on the responsibility for the unspoken and unrepresented pasts that haunt the historical present.¹²

¹ Davis, “Women’s History in Transition” 83.

² See Degler, “American Historiography” 719.

³ See Lerner, *Majority Finds Its Past* 3.

⁴ Epple/Schaser, “Multiple Histories” 10.

⁵ See Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* 60.

⁶ Bonfiglioli, “Nomadic Theory” 203.

⁷ For example, Anne F. Scott’s book *Making the Invisible Woman Visible* (1984).

⁸ See Brott, *Architecture* 79.

⁹ As Eleneanor Ross asserted that the “Western perspective, then, is crucially superior to that of the subaltern: those with the power to speak speak *for* those who cannot” (Ross, “Spivak” 387). It is therefore that Spivak claims: “if you are interest in talking about the other, and/or making a claim to be the other, it is crucial to learn other languages” (Spivak, “Politics of Translation” 215).

¹⁰ Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 19.

¹¹ Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* xvii.

¹² See Bhabha, *Location of Culture* 18.

Recent studies like Patricia Schechter's *Exploring the Decolonial Imaginary* (2012) have shown that traveling was an integral part of the lives and work of women in history, as well as that transnational approaches can be utilized for analyzing the various border crossings of these women. This dissertation follows this understanding by focusing on the lives of four women at the fin de siècle and by employing a transnational approach to examining the lives and careers of these traveling, working, and knowledge-producing women that had only marginally been explored via previous approaches, since these transnational approaches yield important insights into the interconnectedness of travel, lives, and careers during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The four women of this study are Miriam Florence Leslie, Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, Zelia Magdalena Nuttall, and Lady Grace Drummond-Hay, whose lives have eluded previous mainstream elaborations precisely because of their transgressive nature.

Miriam Leslie (1836-1914) was not only a business icon at the turn of the century. In the many years before the fin de siècle, Leslie had already traveled across the Atlantic and the Caribbean as well as across the North American continent. Her travel writing, e.g. *California: A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate* (1877), as well as her various articles on Latin and South American countries, are as equally influenced by her ability to travel as her domestic journalistic pieces that show the clear influence of her mobility. Alice Dixon Le Plongeon (1851-1910) who together with her husband traversed the Atlantic Ocean from Great Britain into the jungles of the Yucatan peninsula, where she excavated and photographed Mayan ruins, found great inspiration for her subsequent work. Her travel account *Here and There in Yucatan* (1889), as her many popular pieces in American journals and magazines, her literary writings such as *Queen M'oo and the Talisman* (1902), "A Dream of Atlantis" (1910-11), and her many public lectures on the culture and archeology of Yucatan were all enabled by her ability to travel in the Yucatecan region. Thirdly, the archaeologist and historian Zelia Nuttall (1857-1933) was a highly mobile individual, traveling to exhibitions, conferences and meetings, and presentations and performing field research in the Americas, Europe, and Asia. The travel not only influenced her publications such as *Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* (1902) but also fed into her ability to trace manuscripts across national borders while editing and publishing them, as in the case of previously unknown Spanish sources for *New Light on Drake* (1914). Lastly, Lady Drummond-Hay (1896-1946) was a successful journalist and intrepid aviator known for her transatlantic crossings aboard the airships Graf Zeppelin in 1928 as well as the successful circumnavigation in 1929 and her activities as president of the Women's International

Association of Aeronautics (WIAA) from 1932-1942. Being associated with the Hearst Press and the North-American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), her journalistic career was greatly infused by travel; her travel writing as well as her commentaries on international politics in outlets such as *The New York Times* or *The Sphere* were only made possible by her mobility.

Previously, the lives and work of these four protagonists who all share extensive travels and professional engagements spanning across emerging disciplinary boundaries as formative experiences had only been marginally reflected in national frameworks during the mid- and late twentieth century. Earlier approaches as well as those that emerged because of second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, with their focus on retrieving women from the oblivion of history, were not equipped to fully grasp the various aspects of these women's respective lives relating to travel and work beyond asking for "notable women."¹³ This thesis ties together the divergent social roles the four historic women of this study inhabited both abroad and at home. As geographical mobility was of such great importance to these protagonists, this dissertation acknowledges this traveling as a *sine qua non* for the application of a transnational approach. It was Eric Lee who, in *The Mind of the Traveler* (1991), pointed out that "travel is the paradigmatic experience, the model of a direct and genuine experience, which transforms the person having it."¹⁴ Thus, because travel represents a dynamic, kinetic activity that inevitably involves crossing over boundaries and borders, these border crossings are figured as expansive and freeing, implying a desire for more fluid personal and ideological identities.¹⁵

The aspect of travel in the context of professional engagement in this thesis follows a statement by Michel Butor, who claimed that agents of the modernist era "travel, in order to write, they travel while writing, because for them, travel *is* writing."¹⁶ Travel affected the protagonists' lives and careers on an existential level, creating a "habit of flux"¹⁷ that a transnational approach seeks to address from "both the point of departure *and* that of arrival,"¹⁸ also showing a parallel existence of both travel and locality, rather than its linearity in overcoming gendered spheres. As protagonists of the Victorian era, this form of travel violated the pre-ascribed mode of separate spheres. This sphere ideology revolved around a narrative of domesticity in which home is declared the primary setting for a "feminine"

¹³ In this context, retrieving women from the oblivion of history into available frameworks was defined by Gerda Lerner as compensatory and contribution history (see Lerner, *Majority Finds Its Past* 145-6).

¹⁴ Roberson, *Women Writers and the Road* 21.

¹⁵ See *ibid.* 21.

¹⁶ Butor, "Travel and Writing" 67.

¹⁷ As Helen Carr expressed that many "lived much of their lives as expatriates, and most of them moved their place of abode with some frequency" (Carr, "Modernism and Travel" 74).

¹⁸ Patricia Seed in Bayly et al., "AHR Conversation" 1443.

characterology – a metonym of woman’s mind – and keeping order there is a defining plot of women’s lives, whereas “the world” becomes the setting for masculine identities and fates.¹⁹ In contrast and in overcoming this ideology, traveling for the protagonists served as a *raison d’être* and, in that sense, paraphrasing Mary Morris, travel served not only as personal or literary inspiration, but as a way of life,²⁰ thereby blurring the boundaries of the domestic and the public sphere.

Consequentially, this dissertation embarks on tackling this issue by bringing together the aspects of travel and women’s history with a transnational perspective. By utilizing such a transnational perspective, this dissertation seeks to explain and explore the various interconnections between the transgression of traditional female gender roles and geographical mobility in the face of professional activity. This thesis follows the understanding that transgressing ascribed social roles from the confinements of the Victorian ideal of the private/domestic sphere is deeply connected to the women’s mobility, their ability to travel, and to their professional engagement in fields of knowledge production (i.e. archaeology, history, anthropology, journalism, etc.).

This thesis provides an analysis of such interconnections in the ways that the women of this study transgressed boundaries on multiple levels: migrating from domestic to public spheres and crossing geographical as well as social boundaries (by transgressing stereotypical female gender roles, even beyond disciplinary boundaries). They occupied different roles as journalists, editors, historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, anthropologists, etc. To a great degree, a unifying feature of all their lives and careers lies in these transgressions of boundaries as well as geographical mobility. Therefore, embarking from the central premise of this thesis concerning the interconnectedness of travel and the transgression of traditional female gender roles along the private/domestic-public divide, this study explicitly examines this interconnectedness in relation to the professionalization of women’s work.

The four women in this study acquired abilities and experiences that shaped their work, e.g. multilingual skills or transcultural experiences. These abilities and experiences were formative during their childhoods and youth, when traditional women’s work and the domestic/private sphere limited women to being workmates, menial assistants, helpmates, etc. This thesis argues that these immobile and fixed positions did not provide the protagonists with enough stimulus for their development. Therefore, the early positions women such as the protagonists occupied were limited in various ways, particularly, however, in exhibiting

¹⁹ See Conron, *American Picturesque* xxi.

²⁰ See Morris/O’Connor, *Maiden Voyages* 158.

a distinct lack of geographical mobility and not providing enough space for development – in both the literal and symbolic sense.

Having recognized that the protagonists in this study were highly mobile and that the aspect of traveling was an integral part of their personal and professional identities, this study furthermore asks in what ways the geographical areas where the protagonists lived and worked were important impetuses for their work. It will be argued that, specifically, the Atlantic realm proved to be an important region. However, this mobility also came at a cost, as being mobile entailed a sense of feeling uprooted, having loose personal connections, and never finding a place called home, etc.

Furthermore, contesting the notion of a unified and homogenous trajectory of professionalization analogous to the developments that transpired in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries for men of that era, this thesis poses that, on various levels, the experience of professionalization was different for women from that of their male counterparts.²¹ It meant a constant negotiation of various social roles and norms that – at times – had to be violated in order to successfully contribute to their disciplines. It also means interpreting the act of venturing into the public sphere as a form of translational mechanism to convert and assert geographical mobility in terms of social mobility. By employing a transnational perspective, this study will incorporate previously unused archival materials that provide a new understanding of the lives and work of these four women at a time that saw the professionalization and institutionalization of various knowledge-producing disciplines.

²¹ Patricia Fara outlined the difficulty when writing about women. Fara found narrating women's lives to raise problems in devising an appropriate voice, language, and plot, since biographies are generally governed by masculine conventions and milestones and are structured chronologically by public achievements rather than focusing on interests and emotional relationships (see Fara, "Elizabeth Tollet: A New Newtonian Woman" 171).

1. A Transnational Perspective on Women's Careers and Professionalism

Over the course of its development, women's history has always been theoretically inclusive and a field of discipline that continues to incorporate other methodological and theoretical threads. Yet, it remains focused on its agenda to foster historical inquiry about women. Therefore, a study that is concerned with the re-examination of women in history from a transnational perspective necessitates an informed background that helps to ground the analysis as well as situate it in the theoretical landscape. In approaching the subject matter of this thesis, the following sections are dedicated to providing a theoretical fundament as well as methodological considerations and a chapter outline for this study.

1.1. Theoretical Background to a Transnational Approach

In his 1981 presidential address to the American Historical Association, Bernard Bailyn identified three trends in the way history had been written. As one of these trends, Bailyn acknowledged increasing “outlines of systems of filiation and derivation among phenomena that once were discussed in isolation from each other.”¹ It posed, as Susan MacDonald explains, that if an older, event-centered history could focus on specific events in their own time and place, then the social sciences had raised the possibility that generalizable processes link phenomena in different times and places.² The very idea of an academic agenda devoted to analyzing the interconnectedness of phenomena brought forth a plethora of approaches of entangled history (or *histoire croisée*), international history, comparative history, and transnational history.

As Ian Tyrrell explains, despite “transnational history’s adoption as a concept within US historiography from the early 1990s,” it is by no means a purely American development.³ It has, however, been acknowledged, as Donald Pease formulated in his introduction to *Re-Framing the Transnational Turn in American Studies* (2001), that the transnational turn “has effected the most significant reimagining of the field of American Studies since its inception.”⁴ Despite the fact that scholars like Ian Tyrrell, Winfried Fluck, Donald Pease, Simon Macdonald, and others note that the tempo-spatial applicability of “the transnational”⁵

¹ Bailyn, “Three Trends in Modern History” 70.

² See MacDonald, *Professional Academic Writing* 84.

³ Tyrrell, “Reflections” 454.

⁴ Pease, “Introduction” 1.

⁵ The term of the transnational is applied by authors like Tyrrell, Pease, etc. in order to avoid establishing another “ism” into the academic community. As with most “isms,” Briggs/McCormick/Way find, transnationalism is a much-abused word (Briggs/McCormick/Way, “Transnationalism: A Useful Category of Analysis” 625); that it

has been subject to debate and leads to criticism from various perspectives,⁶ it is a concept that, since its introduction, has been adopted by various elaborations and has become more central to American studies.⁷ Ultimately, ever since its adoption and particularly since the 1990s, considerable effort has gone into writing transnational histories.⁸

This is paralleled by John Carlos Rowe, who argued in 1998 that curricula and scholarship in American Studies had changed significantly over the course of the 1990s, reflecting the important influences of women's studies, among others.⁹ With this acknowledgement, and in criticizing an overarching nationalist mythology in American Studies during this period, Rowe called for a "New American Studies": "If we are to preserve the name 'American Studies,' then we must take into account at the very least the different nationalities, cultures, and languages of the Western Hemisphere."¹⁰ Rowe repeated this claim later in *The New American Studies* (2002) by insisting from a post-nationalist vantage point that "the United States can no longer be treated as the exclusive domain of American Studies,"¹¹ as historians will inevitably have to regard the United States as "part of global, entangled historical processes from which the modern world emerged."¹² Ultimately, a decade later, Rowe concluded in *The Cultural Politics of the New American Studies* (2012) that "today we understand American Studies to encompass the different societies of the Western Hemisphere, their many different languages, [and] the global intersections."¹³

shares much in common with the buzzword discussion about postcolonialism (see Mishra/Hodge, "What was Postcolonialism?" passim).

⁶ As Ian Tyrrell argues for a temporal dimension: "'The transnational' cannot refer to border crossing where the nation-state does not exist. For the pre-modern period of history, before the emergence of nation-states, the term is misleading, unless interpreted very loosely" (Tyrrell, "Reflections" 454). Macdonald highlights the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 to be simultaneously a starting point when nation-states can be seen to have emerged as important phenomena in world history; however, he also highlights the problems arising with this early interpretation of transnationalism's temporal applicability because transnational phenomena were so ubiquitous in the early modern period as to be almost unremarkable (see Macdonald, "Transnational History" 17). As for the specific use of transnational in the case of the US, Tyrrell summarizes: "for American history, historical consensus is more likely to settle around the nation's development in the second half of the eighteenth century, principally from the Declaration of Independence (1776) and/or its Federal Constitution (1789), as an appropriate beginning" (Tyrrell, "Reflections" 461).

⁷ See Fishkin, "Crossroads of Cultures" 22. Similarly, in 2009, Jani Marjanen acknowledged the need for conceptualizing phenomena that transgress national borders readily apparent in current academic endeavors" (Marjanen, "Undermining Methodological Nationalism" 239).

⁸ See Tyrrell, "Reflections" 461. Highly influential here is the Palgrave Macmillan Series on Transnational History with its lauded contribution, *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (2009), edited by Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Saunier. Ann-Christina Knudsen and Karen Gram-Skjoldager's call the dictionary a "crown jewel" of the Palgrave Series (see Knudsen/Gram-Skjoldager, "Historiography" 133).

⁹ See Rowe, "Post-Nationalism" 11.

¹⁰ See *ibid.* 12-13.

¹¹ See Rowe, *New American Studies* xv.

¹² Bischoff/Lehmkuhl, "Provincializing the United States" 14.

¹³ Rowe, *Cultural Politics* 21.

As expressed by Ian Tyrrell and mapping the concept of transnationalism onto historiography, transnational history, as a concept, broadly encompasses the movement of peoples, ideas, technologies, and institutions across national boundaries, applied to the period since the emergence of nation states as important phenomena in world history. Or, more broadly, as Françoise Thébaud explains, “transnational history explores all forms of border crossings, as well as phenomena involving the circulation of persons, objects, informal ideas and formal knowledge.”¹⁴ Furthermore, a transnational approach to history “questions how foreign inputs function within national cultures and analyses the processes of transfer, appropriation and reinterpretation.”¹⁵ Rather than seeing phenomena such as movement of peoples, ideas, technologies, etc., as independent, transnational history, in contrast, focuses on cross-national connections, whether through individuals, non-national identities, and non-state actors, or in terms of objectives shared by people and communities regardless of their nationality.¹⁶

Generally, transnational history “explores those phenomena that transcend the boundaries of nations and regions by means other than state-to-state (or international) interactions;”¹⁷ and Isabel Hofmeyr identifies the key claim of any transnational approach as being its central concern with movements, flows, and circulation, not simply as a theme or motif, but as an analytic set of methods which defines the endeavor itself.¹⁸ As Patricia Clavin argues, transnational history allows one to reflect on, while at the same time going beyond, the confines of the nation.¹⁹ Most importantly, as condensed by Janz and Schönpflug, transnational history is being established as a specific and complex perspective in gender history and beyond that blends existing forms of comparison with the history of bi- and

¹⁴ Thébaud, “What is a Transnational Life?” 165. Similarly expressed by Shelley Fisher Fishkin: “As the transnational becomes more central to American studies, we’ll pay increasing attention to the historical roots of multidirectional flows of people, ideas, and goods and the social, political, linguistic, cultural, and economic crossroads generated in the process. These crossroads might just as easily be outside the geographical and political boundaries of the United States as inside them” (Fishkin, “Crossroads of Cultures” 22).

¹⁵ Thébaud, “What is a Transnational Life?” 165.

¹⁶ Iriye, *Global and Transnational History* 15. The concept of international history was a competitor term to transnational history that had long predated the current theoretical discussions (see Tyrrell, “Reflections” 459). However, international history differs in that transnationalism forecloses the possibility that either nation in a hypothetical scenario during the transaction will remain self-enclosed and unitary (see Pease, “Introduction” 5). Akira Iriye qualified the difference between inter- and transnational history: international history deals with relations among nations as sovereign entities; consequently, world affairs are the sum of all such interstate relations, and the globe is envisaged as the arena for the interplay of independent nations. Transnational history focuses on cross-national connections, whether through individuals, non-national identities, and non-state actors, or in terms of objectives shared by people and communities regardless of their nationality (see Iriye, *Global and Transnational History* 15).

¹⁷ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 238.

¹⁸ See Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1444.

¹⁹ See Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism” 438.

multilateral connections, such as traveling and border-crossing migrations, exchanges, information flows and transfers, mutual perceptions, and interactions.²⁰

Situating transnational history further, Tyrrell draws on the conclusions made by Jürgen Kocka, who notes that analytical differences persist between transnational or entangled history, or *histoire croisée* (as devised by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann in 2002), on the one hand and comparative history on the other, precisely because the latter emphasizes discrete units or variables.²¹ Despite an ongoing debate among scholars about the overlaps and differences between comparative history and transnational history, Jocelyn Olcott stresses that “transnational history stands apart from comparative history, which has yielded important insights but centers on lining up different historical contexts alongside one another rather than examining the connective tissue between them.”²² Evading the reproach of non-connective parallelism, the other rival concept, entangled history, or *histoire croisée*, can be described as “the points of crossing between different historical formations.”²³ While transnational history and *histoire croisée* share the general focus of analyzing interconnectedness, Ian Tyrrell sees the main difference between them in their distinctive form of application: “*histoire croisée* can be applied to all history, not just history where national boundaries are crossed.”²⁴

²⁰ Janz/Schönpflug, “Introduction” 2.

²¹ See Tyrrell, “Reflections” 457. While Tyrrell and others largely follow the definition by Kocka, Bayly et al., however, define transnationalism as “the latest incarnation of an approach that has successively been characterized as comparative, international, world, and global history,” intermingling the term with the other (see Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1441). Separating comparative history and *histoire croisée*, Kocka and Haupt argue that while the comparative approach separates the units of comparison (in order to bring them together again under the viewpoints of similarity and difference), entanglement-oriented approaches stress the connections, the continuity, the belonging-together, and the hybridity of observable spaces or analytical units and reject distinguishing them clearly (see Kocka/Haupt, “Comparison and Beyond” 20).

²² Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 238. Matthew Connelly confessed his dissatisfaction with comparative analyses since most treated societies in isolation (see Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1448). However, comparative history continues to be viewed as an important corrective to nation-centric perspectives, enabling access to culturally alien units and sensitizing the historian to multiple perspectives; although this mode of constituting units of comparison without reflecting on the criteria of their constitution as well as a reduction of complexity that this method is forced to undertake due to the need to iron out those aspects that cannot be directly explained through comparison have brought on a number of challenges and critical questions (see Juneja/Pernau, “Lost in Translation” 108).

²³ Macdonald, “Transnational History” 6.

²⁴ Tyrrell, “Reflections” 459. As, however, Jani Marjanen finds, despite *histoire croisée* having a program that has not concentrated on issues of nation-states and nationalism, the reception of the program has clearly focused on these questions (see Marjanen, “Undermining Methodological Nationalism” 248). Also, according to Macdonald, while *histoire croisée* has been critiqued as being somewhat over-sophisticated, it can also be seen as a symptom of a desire for greater reflexivity in relation to transnational history writing (see Macdonald, “Transnational History” 6). It has also been argued that transnational approaches are a special case of translocality that as a problematic issue presupposes the existence of nation-states but also privileges the perspective of national elites (see Freitag/Oppen, “Translocality” 12) and that because of the problems tries to explore how it serves to overcome some of the conceptual weaknesses of transnationalism (see Greiner/Sakdapolrak, “Translocality” 373).

What Tyrrell paralleled in his article about the relationship between comparative history and transnationalism is rephrased by Fluck: equating transnational American Studies with comparative studies can be misleading because it is not comparison *per se* which is of interest, but only one that can help to transcend a coercive national identity and thus open up new perspectives for resistance.²⁵ The “transnational” has exercised a monopoly of assimilative power that has enabled it to subsume and replace competing spatial and temporal orientations to the object of study, including multicultural American studies, borderlands critique, postcolonial American studies, and the more general turn to American cultural studies – within an encompassing geopolitics of knowledge.²⁶ The incorporative power of the concept of the transnational is the foundation of its success in various historiographies, e.g. U.S. historiography.

The transnational turn as a powerful and productive intellectual resource caused a caesura in American Studies; and as transnational studies had already been applied to many areas of historiography,²⁷ bearing in mind, as Marilyn Lake acknowledged, that feminist scholarship as an international enterprise has a transnational history,²⁸ feminist research similarly embraced this intellectually stimulating influence. Ann Taylor Allen goes even further in assuming that women’s and gender studies, innovative in so many respects, was among the first disciplines to emphasize comparative and transnational perspectives.²⁹

In their reflection on transnationalism and postcolonial studies, Grewal and Kaplan pay attention to the relationship between transnationalism, nationalism, national identity, and patriarchy. They and other scholars bear in mind insights gained through postcolonial thinking (hegemonic power structures, etc.): these scholars unite the idea that, since transnationalism’s

²⁵ See Fluck, “Theories of American Culture” 71. The aspect of transcendence prompts Janz and Schönplüg to argue that transnational history is a natural development of comparative history: “The heir of traditional comparative history, transnational history looks at similarities of and differences between national spheres” (Janz/Schönplüg, “Introduction” 4).

²⁶ See Pease, “Introduction” 1.

²⁷ Tyrrell, “Reflections” 453.

²⁸ Lake, “Nationalist Historiography” 182.

²⁹ See Allen, “Lost in Translation” 89. Concerning these relationships from diverse parts of the world, Ian Tyrrell, in his analysis of Patricia Grimshaw’s work on feminism, most prominently her major works *Women’s Suffrage in New Zealand* (1972) and *Paths of Duty* (1989), finds that at times her works “were transnational history, since they studied the movement of peoples, institutions and ideas across and through national boundaries” (Tyrrell, “Comparative and Transnational History” 49) as one of the key features of transnational history. Tyrrell identifies the circulation and transmission of materials such as leaflets on women’s franchise from Wyoming to New Zealand to reflect an awareness of the wide range of influences on the women’s movement and its essentially international scope and transnational mentality (see *ibid.* 50). In analyzing transnational influences in literature, Zimmerman finds the transnational turn in feminism to be evident in the centralizing of the maternal in contemporary women’s historical novels, and signaling a critical engagement with precisely these questions of history as a lived event (master narrative vs. real) and historiography as a construct (postmodernism vs. construct) and how to navigate gender identity in terms of difference and solidarity across multiple locations (see Zimmermann, *Writing Back* 18).

genealogy passes through postcolonial studies and other fields that resist totalizing approaches, it would be inappropriate to say that this scholarship offers a paradigm shift;³⁰ its foundational concepts and undercurrents proceed to continuously reshape and relocate critical thinking beyond national borders and influence the newly formed transnational approach.³¹ For Tyrrell, transnational histories are not a substitute for colonial and national histories of the non-Western world; the transnational approach could, however, do something novel by exploring uncharted spaces between empire and colony, nation and nation, and Western and non-Western worlds, in processes where multiple identities were forged.³²

As an example for this application, Inderpal Grewal and Karen Kaplan focus on women travelers. European women travelers were expressing nationalist ideas about the superiority of their country and their capabilities and the inferiority of colonized Others; this, according to the authors, explains why British women in the late nineteenth century continued to believe that their own countries were havens of freedom although there they did not have the right to vote and were struggling for their rights.³³ Incorporating these notions into transnational thinking, Grewal/Kaplan conclude:

Transnational feminist practices refer us to the interdisciplinary study of the relationships between women in diverse parts of the world. These relationships are uneven, often unequal, and complex. They emerge from women's diverse needs and agendas in many cultures and societies.³⁴

Grewal and Kaplan stress that they decided to use the term transnational instead of international in order to reflect their need to destabilize rather than maintain boundaries of nation, race, and gender.³⁵ They further assert that an “emphasis on the history of modern imperialism has helped feminists look at race, sexuality, and class not only as bounded categories but as concepts that ‘travel’ – that is, circulate and work in different and linked ways in different places and times.”³⁶ Since transnational theory (in contrast to *histoire croisée*) approaches circulation and transgression of national borders as its foundational categories of inquiry, similarly to Grewal and Kaplan, Ian Tyrrell assumes one notion of transnational history, developed since the 1990s, that can be termed transnational space: an approach to creating a new kind of history, transnational space deals with transnational

³⁰ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 237.

³¹ As Lake notes, postcolonial critiques of empire have done much to break down the border controls of national historiographies (see Lake, “Nationalist Historiography” 183).

³² See Tyrrell, “Reflections” 47.

³³ See Grewal/Kaplan, “Postcolonial Studies” sec. 7.

³⁴ See *ibid.* sec. 9.

³⁵ See *ibid.* sec. 3. In a different article, Grewal and Kaplan explain their use of the transnational in order to problematize a purely locational politics of global-local or center-periphery in favor of lines cutting across them (see Grewal/Kaplan, “Transnational Feminist Practices” 251-2).

³⁶ See Grewal/Kaplan, “Postcolonial Studies” sec. 5.

phenomena and their material and mental circulation rather than any particular national circumstances, for example the life stories of individuals challenging boundaries of race, class, and nationality.³⁷

In conclusion, conquering what Grewal and Kaplan coined “the homogenizing project of nationalism,”³⁸ Simon Macdonald – concordant with Sven Beckert’s understanding of transnational history as ideally being a way of seeing³⁹ – acknowledges that “transnational approaches have provided a new lens for the writing of histories of intellectual life across borders”⁴⁰ and challenging multidimensional boundaries.⁴¹ In rephrasing Patricia Seed, the most important contribution of transnational perspectives is the ability to follow people wherever they moved.⁴²

1.2. Methodological Considerations

In taking Clare Midgley’s finding that “an exclusively national framework for women’s history may in itself be limiting,”⁴³ as a starting point, a transnational approach to feminist history multilaterally explores interactions between agents, nations, cultures, organizations, etc., and enables us to see women’s international endeavors in new ways as they interacted with government officials and local populations despite operating as non-state actors.⁴⁴ With a widespread applicability and variety of topics in transnational studies,⁴⁵ this analysis subscribes to the point of view expressed in the theoretical approach and the sentiment voiced by Patricia Clavin that, despite transnationalism’s early identification with the transfer or movement of money and goods,⁴⁶ its focal point remains people first and foremost: the social spaces they inhabit, the networks they form, and the ideas they exchange.⁴⁷

³⁷ See Tyrrell, “Reflections” 468.

³⁸ They assume that, as feminist scholars, they see nationalism as a process in which new patriarchal elites gain the power to produce the generic “we” of the nation (see Grewal/Kaplan, “Postcolonial Studies” sec. 6).

³⁹ See Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1454.

⁴⁰ Macdonald, “Transnational History” 14.

⁴¹ Janz and Schönplüg, like Patricia Seed, find that the advantage lies in the multidimensionality of its approach: it can not only be applied to distinct individuals and institutions but also to larger social groups or even entire societies” (Janz/Schönplüg, “Introduction” 2).

⁴² See Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1443.

⁴³ Midgley, “Ethnicity” 227. In challenging national frameworks and approaches, one thing transnationalism seems deliberately to avoid is falling into ‘grand narratives’; these narratives are often configured around binary oppositions – North-South, elite-subaltern, dominance-resistance – the rejection of which also seems part and parcel of the approach (see Bayly et al., “AHR Conversation” 1455).

⁴⁴ See Peiss, “Women’s Past” 27.

⁴⁵ See MacDonald, “Transnational History” 12-3.

⁴⁶ Also, the focus of transnationalism has often been on non-government organizations.

⁴⁷ See Clavin, “Defining Transnationalism” 422.

With her 1993 outcry “Feminist research in archaeology: what does it mean? Why is it taking so long?”⁴⁸ in the eponymously titled paper, Shelby Brown called for a feminist dimension in research in and of archaeology. Previous research on the women of this study as well as their associated disciplines displays a strong affiliation to a nationalistic paradigm interspersed with the approaches of women’s and gender studies as a result of second-wave feminism, e.g. in *Women Anthropologists: A Biographical Dictionary* (1988), edited by Ute Gacs, Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer’s encyclopedia *Notable American Women, 1607-1950* (1971), Nancy O. Lurie’s “Women in Early American Anthropology” (1966), Kathryn Sklar’s “American Female Historians in Context, 1770-1930” (1975), or Mary Ann Levine’s “Uncovering a Buried Past: Women in Americanist Archaeology Before the First World War” (1999).

However, with Jonathan Reyman’s *Rediscovering Our Past: Essays on the History of American Archaeology* (1992), a noticeable trend towards historical elaborations of archaeology as a discipline had already emerged, also, for example with a section dedicated to women in the volume *Assembling the Past: Studies in the Professionalization of Archaeology* (1999), edited by Alice Beck Kehoe.⁴⁹ Specifically, this trajectory saw a continuous interest in the role of women in the foundation of and their continued presence in American archaeology, e.g. with *New Perspectives on the Origins of Americanist Archaeology* (2002), edited by David L. Browman and Stephen Williams, as well as R. Tripp Evans’ *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination, 1820-1915* (2005), or specifically addressing the issue with David Browman’s book *Cultural Negotiations: The Role of Women in the Founding of Americanist Archaeology* (2013). Following this strand of research, Lawrence G. Desmond and Phyllis Mauch Messenger wrote the first book on Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon, titled *A Dream of Maya: Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon in Nineteenth-Century Yucatan* (1988), as examples of the declining antiquarianism and emerging discipline of archaeology.⁵⁰ Similarly, Ross Parmenter endeavored to write a major biography on Zelia Nuttall titled “Zelia Nuttall and the Recovery of Mexico’s Past” [19—].⁵¹ The manuscript itself is an important resource for the study of

⁴⁸ Brown, “Feminist Research in Archaeology” 238.

⁴⁹ Further publications are the edited volume by Timothy Murray and Christopher Evans, *Histories of Archaeology* (2008), as well as Murray’s book *From Antiquarian to Archaeologist: the History and Philosophy of Archaeology* (2014), and others.

⁵⁰ The book is based on Desmond’s dissertation “Augustus Le Plongeon: Early Maya Archaeologist” (1983) but was subsequently considerably revised and expanded jointly published with Phyllis M. Messenger.

⁵¹ This vast manuscript spanning more than 1,500 pages was the central achievement of Ross Parmenter but could not be finished, as he died in 1999 before the publication of the manuscript (see Diderich, “Assessing” 7).

Zelia Nuttall as it contains the information and research Ross Parmenter had accumulated during his career and work on Zelia Nuttall.

Similar aspects can be observed in the other main academic field of this study: journalism studies. Having been “theorized, researched, studied and criticized worldwide by people coming from a wide variety of disciplines,”⁵² journalism has faced challenges to its methodology and status as an academic discipline.⁵³ With the advent of perceiving journalism as an academic discipline also came an increased interest in the history of journalism itself.⁵⁴ A revived interest in women and the elaboration on their participation in journalism and media in the nineteenth century, e.g. Margaret Beetham, who analyzed women in relation to the growth of the periodical press in the mid- to late nineteenth century, and the explosion of the world wide web in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.⁵⁵ Explorations that follow this line of thought on women and the history of journalism, particularly American and British journalism, have appeared since second-wave feminism paved the way for perceiving history against the “malestream.”⁵⁶

This long, fruitful, and continuously revived interest in women’s participation in journalism is evidenced by major publications such as Barbara Belford’s *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (1986), Kay Mills’ *A Place in the News: From the Women’s Pages to the Front Page* (1988), *Taking Their Place: A Documentary History of Women and Journalism* (1993) by Maurine H. Beasley and Sheila J. Gibbons, *Women and Journalism* (2004) by Deborah Chambers, Linda Steiner, and Carole

⁵² Deuze, “What is Journalism” 442.

⁵³ Examples of this trend are Hugo de Burgh’s article “Skills are Not Enough: The Case for Journalism as an Academic Discipline” (2003), “Eclectic Continuum, Distinct Discipline or Sub-Domain of Communication Studies? Theoretical Considerations and Empirical Findings on the Disciplinarity, Multidisciplinarity and Transdisciplinarity of Journalism Studies” (2011) by Martin Löffelholz and Liane Rothenberger, or Stephen Lambell’s article “Documenting the Methodology of Journalism” (2004).

⁵⁴ Notable examples are Martin Conboy’s books *Journalism: A Critical History* (2004) and *The Language of Newspapers: Socio-Historical Perspectives* (2010), as well as his article on “The Paradoxes of Journalism History” (2010), published in the *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*. Other publications include *American Journalism: History, Principles, Practices* (2002), by David W. Sloan and Lisa M. Parcell, Mark Hampton and Martin Conboy’s “Journalism History: A Debate” (2014), or Kevin Williams’ article “Sociology and Journalism: The Search for a Historical Imagination” (2015). Some publications utilize a particular national perspective, e.g. Christopher Daly’s *Covering America: A Narrative History of a Nation’s Journalism* (2012). Furthermore, efforts have been made to publish textbooks that include theoretical approaches to the history of journalism paired with criticism, as well as a selection of normative journalistic texts from historic epochs, e.g. *Key Readings in Journalism* (2012), edited by Elliot King and Jane Chapman.

⁵⁵ See Beetham, “Periodicals and the New Media” 231.

⁵⁶ An amalgamation (linguistically, a blend) of the words male and mainstream, Mary O’Brien can be regarded as the originator of this phrase. In her book *The Politics of Reproduction*, O’Brien seeks to explore the features of malestream, which can be seen as “the dominant conventions, notions and ideas which throughout Western history have rationalized and legitimized male dominance” (Hansen, *Hannah Arendt* 80-1). For O’Brien, malestream thought entails the massive, dense intellectual current of male intellectual history (O’Brien, *Reproducing the World* 3). Similarly, Philip Hansen explains that within malestream thought women have been consigned to the margins of his-story, rendered invisible as social actors (see Hansen, *Hannah Arendt* 81).

Fleming, Patricia Bradley's *Women and the Press: The Struggle for Equality, Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle: Making a Name for Herself*, edited by F. Elizabeth Gray (2012), as well as shorter articles and case studies.⁵⁷ In line with this tradition of research, Madeleine Stern produced a first biographical sketch on Miriam Leslie as "Mrs. Frank Leslie: New York's Last Bohemian,"⁵⁸ before publishing the extensive biography *Purple Passage: The Life of Mrs. Frank Leslie* (1953). The book itself is not only a detailed biography about the life and work of Miriam Leslie, but also contains a detailed list of publications by Miriam Leslie and a vast appendix in which Madeline Stern critically discusses the historical resources she had consulted for this book. Later, Stern wrote an abridged and simplified biography aimed at a younger audience and titled *Queen of Publisher's Row: Mrs. Frank Leslie* (1965). Although Leslie is considered one of the most innovative editors of the nineteenth century,⁵⁹ "with her finger on the public pulse,"⁶⁰ her life and work are often associated with biographical and topical frameworks that exclude the relevance of geographical mobility to her work and career.

In contrast, as already stated in the introduction, this dissertation addresses the issue of women who specifically defied the confines of the traditional woman's sphere in relation to their professional engagement in conjunction with their national affiliation and sees the four protagonists as examples of this. Pertaining to Irye and Mitter's analytical category of geography and Françoise Thébaud's question regarding geographical mobility in a transnational approach,⁶¹ the aspect of travel is the most central of this study as it enabled the transgression of the aforementioned confinements as well as opened trajectories for professional engagement.

Essentially, traveling beyond national borders affects cultural notions as well as questions of national identity and belonging. Sam Knowles in *Travel Writing and the Transnational Author* (2014) recognizes an interconnectedness in which "the experience of

⁵⁷ For example, Carolyn Kitch's article "Women in Journalism" (2002), Jean-Marie Lutes' "Beyond the Bounds of the Book: Periodical Studies and Women Writers of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" (2010), or her analysis of the so-called "sob sisters" of the early 20th century newspaper journalism titled "Sob Sisterhood Revisited" (2003), etc. A new trajectory in the historical elaboration on women and their role in journalism has developed by addressing women specifically as editors in the 19th and 20th centuries, e.g. Patricia Okker's *Our Sister Editors: Sarah J. Hale and the Tradition of Nineteenth-Century American Women Editors* (1995) or *Blue Pencils & Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830-1910* (2004), edited by Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey. Furthermore, Jean-Marie Lutes' book *Front-Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction, 1880-1930* (2006) analyzes the literary representations and cultural perception of women in journalism at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁵⁸ With the exception of a short biographical sketch published only shortly after her death by Gordon Seagrove, titled "The Life Story of Mrs. Frank Leslie" (1916).

⁵⁹ See Okker, *Our Sister Editors* 28.

⁶⁰ Stern, *Purple Passage* 45.

⁶¹ See Thébaud, "What is a Transnational Life" 162.

travel, and authors' own writing about this experience, informs their work as a whole."⁶² Therefore, the basis for this transnational approach is the notion that the consulted historical sources will be understood firstly as travel writing in a direct sense or, secondly, as influenced by travel.

Direct examples of travel writing are Miriam Leslie's *California: A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate* (1877), Alice Le Plongeon's *Here and There in Yucatan* (1886), or Lady Drummond-Hay's *The First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-Liner* (1928). Other sources will be understood as the indirect result of frequent traveling in publications not usually associated with travel writing, e.g. Lady Drummond-Hay's "World Affairs" column on international politics in *The Sphere*, or Alice Le Plongeon's unpublished manuscript "Yucatan: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities" (1884). These publications are in the broadest sense travelistic works, as conceptualized by Bruce Harvey in *American Geographics* (2001). In such works, the journey becomes the organizing factor: the flows of passage – departure, journey, and return or assimilation – shape the life and story that are told.⁶³ Thus, following Tim Youngs, a strong aspect concerning readings of travel writing is that this form of writing includes diverse elements such as aesthetics, audience, gender genre, ideology, journey, landscape, language, motive, narrator, Otherness, period, place, plot, sexuality, textual statues and translation.⁶⁴ In other words, travel writing "is an inherently

⁶² Knowles, *Travel Writing* 2.

⁶³ See Roberson, *Women Writers and the Road* 21.

⁶⁴ See Youngs, *Introduction to Travel Writing* 167. Travel writing, particularly women's travel writing, received an increase in scholarly attention in the 1980s and 1990s, ranging from geographers and historians to literary critics and other academic and non-academic research (see Morin, "Peak Practices" 490). In the introduction to the *Cambridge Companion to Travel Literature* (2002), Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs acknowledge: "Travel has recently emerged as a key theme for the humanities and social sciences, and the amount of scholarly work on travel writing has reached unprecedented levels" (Hulme/Youngs, "Introduction" 1). As a result, the "academic disciplines of literature, history, geography, and anthropology have all overcome their previous reluctance to take travel writing seriously and have begun to produce a body of interdisciplinary criticism which will allow the full historical complexity of the genre to be appreciated" (ibid.). This dissertation is therefore informed by hallmark studies such as Dorothy Middleton's *Victorian Lady Travellers* (1982), Dea Birkett's *Spinsters Abroad: Victorian Lady Explorers* (1989), Shirley Foster's *Across New Worlds: Nineteenth-Century Women Travellers and Their Writings* (1990), Sara Mills' seminal study *Discourses of Difference: An Analysis of Women's Travel Writing and Colonialism* (1991), Brigitte Georgi-Findlay's *The Frontiers of Women's Writing: Women's Narratives and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion* (1996), and others. Other studies on women travelers embraced a specific gender perspective, particularly publications like Helen Callaway's *Gender, Culture and Empire: European Women in Colonial Nigeria* (1987), *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (1994), edited by Alison Blunt and Gillian Rose, Susan Morgan's *Place Matters: Gendered Geography in Victorian Women's Travel Books about Southeast Asia* (1996), etc. Beginning around 2000 and thereafter, efforts increased in providing theoretical frameworks for travel writing, which also included reflections on gender and travel, e.g. *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (2002), edited by Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, Peter Hulme and Russel McDougall's *Writing, Travel, and Empire: In the Margins of Anthropology* (2007), Carl Thompson's *Travel Writing* (2011), or Tim Youngs' *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (2013). Further efforts in approaching travel writing from a female perspective have been made by Monica Anderson with her study on *Women and the Politics of Travel, 1870-1914* (2006), as well as by providing volumes with women's travel writing of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, e.g. June E. Hahner's *Women Through Women's Eyes: Latin American Women in Nineteenth-Century Travel Accounts*.

transcultural, transnational, even translingual phenomenon.”⁶⁵ Helen Carr goes so far as to argue that for modernism both imaginative and travel writing the meeting of other cultures and change are inseparable.⁶⁶

With the rise of scientific inquiry on travel writing, a revived interest in approaches that transcend the boundaries of the nation as the overarching framework⁶⁷ gave way to transnational analyses. Resulting from this, the underlying current of this study broadly follows Françoise Thébaud’s question as to how and to what extent the influences of other cultures and societies were formative on the protagonists’ work; that, in turn, can be related to Charles Forsdick: “Travel accounts travel, through time, through space, through different cultures and between languages, often [...] being transformed by such processes.”⁶⁸ In other words, travel writing in this study is understood as chronicles of the travelistic experiences in textual form.

By interpreting the historical sources of the protagonists primarily as travelistic in nature, the application of a transnational approach gains further importance when acknowledging that, paradoxically, “while travel may destabilize a fixed notion of culture, it heightens a sense of national belonging.”⁶⁹ Extending the argument, E. Ann Kaplan reasons that “people’s identities when they are traveling are often more self-consciously *national* than when they stay home.”⁷⁰ These processes are particularly considered as the protagonists were traveling to what Mary Louise Pratt conceptualized as “contact zones” in cultural encounters.⁷¹

Despite archaeology being an academic discipline whose agents regularly transcend national borders, the application of transnational perspectives in that these are equipped to follow the actors within these disciplines beyond the restraints of their respective national frameworks remains a desideratum. Only recently, archaeology has begun to address the

(1998), Jane Robinson’s *Unsuitable for Ladies: An Anthology of Women Travellers* (2001), or *An Anthology of Women’s Travel Writing* (2002) by Shirley Foster and Sara Mills.

⁶⁵ Forsdick, “Introduction” 287.

⁶⁶ See Carr, “Modernism and Travel” 74.

⁶⁷ During the 1990s and after the new millennium, a number of publications have been dedicated to the role of women in the history of archaeology. This trend also includes elaborations with a European and a rather global scope, e.g. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Marie Louise Stig Sørensen’s *Excavating Women: A History of Women in European Archaeology* (1998), Díaz-Andreu’s *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past* (2007), or Amanda Adams’ book *Ladies of the Field: Early Women Archaeologists and Their Search for Adventure* (2010).

⁶⁸ Forsdick, “Introduction” 287.

⁶⁹ Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* 5-6.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 6.

⁷¹ For Mary Louise Pratt, the contact zone refers to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (Pratt, “Arts of the Contact Zone” 519).

transnational dimension of itself as an academic discipline, primarily in *Discovering the Archaeologists of Europe 2012-14: Transnational Report* (2014), or Sudeshna Guha, who argued in her book *Artefacts of History: Archaeology, Historiography and Indian Pasts* (2015) for “nurturing a transregional and transnational historical perspective while writing a regional history of archaeology.”⁷² In the time after the millennium, publications like Amanda Adams’s *Ladies of the Field: Early Women Archaeologists and their Search for Adventure* (2010) showed an influence of women’s travel writing as well as the discipline of archaeology’s increasing interest in asking about the women during its history.

Influenced by the growing scholarly interest of travel writing, the most extensive publication on Alice Le Plongeon to date is Lawrence Desmond’s *Yucatán Through Her Eyes: Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, Writer and Expeditionary Photographer* (2009). The voluminous book contains Le Plongeon’s field diary that she had kept during their travels through Yucatan between 1873 and 1876 as well as a detailed biography on Alice Le Plongeon herself. Similarly, the growing interest in transnational studies on historical agents led to Nuttall being recognized as a transnational subject in Apen Ruiz Martinez’s dissertation on “Insiders and Outsiders in Mexican Archaeology, 1890-1930” (2003), while David Browman’s detailed study *Cultural Negotiations: The Role of Women in the Founding of Americanist Archaeology* (2013) displays the problematic nature of research that stops at national borders, thus obfuscating a broader view on women’s careers that transcended national paradigms. Ruiz’s account elaborates on the intricate relationships of historical agents in Mexico in a national as well as international perspective and sees Nuttall as transcending these narrow national explorations. In that regard, by going beyond national paradigms, Ruiz considers her marginal location in the scientific *status quo* (past and present) as a privileged position to gain a perspective on the history of archaeology that has been silenced from other narratives of the discipline.⁷³

Despite Kirsten Gruesz having recognized Miriam Leslie as a “transnational performer in her own right”⁷⁴ in her book *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (2002), only recently has the field of journalism studies seen the application of transnational approaches to its history.⁷⁵ Most influential here is Marcel

⁷² Guha, *Artefacts of History* 1.

⁷³ See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 237.

⁷⁴ See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture* 186.

⁷⁵ Other recent publications include the aspect of geographical mobility in their theoretical approach, e.g. Folker Hanausch and Elfriede Fürsich’s edited volume *Travel Journalism: Exploring Production, Impact and Culture* (2014), which is infused by the preceding research of travel writing and in which they recognize the importance of travel journalism’s position as being bound to professional ideas of journalism in its representation of distant places and people (see Hanausch/Fürsich, “On the Relevance of Travel Journalism” 6).

Broersma's article "Transnational Journalism History: Balancing Global Universals and National Peculiarities," published in *M&Z* (2010).⁷⁶ He argues that the emergence of the globalization paradigm stimulated the use of comparative and transnational research in journalism and media studies; however, journalism history "seems to have lacked a trigger of this kind" and calls for utilizing transnational perspectives, since they can deepen an understanding of how journalism works.⁷⁷

For the last protagonist, Lady Grace Drummond-Hay, biographical elaborations remain a desideratum⁷⁸ despite recent works that discuss Drummond-Hay, e.g. Linda McCann's dissertation "Feminine Wings: The Women's International Association of Aeronautics" (2012). McCann not only highlights Drummond-Hay's journalistic skills and successes, but exhaustively discusses her involvement in the association as crossing national borders for the advancement of women in the aviation industry. However, in contrast to the other protagonists, biographical information as well as publications had to be painstakingly

⁷⁶ Marcel Broersma has also analyzed the limitations of national frameworks and the possibilities of transnational in Dutch journalism, see Marcel Broersma's article "From Press History to the History of Journalism: National and Transnational Features of Dutch Scholarship" (2011).

⁷⁷ See Broersma, "Transnational Journalism History" 10-15. The overlaps and interconnectedness of journalism and travel is recognized by Mary Louise Pratt in her book *Imperial Eyes*, in which she notes that journalism and narrative travel accounts were essential mediators between scientific networks and the larger public as well as central agents in legitimating scientific authority and its global project alongside Europe's other ways of knowing the world and being in it (see Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 29). With the institution of the 2016 Transnational Journalism History Conference at the Georgia Regents University in Augusta, this strand of journalism research is gaining momentum.

⁷⁸ Few sources have dealt with Drummond-Hay, e.g. in his book *Die große Zeit des Feuers: Der Weg der deutschen Industrie* (1959), Count Schwerin von Krosigk discusses Drummond-Hay's attendance during early rocket tests in Germany. Drummond-Hay was mentioned in a few lines in Louis P. Lochner's "Aboard the Airship Hindenburg: Louis P. Lochner's Diary of Its Maiden Flight to the United States" (1965/6) as well as by Ellen Amster in her article "Aline de Lens and a French Woman's Orient" (2009). Also, her interview by Ralph Schlaeger in the *Washington Scroll* in 1936 was reproduced as an exemplary interview text in John Mulligan's book *Experiences in Journalism. A Text for Student Writers and School Editors* (1962). Drummond-Hay's involvement with the start of WWII after the attacks of Pearl Harbor is briefly addressed in conjunction with Karl von Wiegand, when both stayed in Shanghai at the time, in Stanley Weintraub's *Lond Day's Journey into War* (1941).

reconstructed from primary sources and archival material,⁷⁹ although archival material was of great importance for the other protagonists as well, e.g. Alice Dixon Le Plongeon.⁸⁰

Ultimately, a truly transnational analysis of agents crossing borders on multiple levels, geographically as well as socially, means this study must consider the question posed by Akira Iriye and Rana Mitter: “What does it mean to be a transnational person?”⁸¹ Following this question, Thébaud enumerates a number of other questions that provide a rough guideline for the trajectory of this study:

What does the adjective transnational signify?

What might be the criteria for such a life: to have sought out, enjoyed or endured great geographical mobility?

To have participated in international activist networks?

To have been so influenced by other cultures and societies that one’s way of life and thinking changes?⁸²

Recent transnational writing has placed historical agents at the center of attention. In *Exploring the Decolonial Imaginary* (2012), Patricia Ann Schechter successively discusses four female protagonists in four separate chapters, each focusing on one of her agents. Similarly, Desley Deacon, Penny Russell, and Angela Woollacott collect biographical essays about agents whose lives eluded national boundaries⁸³ in their edited volume *Transnational Lives: Biographies of Global Modernity, 1700-Present* (2010).⁸⁴ Transnational history

⁷⁹ These include consulting archival sources, for example Drummond-Hay’s correspondence with the American suffragist and women’s rights campaigner Doris Stevens in the Doris Stevens Papers (1884-1983), stored at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, at Harvard University in Cambridge. The most important source on Drummond-Hay, however, were the Karl H. von Wiegand Papers (1911-1961), housed at the Hoover Institution Archives of Stanford University. Stored within the collection is the private correspondence between von Wiegand and Lady Drummond-Hay comprising approximately 611 letters between 1925 and 1945. These letters provided the main source for Ditteke Mensink’s documentary *Farewell* (2009) about the trip of the Graf Zeppelin around the world in 1929 (See Macnab, “Survival” 7). Furthermore, the collection possesses copies of the book jointly written by von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay, *The First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of a Commercial Air-Liner* (1928), as well as a collection of materials relating to Lady Drummond-Hay herself. These include speeches and writings, correspondences with friends and acquaintances, as well as Drummond-Hay’s diaries in 1941 and 1943.

⁸⁰ Two collections relate to Alice Le Plongeon: the Augustus and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon Papers, 1763-1937, stored at the Getty Research Library of the Getty Center, Los Angeles, and the Lawrence Gustave Desmond Papers Relating to Augustus and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, also housed in the Getty Research Library. The first collection mostly contains original material, e.g. Le Plongeon’s papers and articles, letters, and manuscripts that were considered in this study. Here, the most important historical source is the unpublished manuscript by Alice Le Plongeon “Yucatán: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities” (ADPP, VI/17-19). As Le Plongeon wrote for many years on this manuscript, partially compiling earlier articles and notes into the manuscript, yet never published it, this document will serve as an important source. In turn, the Desmond Papers provide not only primary sources that are notoriously difficult to obtain, e.g. original letters, articles, and copies of them, but also document the lifelong research of Lawrence Desmond on both Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon. Therefore, these papers are highly important when analyzing research on Alice Le Plongeon.

⁸¹ Iriye/Mitter, “Foreword” xiii.

⁸² See Thébaud, “What is a Transnational Life” 162.

⁸³ See Deacon/Russell/Woollacott, “Introduction” 2.

⁸⁴ Also, a mixture of tackling transnational initiatives, networks, and women’s institutions, transnational biographies and female cosmopolitanism, and gender orders in transnational perspective is used by Oliver Janz and Daniel Schönplugg in *Gender History in a Transnational Perspective: Biographies, Networks, Gender*

provides the aforementioned lens for analyzing the writing on the protagonists' histories of intellectual life across borders (see Macdonald 2013, Tyrrell 2007/2009, etc.). To understand what the adjective transnational signifies for the lives and work of the four protagonists, this thesis follows the line of work provided by Davis (1995), Deacon/Russel/Woollacott (2010), or Schechter (2012). Specifically, as transnational approaches have permeated through intersectional approaches, focus will be placed on the intersectional categories of gender, class, race/ethnicity, and nation relating to the protagonists.⁸⁵

The decision to focus on four protagonists for this study is inspired by Patricia Schechter as well as Jane Rendall's approach to studying transnational careers, as she points out that the study of a transnational career needs to analyze the constructions of identities – even radical and cosmopolitan ones – against that of others.⁸⁶ However, in contrast to the mentioned elaborations, this study does not discuss the protagonists isolated from each other and successively. This thesis approaches its topic by identifying and conceptualizing common themes in the lives and careers of the four main protagonists. It follows Natalie Zemon Davis's approach in her book *Women on the Margins* (1995) in that the underlying feature of her study was for her protagonists, that “the trajectories of their lives had some common features.”⁸⁷ As mentioned in the introductory remarks, from a transnational perspective, this thesis focusses on the transgressive nature of the lives and careers of the protagonists in relation to their mobility and its influence on the production and dissemination of knowledge (and texts) as well as on the aspect of their historiographic recognition. Therefore, this study is divided into chapters that identify these common trajectories (see ch. 1.3).

1.3. Thesis Outline

Informed by the theoretical and methodological considerations of a transnational perspective on women, the chapter structure will follow the thematic clusters and complexes sketched out in the introduction. As established in the previous sections, the central element of this

Orders (2014), giving space to the fact that “historians are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that global networks, exchanges and interdependencies are no recent phenomena and have shaped Europe and the world for many centuries” (Janz/Schönpflug, “Introduction” 1).

⁸⁵ Iriye and Mitter address this question by making aware that transnational agents refused to be identified by their nationality alone, but insist on adding several other identities: race, gender, class, religion, and geography (see Iriye/Mitter, “Foreword” xiii).

⁸⁶ See Rendall, “A Transnational Career” 155. The decision to pursue this inquiry in that way is influenced by counteracting what Ann Taylor Allen, who remarked that: “Historians often complain that looking at historical events and processes in a comparative or transnational context is to ‘flatten’ or homogenize them by overlooking subtleties and nuances that are specific to a certain time, place, and culture” (Allen, “Lost in Translation” 98).

⁸⁷ Davis, *Women on the Margins* 203.

dissertation is travel and its relation to the transgression of gender norms, particularly in context of the women being professionals in their respective disciplines.

Chapter two of this study will begin by sketching the transnational influences on their upbringing and education, as well as tracing the reasons and motivations for travel and travelistic careers. Furthermore, the chapter details the insufficiency of the confined Victorian gender roles for the protagonists to grow as professionals and transgress social norms in connection to the ability to traverse geographical boundaries. This follows what Elizabeth Pritchard acknowledged: “to be free, to be modern, to develop is to get out of a situation of confinement.”⁸⁸

Subsequently, chapter three chronicles the protagonists’ transnational lives and careers, especially geographical areas of engagement, e.g. the Atlantic realm. The Atlantic in particular was a zone of contact between the Old and the New Worlds that led the protagonists to travel this ocean. More than that, it this chapter explores this zone as mythological space, as network of knowledge, and major space for publication. As this chapter specifically highlights the geographical mobility of the protagonists, it seems logical to explore the negative ramifications of such a mobile working life. Living a transnational life, i.e. one that entailed constant travel, also required the women in this study to make certain sacrifices to their lives as Victorian women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

After having focused on the interconnectedness of travel and women’s roles in society, the fourth chapter closely examines the influence of mobility as a necessary factor for the protagonists to work in a field as a professional and, in turn, how the absence or unavailability of geographical mobility caused a decline in productivity and the respective end to their careers. As their paths to professionalization were different to that of their male peers, this chapter examines the multiple roles that women occupied and relates them to their mobility. Furthermore, the chapter addresses the issues of transnational connections on multiple levels regarding the protagonists’ involvement with benefactors, in transnational networks and involvement in contestations with colleagues and critics across national borders. Also, the chapter addresses one of Thébaud’s questions with respect to the participation in international networks: in how far the protagonists subscribed to suffrage and the women’s rights movement in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The chapter deals with questions of how the protagonists perceived themselves as part of an international movement as well as differences between the perspective on women’s rights and position within the

⁸⁸ Pritchard, “Rhetoric of Mobility” 49.

society in context to the opposition of traveling abroad and living “at home,” i.e. how being a Victorian woman of a certain class and race/ethnicity affected how they perceived and championed women’s rights in contrast to women they encountered abroad. Ultimately, the chapter explores the notion of transnational archives in connection to the protagonists, as, according to Jocelyn Olcott, elite women “loom particularly large in the historiography: they tend to leave their papers to well-catalogued college archives, and personal names offer researchers leads to follow in databases and search engines.”⁸⁹ It will be argued that the idea of a transnational archive was explored in the early twentieth century by Rosika Schwimmer and the establishment of the World Center for Women’s Archives (WCWA), and that such a notion shows a complicated relationship to the protagonists’ transnational legacies.

Lastly, in chapter five this dissertation explores the transnational character of the protagonists’ texts, expressly focusing on the protagonists’ writings with a focus on the travelistic circumstances of their production. Bruce Harvey finds that, generally, first-world travel texts filter third-world countries through a fairly stable set of rhetorical practices,⁹⁰ which shows an important connection to travel writing. One form in particular of these rhetorical practices is closely analyzed in the context of contact between the Euro-American protagonists and their subjects in contact zones. Concordantly, this chapter explores one example of these rhetorical practices: the aesthetic mode of the picturesque and its relation to an imperial gaze perpetrated by the protagonists. In addition, a subchapter focuses on the deep influence of the protagonists’ multilingual abilities in the context of how these enabled them to successfully navigate international environments and how they utilized their language skills for their works and careers, e.g. publishing in different nations across the globe.

⁸⁹ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 246.

⁹⁰ See Harvey, *American Geographics* 18-9.

2. Starting a Career: Entering the Disciplines

This chapter is concerned with the early influences of the protagonists, particularly in relation to travelistic experiences, and interprets these as influential precursors to their later development. Firstly, the chapter examines the upbringings of the protagonists as providing the roots of travel and mobility, as well as the inclination towards them, in order to detect how these aspects would be formative for their later lives and work. Secondly, this chapter also highlights the fact that women were forced to comply with activities deemed appropriate for them at the time, e.g. gardening, botany, interior decorating, and handiwork; as, for example, in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* a "woman must have a thorough knowledge of music, singing, drawing, dancing, and the modern languages."¹ Furthermore, they were relegated to activities that related to their status as inferior to their respective male counterparts, e.g. as menial assistants or quintessential helpmates. The confinement to such a narrow (domestic) realm and the absence of mobility or the ability to travel provided little to no intellectual stimulus for the protagonists to further develop.

2.1. Transnational Preconditions: Education and Aspirations

This section argues that early education during the protagonists' childhood and youth inherently affected their later careers. Their early lives served in many respects as precursors to their later engagement in their respective fields. This included an early influence on their ability to travel, e.g. in the case of Zelia Nuttall, who had experienced a childhood that was characterized by travels throughout Europe. Their respective upbringings also laid the multilingual foundations that would become key elements in the protagonists' ability to access knowledge in foreign languages as well as succeeding in publishing in other languages, e.g. Lady Drummond-Hay's skills in various different languages that enabled her to conduct interviews as well as publish in English, German, French and Italian.

Miriam Leslie: Multicultural Upbringing in New Orleans

Miriam Leslie was born Miriam Florence Follin on June 5, 1836 as the daughter of Charles Follin, who had settled in New Orleans and worked at the F. Follin and Company, dealers in

¹ Austen/Shapard, *Pride and Prejudice* 72. These would be French and Italian, as classical languages, the most prestigious area of study, were usually considered inappropriate for women (see *ibid.* 73).

cotton, tobacco, and hides, and Susan Danforth.² Provided with a family history rich in exoticisms – noble French Huguenots, Creole émigrés, later claiming to be descended from the Baron de Bazus³ – Miriam Leslie spent her youth in the Vieux Carré of New Orleans, a multicultural hot spot.⁴ Her father, Charles Follin, who was mainly responsible for Miriam Leslie's education, encouraged her to study and learn languages⁵ in order to “achieve the distinction of becoming mistress of many languages.”⁶ Leslie's studies included acquiring skills in French, Spanish, German, and Latin.⁷ However, rather than attending any school,⁸ Madeleine Stern in *Purple Passage* (1970) describes her daily regimen as the following:

Language tutors and a drawing master were engaged for her. She spent a full hour translating and reading aloud in French, Spanish, and German. [...] she applied the rules laid down in Ollendorff, following the “grammatical paradigms” of his French Method. She studied German with Mr. Schlumpf. Incessantly, she was urged on to greater “zeal of steadiness” and pressed forward to “eminent success.”⁹

Leslie's education was rigorous, as she later described: “I never had any childhood, for the word means sunshine and freedom from care. I had a starved and pinched little childhood, as far as love and merriment go.”¹⁰ According to Ishbell Ross, Leslie was “constantly under pressure to read nothing but history or foreign languages.”¹¹

Despite the strenuous education Leslie received from private tutors and her father, she had the opportunity to experience New Orleans. As Madeleine Stern writes, Leslie “delighted in the brilliant kaleidoscope of New Orleans”¹² with its French and Spanish influences on architecture, language, cuisine, customs, etc. As part of Louisiana, New Orleans had an ethnic, linguistic, legal, and cultural history that set it apart from other states of the United States. It was “traversed by the Conquistadors of Spain, explored and colonized by France, and settled by Canadians, French, Germans, Acadians, Spanish and Americans in successive waves.”¹³ Particularly, the close ties to the French-African Caribbean as well as the *gens de couleur libres* set this location apart. They faced dilemmas in forming their identities that have been linked

² See Stern, *Purple Passage* 5-6.

³ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 5.

⁴ See Stern, “Introduction” viii.

⁵ See Jepson, *Women's Concerns* 174.

⁶ Stern, *Purple Passage* 12.

⁷ See Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 152.

⁸ Noel Justine Davenport, a descendant of Follin confirms this: “It also appears from the records I have that Charles W. Follin, father of Miriam Florence Follin, was very fond of the child and never allowed her to attend [sic] public schools, teaching her several languages” (Davenport, “Letter to Madeleine Stern,” 03 Mar 1953, MSP X/1).

⁹ Stern, *Purple Passage* 12.

¹⁰ Young, *Leslie Suffrage Commission* 9.

¹¹ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 63-

¹² Stern, *Purple Passage* 10.

¹³ Brosman, *Louisiana Creole Literature* 4.

to those which Americans confront in today's multicultural, multiethnic, complicated society.¹⁴ The crisscross of cultures and historical influences impressed Leslie and shaped her in her youth:

The old Slave Market is almost oriental. The canal at Spanish Fort is Dutchy, with a *soupeçon* of Venice; while the French Gardens, so full of light and shadows, [...] are vivid as though done by the sun-dipped band of Fortuny.¹⁵

As Leslie later described the city, "New Orleans affords wondrous 'glimpses' and 'bits of color' so rapture-laden for the heart of the artist."¹⁶ Later, in 1883, when Leslie visited her former home, she described the multicultural composition of the city, i.e. the Old French Market in New Orleans (that must have reminded her of her upbringing): "Every nation is represented at this epicurean court. Negroes and 'poor white trash' glare at each other."¹⁷ Often, Louisiana is described as being "the only state that has a genuine and lengthy bilingual literary tradition."¹⁸ Miriam Leslie experienced this when she remarked about "Frenchmen and Germans [who] fight tongue-duels; Mexicans and Indians, Creoles and Americans, all help to swell the Babel of tongues."¹⁹ Similarly to Pere Gifra, who found that the "incorporation of foreign languages and cultures into the literary imagination of the United States owes a great deal to the cultural work of nineteenth-century travel and travel writing,"²⁰ Leslie was sensitized to languages through her early childhood in New Orleans and recognized and reproduced other languages in her travel writing, e.g. Bahamian English in her article "The Pineapple Trade in the Bahamas" (1881).

Having grown up in the multicultural hotspot of New Orleans, Leslie then spent some time in Cincinnati before her father decided that the family should settle in New York²¹ in 1854²² – where she could explore the next multicultural influences of a differently meshed metropolis. At the age of only fourteen, Leslie began her career in the publishing industry under her maiden name Miriam Follin with a short biographical article on José Antonio Páez, the first president of Venezuela, published in the *New York Herald* (1850). It was only a short piece but it proved incipient for stages of her later career in the journalism and newspaper publishing industries.

¹⁴ See Hanger, *Bounded Lives* 1.

¹⁵ LES, "Scenes in and about New Orleans" 158.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ LES, "Old French Market" 95.

¹⁸ Brosman, *Louisiana Creole Literature* 4.

¹⁹ Leslie "Old French Market" 95.

²⁰ Gifra, "Nineteenth-Century American Travel Writings" 61.

²¹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 10.

²² See Stern, "Introduction" viii. Stuart assumes the date 1850 for Leslie moving to New York (see Stuart, "Empress of Journalism" 43).

Leslie's early life was decidedly marked by the fact that she was considered a wife. When Leslie was eighteen years old, a marriage with a local young jeweler was arranged. Miriam Folline married David Charles Peacock in 1854.²³ Yet, the confinements of a domestic life were not suited for a personality like Miriam Leslie, who had experienced the multiplicity of life in the multicultural New Orleans. Her early and unhappy marriage to David Peacock was annulled two years later, on March 24, 1856.²⁴ In the following period, Miriam Leslie used the freedom of the marital confinements and embarked on a different path²⁵ before marrying E.G. Squier, who presented to her a different outlook in life and, in conjunction with the ability to travel, fostered her future career.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Introduction to Photography and Marriage

Alice Le Plongeon was brought up in nineteenth-century London by her parents Henry Dixon and Sophia Cook and was well-educated in music, mathematics, history, the classics, literature, and writing; as a teenager, she had hoped to become a singer.²⁶ From an early age, Le Plongeon dreamed of a career as a writer.²⁷ Most important for the development of Le Plongeon's career were two separate issues: the first key factor being Le Plongeon's upbringing and early introduction to photography by her father; the other, meeting her husband Augustus Le Plongeon in 1871. Both were important intellectual stimuli for the development of Le Plongeon's work.

Henry Dixon possessed a small photographic studio in London, a business he had started in the 1860s. Before that, Dixon had been a copper-plate printer, a skilled profession that had prepared him well for a career in photography.²⁸ Later in her life, Le Plongeon praised her father's talents and skills as a photographer in one of her articles for the *Photographic Times*, as she believed he had "learnt very thoroughly steelplate printing [...] to learn how pictures should look when rendered in black and white."²⁹

²³ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 16.

²⁴ See *ibid.* 17.

²⁵ She had met the provocative actress Lola Montez. They befriended each other very quickly and after a short session of private tutoring, Miriam Peacock became Lola's "sister," naming herself Minnie Montez (see Stern, *Purple Passage* 19). Together they began their acting career, starring in dramas like Edward Stirling's *The Cabin Boy* (1846), Edward Morton's *The Eton Boy* (1842), or James R. Planché's *The Follies of a Night* (1846) at the Albany's Green Street Theatre. Their performances were lauded and publicly mentioned in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*; the very first of many connections Miriam Leslie developed over the course of her professional career (see *ibid.* 20-22.).

²⁶ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 9.

²⁷ See *ibid.*

²⁸ See *ibid.* 7.

²⁹ Le Plongeon, "Art Photography in London" 648, LGD V/LeP.-Photo-Articles.

Le Plongeon was introduced to the world of photography as a first step into a professional mode of engagement. Incidentally, photography had always been part of Le Plongeon's life, but she received invaluable training from her father.³⁰ Le Plongeon's skills in photography also accompanied or complemented her desire to write.³¹ Henry Dixon's photography studio was a successful business in utilizing the newest available photography technology and he employed Alice Le Plongeon (as well as her sister) as photographic assistants.³² This was a field of work that was regarded as suitable for her social position at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century (see ch. 2.2).

The combination of her education and training in photography and the marriage to her husband, who served as an intellectual stimulus, were the crucial factors for Le Plongeon's career as an expeditionary photographer and later successful writer and lecturer. Alice Le Plongeon's interest in writing as well as her inclination towards photography was to be strengthened by her future husband Augustus Le Plongeon. Augustus Le Plongeon himself owned a photography studio in San Francisco in the 1850s that provided a good income while Le Plongeon started his education in medicine.³³ He, too, started traveling and became a well-respected physician in the 1860s when he traveled through Peru.³⁴ It was during this time that Augustus Le Plongeon photographed Inca and other ruins and quickly became intrigued with the ancient civilizations of the New World. He began studying the works of French scholar and Charles-Étienne Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, whose ideas led Augustus Le Plongeon's decision to search for a single source for world civilizations.³⁵ After a short stay in New York, where he gave a series of eight lectures with lantern slides,³⁶ in 1871 Le Plongeon traveled across the ocean to London, where he met Alice and she immediately knew she would marry Augustus.³⁷ Ultimately, the couple would sail back to the New World, to New York, where they married shortly thereafter on October 16, 1871.³⁸

³⁰ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 9.

³¹ See *ibid.*

³² See *ibid.* 10.

³³ See *ibid.* 14.

³⁴ See *ibid.*

³⁵ See *ibid.*

³⁶ See *ibid.* 15.

³⁷ "I went [...] to my mother and made the following strange statement, 'Mother, while I was out today, I met him who I know that I shall have to marry by and bye'" (ADLP, "Psychic Experiences" 2, ADPP VII/7). Although little is known about Alice's courtship, Alice Le Plongeon, being inclined to spiritualism, particularly in the later years of her life, comments about a séance when she was nineteen years old that Augustus revealed to her that the convergence of both was prophesied to him (*ibid.*). During the same séance, a loud voice prophesied to Alice Le Plongeon: "'Long before you are twenty you will be married and very far from your own country'" (*ibid.*). As Desmond and Messenger speculate, he must have been caught by Alice's poise and confidence as well as her questioning spirit, for he began courting her (see Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 11).

³⁸ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 23.

The newlywed couple settled in Brooklyn, New York, and during this time, Alice familiarized herself with the available literature on American pre-Columbian civilizations and their ruins. She studied the seminal account *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1842) by John Lloyd Stephens as well as Brasseur de Bourbourg's works.³⁹ After making the necessary arrangements for their travels to Central America, the couple departed New York for Havana on July 28, 1873, and began their acclimatization in Yucatan when they arrived on August 7 at the port Progreso.⁴⁰

Zelia Nuttall: A "Grand Tour" Childhood

Of the protagonists of this study, Zelia Nuttall had experienced the most transnationally characterized childhood and upbringing. The intertwining began with her birth, as she came from a family of American diplomats in Mexico. Her father was an ambassador in Mazatlán⁴¹ and her mother was Mexican; later in life, Nuttall moved to Mexico in 1902 to settle in Coyoacan.⁴² Beginning in 1865, while traveling together with her family across the Atlantic from San Francisco to Europe, Nuttall experienced an impressive itinerary reminiscent of a Grand Tour: in 1865, the Nuttall family arrived in Ireland, went to Queenstown, Dublin, Cork, Glengariff, and the lakes of Killarney;⁴³ in the winter of 1865-66, Nuttall traveled with her family to France, with short stays in London; then, they went to the Mediterranean, spending Christmas in Montpellier.⁴⁴ From there, they visited the Roman ruins at Nîmes and Arles that, according to Parmenter, "touched a responsive chord in Zelia [Nuttall's] imagination."⁴⁵ Visiting the various ruins and statues, some made a great impression on her, such that later in her seminal *Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* (1901) she recalled one particular Mithra statue of Nîmes in a footnote: "The recollection of seeing this statue with my father, who pointed out and explained the signs of the zodiac to me, is one of the most vivid of my childhood."⁴⁶

³⁹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 23-4.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.* 29.

⁴¹ See Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 206.

⁴² A further intertwining was the fact that her Mexican home was remodeled with money from Phoebe Hearst who belonged to one of the richest American families.

⁴³ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 37.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.* 39.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ ZN, *Principles* 464.

They also went to Marseilles, then moved on to the Riviera (Toulon and Cannes), and, in May 1866, they took a house along the waterfront in Nice⁴⁷ before going back to London.⁴⁸ As Nuttall's father was interested in foreign languages himself and since she had already been exposed to French already, it was decided that after their second summer in Tittour, they would go to Germany.⁴⁹ Therefore, via Antwerp, Brussels, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne, and Frankfurt, Nuttall, together with her family, arrived in Dresden,⁵⁰ where they stayed until the end of June 1871.⁵¹ Then, still in 1871, the family left Dresden for Berlin and subsequently traveled to Ireland again.⁵² About the same time as the Nuttalls traveled from the United States to Europe, another fellow American, Mark Twain, traveled across the continent on his way to the Holy Land, which he described from the perspective of an American in his book *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). As the Grand Tour of the eighteenth century had eased the hardships of travel considerably for women in the nineteenth century, its legacy still loomed that travel represented instability in that it potentially altered one's perceptions of daily experiences, whether through social customs or religious beliefs, and that travel was a direct and immediate way to confront cultural diversity.⁵³ It may have been these experiences of instability and altered perceptions of social customs or religious beliefs that influenced Nuttall in her later life and work.

Through these various travels – and with the aid of tutors – Nuttall quickly learned the chief European languages before her only institutional and formal education began with her enrollment at Bedford College for Women in London for half a term when she was fifteen and for a full term a year later.⁵⁴ According to Ross Parmenter, the school chosen for Nuttall exemplified her father's aspirations for his eldest daughter, as only the Queen's College had been founded earlier than Bedford and Bedford was a pioneer institution in providing what had been previously lacking in England: sound and scholarly instruction for elder girls.⁵⁵

Apart from this limited attendance at Bedford College, the lack of formal schooling and education was to become one of the major points of contention toward Nuttall by her colleagues whenever there was a debate (see ch. 4.2). Nuttall was brought up in an era when

⁴⁷ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 39.

⁴⁸ See *ibid.* 40.

⁴⁹ See *ibid.* 41.

⁵⁰ See *ibid.*

⁵¹ See *ibid.* 43.

⁵² See *ibid.* 45.

⁵³ See Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* 276.

⁵⁴ See Parmenter, "Zelia Magdalena Nuttall" 640.

⁵⁵ Parmenter, "Recovery" 49.

education was deemed unsuitable for women; that is, beyond water color painting, learning French, music, and training to receive guests.⁵⁶

Throughout these travels, Nuttall maintained a strong interest in botany and collecting flowers; she “began collecting flowers and plants wherever she went,” which, according to Ross Parmenter, “must have delighted her botanically-minded father, who encouraged her to persist in search of regional species.”⁵⁷ Botany, and particularly gardening with its compliance with domesticity, had interested many historical figures, for example American poet Emily Dickinson, who had engaged in gathering, tending, categorizing, and pressing flowers even before she began writing poems and during her lifetime was perhaps known more widely as a gardener than as a poet.⁵⁸ As Patricia Fara highlights in *Pandora’s Breeches*, the popularity among women of building up large collections of shells, minerals, and pressed flowers, such as Duchess of Portland Margaret Cavendish’s collection of plants, minerals and fossils,⁵⁹ shows how many women were fascinated by and engaged in science.⁶⁰

Pursuing this scientific stimulus, Nuttall continued her botanical work by cataloguing plants, creating herbariums as the wife of the French explorer Alphonse Pinart (1852-1911), which fits exactly into the idea of the woman’s work; she even started preparations for a publication entitled “Wild Flowers of Puerto Rico,” a semi-scientific flower diary she had already started at an early point in her life that shows Nuttall’s skills such that Parmenter assumes she must have taken lessons in botanical illustration.⁶¹ However, since “part of the problem was that crafts came to symbolize a traditional model of womanhood”⁶² and thus inhibited her ability to travel, this activity soon did not present enough opportunities for professional development to Nuttall.

⁵⁶ Parmenter, “Recovery” 49.

⁵⁷ Ibid. 45.

⁵⁸ See Farr, *The Gardens of Emily Dickinson* 3.

⁵⁹ See Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 15-6.

⁶⁰ Highlighted here the case of Mary Anning, fossil collector and early paleontologist. She made discoveries of fossils in the cliffs at Lyme Regis in Southwest England. In 1811, Anning extracted an almost complete ichthyosaur and later a nearly complete fossil of a plesiosaurus. Although she was never a member of it, her portrait hangs appropriately in chambers at the Geological Society of London (see Dean, *Discovery of Dinosaurs* 58). For a detailed account of her life see Hugh Torrens’ article “Presidential Address: Mary Anning (1799-1847) of Lyme: The Greatest Fossilist the World Ever Knew” (1995).

⁶¹ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 94-5.

⁶² Schaffer, “Women’s Work” 38. As Tanja Schaffer explains that by the mid-nineteenth century, the most visible and urgent function of handicraft was to signify womanhood; craft items were made by the home’s female inhabitant, and thus appeared to be an extension of her body, as well as carrying the signs of her taste and skill (see *ibid.* 27).

Lady Drummond-Hay: “Traveling all over the World”

It was not out of the sentiment of noblesse oblige that Drummond-Hay aspired to enter journalism; as an aristocrat, suitable activities and positions for a woman were available to her, such as gardening, reading clubs, charity work, etc. However, Drummond-Hay decided against such a lifestyle. In school, she “read voraciously,” reading adventure books, English classics, and translations of foreign and ancient classics – which Drummond-Hay herself described as “strong meat for a young girl living the sheltered life of pre-war maidenhood.”⁶³ In spite of living a “sheltered life” – sheltered in the sense that Drummond-Hay was shielded off from economic hardships – Drummond-Hay’s childhood was one of travel and transnational influences as she lived for a year in South Africa from 1906-1907 while her parents “traveled the world.”⁶⁴ Although she was young, Drummond-Hay felt an urge to travel. When she was around ten years old, she claimed: “I want to travel all over the world.”⁶⁵ Later reminiscing, she wrote to a friend that as a child she “thought that I would like to travel all over the world and see all the different places, but did not know at all how I would ever manage to do so!”⁶⁶ Listening to her geography teacher lecturing about foreign countries and his own travels made her “more anxious than ever to go traveling!”⁶⁷

Despite Drummond-Hay’s family having no affiliation with or greater personal interest in journalism besides journalists’ “contributions to the daily breakfast-table newspapers,”⁶⁸ Drummond-Hay remained focused on studying foreign languages due to her determination to become a journalist and travel all over the world.⁶⁹ Time passed and when the First World War began in 1914, from the very beginning Drummond-Hay, against the initial objections of her parents, wanted to “take a ‘war job.’”⁷⁰ When her father suggested a position in one of his friends’ offices where she would be “looked after,” Drummond-Hay vehemently objected “on the score that it was no way of finding one’s own level at the beginning of life.”⁷¹ She found that the notion of being “dropped gently into a ‘cushy job’ [...] was not [her] idea of starting a career.”⁷²

⁶³ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 26.

⁶⁴ Drummond-Hay remarks in a letter: “When I was about ten, I was taken with my little sister to South Africa, and there we lived a whole year with a Nurse for my Sister and a Governess for me, while Mama and Papa could travel about” (LDH, “Letter to Myrna Joy,” 19 Jul 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General).

⁶⁵ LDH, “Letter to June Putnam,” 20 Jul 1945, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶⁶ LDH, “Letter to Myrna Joy,” 19 Jul 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 27.

⁶⁹ Ibid. 26.

⁷⁰ Ibid. 27.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Ibid.

Instead of living a “cushy” life and thereby silencing contemporary critics in the journalism industry such as W.B. Blackley,⁷³ Drummond-Hay further sharpened her abilities in shorthand, typewriting, commercial English, French, Spanish, shipping and commercial subjects, and – refusing any letters of recommendation – applied at the Labour Exchange at Ludgate Circus and was accepted as Secretary to the Treasury Executive of the International Supplies Commission.⁷⁴ Gaining experience through classes in which she taught English to foreign personnel while receiving training in other languages, as well as polytechnic classes and successive increases in her salary, Drummond-Hay became financially independent.⁷⁵

During this time, Drummond-Hay “absorbed every current and reaction of war-time London,”⁷⁶ a useful skill that would later enable her to make keen observations for her journalistic work. After the war, Drummond-Hay spent the year of 1918 with her family in London,⁷⁷ before she moved to Paris in 1919, when she began working at the Supreme Economic Council (with an annual salary of £700).⁷⁸ Then, only one year later, in 1920, the 24-year-old Grace Marguerite Lethbridge married the international diplomat Sir Robert Hay Drummond-Hay, who was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge and who – over a long and distinguished career – had served as Consul to Mogador (1875-79), to Stockholm (1879-89), and to Tunis (1889-91) and was subsequently appointed Consul-General to Tunis (1889-1894) and eventually Consul-General to Beirut (1894-1908).⁷⁹ Robert Drummond-Hay’s father was Sir John Hay Drummond-Hay, who had been stationed as Envoy Extraordinary to Morocco.⁸⁰ After their marriage, Lady Drummond-Hay and her husband stayed in Egypt and Tangier (Morocco) because he had acquired a property there.⁸¹ Also, Drummond-Hay describes the early times of their marriage as highly influenced by travel:

⁷³ Blackley advocated against women in businesses, utilizing patronizing phrases such as the following: “The big majority of them say something like this: Yes, I’ll get some kind of a job in Daddy’s office, or, perhaps, Daddy will be sure to know someone who has a post vacant. And so, when the post comes along, they trip daily to the City from their comfortable homes – run probably by servants – little thinking of the poor devil with twenty times the ability and qualifications who is dismally hanging about the Labour Exchange or scanning with frantic hope the advertisement columns of the newspapers” (Blackley, “Women” 1).

⁷⁴ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 152. The Commission consisted of military and technical delegations of the Allies and was located at Kingsway in London (see *ibid.*).

⁷⁵ See LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 152.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ LDH, “Letter to Dr. Byrle Farley MacPherson,” 10 May 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/MNO.

⁷⁸ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 152.

⁷⁹ See Walford, *County Families of the United Kingdom* 631.

⁸⁰ In office from 1845 to 1886 and was succeeded by Sir William Kirby Green. For a detailed analysis of Drummond-Hay’s service see Khalid Ben-Srhir’s book *Britain and Morocco During the Embassy of John Drummond-Hay, 1845-1886* (2005).

⁸¹ Drummond-Hay speaks of her clearance for Egypt: “I am very fortunate in having an Exit Permit for Egypt, which was given to me because I lived so much there, and because Robert had property there” (LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 13 Mar 1940, p.2, KHWP X/1940).

We had property in Tangier, also in Egypt, and used to spend the year more or less divided this way – September we would travel through Spain to Tangier, then to the Riviera for a few weeks, as he liked Nice and Monte Carl, and I LOVE Marseilles and the sea-port, and all the ships and smells there, then to Cairo where we would shoot ducks on our land when the water was up, and quails in the Spring when the water had gone. Nile water, of course. we would “do” the very, very gay season there, but also travel in the Sudan, Palestine, Syria and round about, then return through Italy. He liked to be in Rome or Florence for Easter, though one memorable Easter we spent in Jerusalem, and I witnessed all the ceremonies there. then to Paris, where I bought clothes, then to London for the latter part of the “season” in London. Then he would go to France to make a cure in the Auvergne, and I might stay with my parents. Then he would come to London to see his tailor, bank, lawyer and Clubs etc. then [sic!] we would go again to Paris where I bought clothes for the Cairo season, and we might stop a little on the French or Italian Riviera before going through Spain to Tangier again, and then begin all over again. Sometimes he would not want to return to London, so I would met him someplace either in France or Spain or Egypt or somewhere.⁸²

From this strong itinerary, it is obvious that travel was a central part of Lady Drummond-Hay’s life. Even more so, beyond being a leisure activity, travel would later lay the foundations of Drummond-Hay’s career. During her marriage, Drummond-Hay was influenced by the travels with as well as by her husband, who taught her Arabic as well as “a profound understanding of, and sympathy with the peoples of the Near East, a respect for Islam, and a real knowledge of the politics of the Mediterranean.”⁸³ Apart from the various languages Drummond-Hay had already acquired at that point, this would later enable Drummond-Hay to observe the surroundings of her travels with a cultural background. Being considerably older than his wife, Robert Drummond-Hay died after his short marriage to her on October 15, 1926.

2.2. Early Engagements and Acceptable Positions

Following the Age of Enlightenment, the role of women in the domestic sphere as assistants to husbands and/or scientists solidified and clearly followed the notion of the “assistant wife,” as Patricia Fara points out in *Pandora’s Breeches* (2004). The wife or female partner in this scenario remained in the shadows as a devoted assistant to the male partner or husband. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, women’s roles were regarded as the elongation of private spheres: while men engaged in public enterprises, women were restricted to the private realm of the home. Still, at the turn of the century, female professionalism was not self-evident.⁸⁴ The early positions and social roles the protagonists

⁸² LDH, “Letter to Dr. Byrle Farley MacPherson,” 10 May 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/MNO.

⁸³ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 154.

⁸⁴ Habinger, *Frauen reisen in die Fremde* 153.

of this study inhabited are complicit with traditional roles. They took jobs like collecting, listing, organising, etc., as assistants and stereotypical helpmates, while their respective husbands or working associates engaged in professional work in science in the open, public sphere. Yet, these positions and roles were insufficient for the women of this study in many respects and they ultimately ventured beyond the confinements of these gender roles.

Diversions: The Many Professions of Miriam Leslie

Miriam Leslie's life was the most flamboyant and her career was not linear. On the contrary, following her short first journalistic piece, a short biographical sketch of José Antonio Páez in 1850, Leslie went on a journalistic hiatus for several years. During these years, Leslie changed her fields of activity when she, together with the Countess of Landsfeldt, known under her stage name Lola Montes, joined the ranks of the theater.⁸⁵ She became the sister of Lola Montes, Minnie Montez, and started engaging in successful weekly plays at Albany's Green Street Theatre in 1857.⁸⁶ At the end of the same year, on October 22, Miriam Follin married the anthropologist Ephraim George Squier.⁸⁷

Leslie's tentative return to the publishing and journalism industry came in 1858 with her translation of Alexandre Dumas' *The Demi-Monde*, for which she utilized the linguistic prowess she had acquired during her childhood and education.⁸⁸ In the time between 1859 and 1860, Leslie further utilized her education in Spanish as an assistant for the *Noticioso de Nueva York*, a transnational Spanish paper targeted at readers in South America and Cuba, which laid the foundation for her journalistic career.⁸⁹ As an assistant working in the editing rooms, Leslie's duties presumably included scanning the New York papers for items that would interest South American readers, gathering information about shipping and commerce and translating it into Spanish.⁹⁰ Leslie was able to functionalize her language skills while attaining an assistant position that was appropriate for a woman like her according to the gender ideology of Victorianism.

It took, however, until 1863 for Leslie to reenter the journalism sector, when she assumed editorial duties at *Frank Leslie's Lady's Magazine*.⁹¹ As Patricia Okker notes,

⁸⁵ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 19.

⁸⁶ See *ibid.*

⁸⁷ See *ibid.* 26.

⁸⁸ For a detailed analysis of Leslie's abilities as translator and multilingualism, see ch. 5.2.

⁸⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 30-1.

⁹⁰ See Stern, *Publisher's Row* 55.

⁹¹ See Okker, *Our Sister Editors* 28.

Leslie's editorial authority rested entirely on her expertise in fashion, and concordantly Leslie steered the magazine toward highlighting fashion content.⁹² Subsequently, having gained experience as editor, in 1865 Leslie initiated, planned, and edited the new *Frank Leslie's Chimney Corner*,⁹³ a magazine distinctly different from *Lady's Magazine*. Leslie assembled its corps of writers and defined its purpose: unlike the competing *Lady's Magazine* at the time, which catered only to the women of America, Leslie broadened the scope of *Chimney Corner* to a family paper, appealing to every member of the American home.⁹⁴ In the paper, the "illustrated fireside friend," the mother could find a domestic story, the daughter a romance, the son a dramatic escapade, and the youngster's adventures and fairy tales.⁹⁵ Leslie, too, aside from her duties as editor, included a section written by herself, titled "Ladies' Conversazione." The advice column invited female readers to participate in a free exchange with her as the editor.⁹⁶ It was designed to be a "place where women may speak for themselves."⁹⁷ The column was comprised of correspondents' letters – carefully selected and responded to by Miriam Leslie, if not actually composed by her – that personalized the concerns of the promoters of women's rights and gave them a deeper resonance via the correspondents' often moving accounts of their own experiences.⁹⁸ Essentially, as Linda Frost acknowledges, the column provided a contradictory dialogue concerning the situation of the archetypal white, middle-class American woman in the nineteenth century: while on the one side supportive of a conventionally feminized domestic home and hearth, Leslie's editorial choices and contributions nevertheless called into question the concepts that make such a space possible, as many of the letters in the *Conversazione* questioned the validity and possibility of happiness for women in marriage as well as promoted the personal value of public work for women and included letters that expose the tragedy of domestic violence.⁹⁹ The contradictory nature of these early columns is mirrored by Miriam Leslie herself, as she was "someone who managed both to fly in the face of social convention and to maintain the superficial attributes her society deemed valuable and significant for women."¹⁰⁰ In other words, she was a several times divorced woman in the nineteenth century, yet was able to pose as the "belle of the ball" at President Abraham Lincoln's first inaugural ball in 1861.¹⁰¹

⁹² See Okker, *Our Sister Editors* 28.

⁹³ See Stern, *Publisher's Row* 45.

⁹⁴ See *ibid.*

⁹⁵ See *ibid.*

⁹⁶ Frost, "'Women May Speak for Themselves'" 60.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ See *ibid.*

⁹⁹ See *ibid.* 61.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 37-8.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Assistant to Henry Dixon

Of all four protagonists, Alice Le Plongeon stands out as most influenced by the aspect of travel. While Miriam Leslie, Zelia Nuttall, and Lady Drummond-Hay respectively pursued their field of interest before embarking on travels that became the singularly most important feature of their careers and work, in the case of Alice Le Plongeon this is even more true: Le Plongeon's activity before embarking on her journey alongside her husband to Yucatán across the Atlantic was restricted to her duties as an assistant for her father, Henry Dixon, in his photographic studio.

The work as assistant in the family-owned photography studio was consistent with the ideal of domesticity that was based upon the role of women assisting men and this pattern continued into the twentieth century.¹⁰² The underlying argument was that if the home and the workplace occupied the same space women were able to make a contribution to the family enterprise.¹⁰³ One of Le Plongeon's peers who used photography as a professional engagement was Julia Margaret Cameron (1815-1879) – her photography, too, was domestic in nature.¹⁰⁴ Taking up photography in 1864,¹⁰⁵ Cameron specialized in portraiture and was able to successfully convert her photography into a career.¹⁰⁶ Her portrait photographs include renowned personalities such as Alfred Lord Tennyson, Robert Browning, Charles Darwin, etc. As Cameron's emphasis was on portrait photographs, with those that were taken in the best circumstances she was able to control almost every aspect in the making of these photographs.

Contrary to Cameron, Alice Le Plongeon had to adjust her experiences in studio photography to expeditionary photography during her travels in Yucatán. Yet, Le Plongeon's activity in her father's photography studio prepared her for the years to come in which she made more contributions to outdoor and expeditionary photography than any other woman before her.¹⁰⁷ As Lawrence Desmond finds, Le Plongeon's years as her father's assistant

¹⁰² See Silva, "Transformation of Mothering" 15.

¹⁰³ See *ibid.* 13.

¹⁰⁴ For a detailed portrait of Cameron, see Colin Ford's *Julia Margaret Cameron: A Critical Biography* (2003).

¹⁰⁵ See Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron* 35.

¹⁰⁶ See Fara, "Bon in 1809" 6. Despite some contemporaries as well as historicists dismissing Cameron as mere amateur, Colin Ford explains in his seminal biography that Cameron's state-of-the-art equipment was an expression of her professionalism (see Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron* 41).

¹⁰⁷ Before Le Plongeon's departure to America, she had discussed suitable photographic techniques that would be useful for recording Mayan ruins (see Desmond, *Yucatán* 20).

become apparent when considering that she and Augustus Le Plongeon placed their Mayan assistants in their photos in positions reminiscent of how workers and supervisors were arranged by her father in his photographs.¹⁰⁸ Similarly to her father who, with his successful photo studio, “sought to contribute to the development of photographic technology,”¹⁰⁹ Le Plongeon became a “master photo printer, publish[ing] articles on photographic methods, and 2,400 of her prints of the Maya ruins are currently in public and private collections.”¹¹⁰

After Le Plongeon had married her husband and the couple had traveled from London to New York, Le Plongeon’s position changed as well. In contrast to Alice’s activities in her father’s photography studio where she worked as domestic assistant, Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and her husband “worked closely as a team.”¹¹¹ The act of moving out from her father’s studio already marked a form of liberation from a domestic environment that was subsequently strengthened by her travel to Yucatán. The first example of Le Plongeon utilizing this experience came with her first publication in 1879, her article “Notes on Yucatan” in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* of Worcester (Massachusetts), which not only was her first publication but remains, next to her collection *Here and There in Yucatan* (1886), one of the best known and most referenced of her non-fictional publications.¹¹² Le Plongeon’s “Notes” are the substance of a lecture she had delivered in Belize (then British Honduras), in early 1878, for the benefit of a Catholic school that provided free education for poor children in that area.¹¹³ The lecture in turn was largely enabled by her travels, i.e. her field experiences in the forests of Yucatán, and exhibited the elements that later defined her career as a researcher, lecturer, and champion for charities.

Zelia Nuttall’s Launch into a Career in Archaeology

It was through the medium of botany and botanical studies – deemed as a suitable occupation by society for a woman at the time – that Nuttall encountered scientific inquiry and the way science worked. More importantly, however, another crucial factor for Nuttall and the launch of her career in archaeology and anthropology was the aspect of traveling as it became

¹⁰⁸ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 10.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid. 7.

¹¹⁰ Desmond, “A Historical Overview” 8.

¹¹¹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 25.

¹¹² For example, Le Plongeon’s Notes, as part of the collection *The Mexican Calendar Stone* by Stephen Salisbury, was added immediately to the Library and Map-Rooms of the American Geographical Society of New York in 1879 (see “Additions to Library and Map-Rooms” xlv) as well as to the library of anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan (see Trautmann/Kabelac, “Library of Lewis Henry Morgan” 257).

¹¹³ See Le Plongeon, “Notes on Yucatan” 69.

apparent that for Pinart marital life with his new wife would not bring an end to his explorations.¹¹⁴ During their honeymoon, they visited the Bibliothèque Nationale in France with the original of Codex Telleriano-Remensis (named after Archbishop Teller of Rheims) as well as the Musée de Trocadero.¹¹⁵

Nuttall began her professional academic work at a time of gradual change for women in Victorian society with regard to tertiary education. Before 1860, women were generally not involved in Americanist archaeology;¹¹⁶ before the 1880s women were usually excluded from universities and academic societies,¹¹⁷ and the first women with training equal to their male colleagues in universities appeared in the 1880s.¹¹⁸ Women in science around the mid-1800s were usually untrained amateurs and primarily working independently.¹¹⁹ And although many women are absent from much of the literature on the early history of the discipline of American archaeology, they have been contributing to the development of Americanist archaeology since at least the 1870s; at roughly the same time that archaeology was becoming professionalized, women played both an active and leading role in shaping the discipline.¹²⁰ The first degrees and training having just been introduced, Nuttall launched into the discipline of American archaeology without any formal training;¹²¹ a fact that Nuttall later “was to rue,” according to Ross Parmenter, continuing “especially when rival Mexicanists threw her lack of education in her face”¹²² (see ch. 4.2).

Nuttall’s career started when she befriended Frederick Putnam, a luminary in archaeology, permanent secretary of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), curator of the Peabody Museum and a founder of the Archaeological Institute of America in 1886.¹²³ Putnam instantly became a mentor for Nuttall when she presented to him her collection of terra-cotta heads from Teotihuacan, the way she had classified them, and her theories as to their purpose. He urged her to publish her findings

¹¹⁴ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 92.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.*

¹¹⁶ See Browman, *Cultural Negotiations* 1.

¹¹⁷ See Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 10.

¹¹⁸ In 1885 Bryn Mawr founded the first women’s college that had the aim for a similar degree of education than men’s colleges (see Mazón, “Die erste Generation” 121). And it was only in the 1960s that Princeton, Yale, Harvard and Columbia accredited women as regular students (see Harders, “Disziplin(ierung) und Geschlecht” 262). Despite this, “fortunately, restrictions placed on gaining access to higher education, joining scientific associations, and obtaining employment did not stop all women from contributing to science, including archaeology, during the 1880s and 1890s” (Levine, “Uncovering a Buried Past” 138).

¹¹⁹ See Chester, “Frances Eliza Babbitt” 172.

¹²⁰ Levine, “Uncovering a Buried Past” 133.

¹²¹ Although Parmenter in his article on the relationship between Nuttall and Franz Boas suggests she “received practical tutelage” during her marriage to Alphonse Pinart (see Parmenter, “Glimpses” 88-9).

¹²² Parmenter, “Recovery” 52.

¹²³ See *ibid.* 139.

through an article that Nuttall put into writing under the title of “The Terracotta Heads of Teotihuacan” that appeared in *The American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts* of the same year. Frederick Putnam was an active sponsor of women in the discipline and, with the publication, he would not only steer the journal toward New World archaeology in contrast to its previously heavy emphasis on classical archaeology, but, more importantly, foster Nuttall’s career with her first academic publication in a renowned scientific journal.¹²⁴

The paper itself shows many of the features that are characteristic for Nuttall’s approach to academic writing, building up arguments, frustrating editors and incorporating multilingual input. Shortly after its publication, Nuttall informed Putnam that she was working on a follow-up that was published one issue later in the same journal in 1886. Typically for Nuttall’s approach to investigation: “sending of a paper never brought an end to investigations, and whenever she found anything new about her subject, she wanted to have it worked into the copy before its appearance,”¹²⁵ as Ross Parmenter surmises. Throughout her career, this habit “was to cause editors increasing difficulty as her researches became more thorough, and as she reached a position where she had more prestige to get what she asked for.”¹²⁶ Moreover, in the second part of the paper Nuttall included Spanish chronicles such as Bernadido de Sahagún and his *Historia General* as well as Diego Durán’s *Historia de las Indias*, Bernal Diaz’s *Histoirade la Nueva España*, or codices like the Codex Kingsborough.¹²⁷ These historical sources presented Nuttall with enough background to further her investigations and distinguish her investigations from a cleanly archaeological perspective. Taking her own approach to a chosen topic would be crucial to Nuttall’s entire career and is encapsulated in this very first paper: “as in later papers, one finds that curiosity springing from examination with her own eyes of material previously overlooked or considered unimportant, is her starting point.”¹²⁸ In the end, Nuttall’s first paper was a success; and, although it took time for her to become recognized as a woman in the field of archaeology, her first paper as well as the memberships with the Peabody Museum, the Archaeological Institute of America and the AAAS “had paved the twenty-nine-year-old

¹²⁴ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 139.

¹²⁵ Ibid. 154.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ See Nuttall, “Terracotta Heads II” 318.

¹²⁸ Although Nuttall herself claims that “there has been no lack of interest, however, in these small works of art” (ZN, “Terracotta Heads I” 157), she establishes her position that in the past “the small clay heads, after a few remarks, were generally dismissed in favor of greater objects” (ibid. 159).

Zelia Nuttall's way to fame and acceptance in an era when women archaeologists were almost unheard of."¹²⁹

Lady Drummond-Hay: Not a "Tea-Fighter"

Drummond-Hay's aspirations to become a serious journalist remained strong throughout the early years of her career. Karl von Wiegand recalls in his short autobiographical account (1935) that when both met at a Government Ball in Cairo,¹³⁰ from the very beginning Drummond-Hay was interested in more than just being a lady of society and merely the spouse of Robert Drummond-Hay: "Lady Hay offers to become my 'eyes' if I will teach her journalism. [I] [w]arn her that [this] would give rise to gossip and scandal talk."¹³¹ Despite von Wiegand's warning, Drummond-Hay stayed resolute in her aspiration to become a serious journalist by asserting to him: "'I will not remain a tea-fighter just to avoid nasty tongues.'"¹³² This warning of "nasty tongues" most likely stemmed from Drummond-Hay's aristocratic background, as Gustav Stresemann, a German politician who served as chancellor and foreign minister between 1923 and 1929 and who was interviewed by Drummond-Hay, acknowledged that "in former days it would not have been possible for the wife of a person belonging to the highest English society to have taken up such an occupation."¹³³ Drummond-Hay repeatedly credits Karl-Henry von Wiegand as an important "party in my final understanding of the mental and spiritual freedom which was my girlhood's unformed and inarticulate dream."¹³⁴ Drummond-Hay says about von Wiegand: "A talk with him is the best mental stimulation I know, and always leaves me with a fresh outlook on the day's problem and life in general."¹³⁵

The first professional engagement in the form of articles Drummond-Hay published can be traced to the year 1924. The first article, titled "The New Hareem," was published in the *Daily Express* on June 30, 1924, and contains a short note on the author that introduces her as the wife of Sir Robert Hay Drummond-Hay, Consul-General for Syria and Palestine

¹²⁹ See Parmenter, "Glimpses" 87.

¹³⁰ Presumably before or in 1924, as Drummond-Hay's first journalistic pieces begin to appear in this year.

¹³¹ KHW, "Autobiography" 15, KHP XXX/Autobiography. As Judith Bean acknowledges, "when women remained in their domestic spaces, in private homes speaking for women only, their reputations were usually safe" (Bean, "Gaining a Public Voice" 29).

¹³² KHW, "Autobiography" 15, KHP XXX/Autobiography. A "tea-fighter" is a participant of a "tea-fight," a colloquial term for a tea party (see Farmer, *Slang and its Analogues* 89). Sometimes it is referred to as "sociable tea-party," at times divided according to gender/sex (Guernsey, "Cohansey Tea-Fight" 478), even containing an element of surprise, when, "just as you are getting to the interesting part of a conversation with someone, all the guests are shuffled about" (Lewis, *All My Road before Me* 43).

¹³³ Stresemann/Bernhard/Sutton, *Gustav Stresemann: His Diaries, Letters, and Papers* 252.

¹³⁴ LDH, "I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older" 154.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

for fourteen years.¹³⁶ Also, her early article “The Press in Egypt,” published in *The Near East* on August 21 of that year, marked a successful start of her career as it was picked up by various authors on the topic.¹³⁷ This first phase in Drummond-Hay’s career, particularly 1924-1926, was focused on Egypt and the surrounding countries, as her publications with the *Daily Express* and *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* show.¹³⁸ In London during World War I, Drummond-Hay had, in her own words, “deliberately trained myself in observation, appreciation of the ‘human-interest’ element,”¹³⁹ which can be traced in these early works and runs like a thread through her entire career.

The events that elapsed in late 1924 epitomize Drummond-Hay’s career from the start by showing her prowess at interviewing international persons of interest as well as seizing international news scoops. After the departure from scenic descriptions of Egyptian life, Drummond-Hay began publishing the first series on an internationally known political figure which would become the signature topic for Drummond-Hay in her journalistic career: a four-piece story about Saad Zaghloul,¹⁴⁰ then leader of Egypt’s nationalist Wafd Party and Prime Minister of Egypt (January 26, 1924 until November 24, 1924). The story around Saad Zaghloul was Drummond-Hay’s first success in journalism and the foreign editor Gossley Sutcliffe of the *Daily Express* was convinced of her success, saying that if she ever had to earn her living by journalism she would not starve.¹⁴¹ Drummond-Hay had thus already acquired a certain amount of public fame.¹⁴²

Apart from focusing on interviews and stories about famous statesmen, dictators, politicians and people of general interest, the other major focus of Drummond-Hay’s work was reporting on political events (including from conflict zones and war, see ch. 3.1). This aspect also manifested very early in Drummond-Hay’s career; most importantly, the assassination of the Sirdar,¹⁴³ Sir Lee Oliver Stack, possibly changed the immediate trajectory

¹³⁶ See LDH, “The New Hareem” 8.

¹³⁷ It was cited, for example by Samuel Zwemer in his article “Present-Day Journalism in the World of Islam” (pp. 132-3) in the volume *The Moslem World of To-Day*, edited by John R. Mott (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925; 122-156), as well as by Ralph O. Nafziger in his book *International News and the Press: An Annotated Bibliography* who cites Drummond-Hay’s information about the power of the Egyptian Press, saying that “[t]he influence of the Egyptian Press is paramount despite 98% illiteracy of the natives” (Nafziger, *International News and the Press* 107).

¹³⁸ During that time, Drummond-Hay published articles such as “The New Hareem” or “Türk Women Taste Freedom at Last” both with the *Daily Express* as well as with *The Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser*.

¹³⁹ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 152.

¹⁴⁰ Referred to as Zaghloul Pascha by Drummond-Hay.

¹⁴¹ Sutcliffe, “Letter to LDH,” 29 Oct 1924, p.2, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-DailyExpress.

¹⁴² As Gossley Sutcliffe writes: “I am sorry that your recent exploits have led to your ‘persecution’: it is one of the penalties of fame!” (ibid.).

¹⁴³ Sirdar is a rank assigned to the British Commander-in-Chief of the British-controlled Egyptian Army.

of Drummond-Hay's career. On the day of the assassination, November 19, 1924, Sir Lee Stack was driving through the streets of Cairo outside the Ministry of Public Instruction when he was shot from the street. In her piece "Twenty-Five Shots" (1924), Drummond-Hay elaborated on the progression of events that led to the assassination: A bomb was first thrown at Stack's car but failed to explode; his assailants then fired twenty-five shots at close range.¹⁴⁴ She ended the piece by writing that "Cairo is paralysed with horror at the crime" and that "everyone realizes its unspeakably grave significance."¹⁴⁵ Landing a coup, Drummond-Hay went to the hospital and interviewed the chauffeur of Stack's limousine, praising the heroism of said chauffeur.¹⁴⁶ Sensing that "the atmosphere is tense," Drummond-Hay reported on the population's sentiments after the attack, as "Egyptian circles are appalled at the idea of the probable consequences" that she identified as caused by "the policy of allotting high posts to amnestied criminals."¹⁴⁷ Rounding off the events, Drummond-Hay then (dramatically) reported from the funeral of Lee Stack.¹⁴⁸

Her early work already exhibits the strong traits of Drummond-Hay. Shortly after the launch of her career, her prowess for interviews and securing up-to-date information enabled her to transition from scenic pieces on Egyptian landscapes to political reportage. She continuously developed her skills and, in combination with her anxiousness for travel, this would result in her successful journalism to which geographical mobility became most central.

¹⁴⁴ LDH, "Twenty-Five Shots" 1.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid.

¹⁴⁶ See "Heroism of Chauffeur" 5.

¹⁴⁷ LDH, "Cairo Mourning" 1.

¹⁴⁸ See LDH, "Funeral of the Sirdar" 7.

3. In-Between Worlds: Traveling Careers

The previous chapter visualized a distinction between the early lives and upbringing of the protagonists and the beginnings of their respective careers. While in the early stages of their lives the protagonists were traveling extensively or were subject to multicultural surroundings, the early phases of their careers were marked by a confinement to specific domestic and private settings in their engagement with knowledge-producing disciplines. They worked as assistants or helpmates for their male counterparts; even in the case of Drummond-Hay as an emerging journalist, she was confronted with male spite and attempts to pressure her into domestic themes in her journalistic work.

Following this complication of transnational and transcultural upbringings and influences that began to conflict with the available trajectories for women at the time, the very notion of the Victorian concept of separating spheres into public and private poses a problem. In a feminist critique of the Habermasian conceptualization of the public sphere, Nancy Fraser acknowledges a “confusion that involves the use of the very same expression ‘the public sphere,’ but in a sense that is less precise and less useful than Habermas’s.”¹ She extends her argument by saying that the expression of the public sphere “has been used by many feminists to refer to everything that is outside the domestic or familial sphere.”² This prompts her to conclude: “Thus, ‘the public sphere’ in this usage conflates at least three analytically distinct things: the state, the official-economy of paid employment, and arenas of public discourse.”³

In other words, the conceptualization of “the” public sphere is actually an amalgamation of the aforementioned three aspects. In this complication of terms, Fraser finds that, for example, North American women of various classes and ethnicities constructed access routes to public political life despite their exclusion from the official public sphere.⁴ She further acknowledges that

privileged women were innovating, since they creatively used the heretofore quintessentially “private” idioms of domesticity and motherhood precisely as springboard

¹ Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere” 57. To Fraser, it is clear that the public sphere in Habermas’s sense is conceptually distinct from the official-economy: it is not an arena of market relations but rather one of discursive relations, a theater for debating and deliberating rather than for buying and selling (see *ibid.* 57). Essentially, according to Habermas, the idea of a public sphere is that of a body of “private persons assembled to discuss matters of public concern or common interest; in this regard, Fraser argues, this idea acquired force and reality in early modern Europe in the constitution of bourgeois public spheres as counterweights to absolutist states (see *ibid.* 58).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ See *ibid.* 61. However, Fraser also makes clear that in countries like France, England and Germany exclusions were linked to other exclusions rooted in processes of class formation (see *ibid.* 60), although, on the other hand, Sheila Rowbotham argues, class had created a certain space for gender maneuverability (see Rowbotham, “Feminist Approaches” 36).

for public activity; for others, less privileged women, access to public life came through participation in supporting roles in male-dominated working class protest activities, and still other women found public outlets in street protests and parades.⁵

Therefore, Fraser argues against a purely gender-based exclusion of women from the *Öffentlichkeit*.⁶ Ultimately, the idea behind an argumentation such as Fraser's is to question the strict dichotomy between private and public "as a universal, transhistorical and transcultural feature of human existence,"⁷ as Carol Pateman argues. Just as described by Simone de Beauvoir in her book *The Second Sex* (1949), the polarized oppositionalism between naturalized categories such as "man" and "woman" are difficult to transplant onto the idea of the "public" versus the "home."⁸ Indeed, while feminist criticism's focal point of "separation and opposition between the public and private spheres in liberal theory and practice"⁹ has brought forth an abundance of publications, authors like Patricia Fara caution a universalist approach to private and public spheres and such "wishful thinking" in contextualizing historical agents from such a perspective.¹⁰

Thus, in light of "the aftermath of colonialism and in the midst of the advent of diverse neocolonialisms and totalitarianisms," Caren Kaplan in *Questions of Travel* (2000) argues against an essentialist, unified, and homogeneous rendering of the home (and the domestic-private) and for "destabilizing the notion of home,"¹¹ derived from her reading of Elizabeth Bishop's poem "Question of Travels" (1965). After studying Virginia Woolf's essay *A Room*

⁵ See Fraser, "Rethinking the Public Sphere" 61.

⁶ Fraser remarks: "Of course, we know, both from the revisionist history and from Habermas's account, that the bourgeois public's claim to full accessibility was not in fact realized. Women of all classes and ethnicities were excluded from official political participation precisely on the basis of ascribed gender status, while plebeian men were formally excluded by property qualifications. Moreover, in many cases, women and men of racialized ethnicities of all classes were excluded on racial grounds" (ibid. 63).

⁷ Pateman, "Feminist Critiques" 155.

⁸ In *Reproducing the World*, Mary O'Brien finds, women have been defined dualistically as 'other,' and the material division of public and private spheres is intransigent because it expresses a dualism which men see as eternal rather than as a historically structures contradiction which must be mediated in praxis (see O'Brien, *Reproducing the World* 47). As for example in the case of Simone de Beauvoir, who in *The Second Sex* (1949) maintains that the very idea of "man" virtually required the construction of an "other" who would represent what "man" is not (see Kerber, "Gender" 43). De Beauvoir remarks: "It has already been said here that man never thinks himself without thinking the Other; he grasps the world under the emblem of duality, which is not initially sexual. But being naturally different from man who posits himself as the same, woman is consigned to the category of Other; the Other encompasses woman; at first she is not important enough to incarnate the Other alone, so a subdivision at the heart of the Other develops: in ancient cosmographies, a single element often has both male and female incarnations; thus for the Babylonians, the Ocean and the Sea were the double incarnation of cosmic chaos" (Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* 81).

⁹ Pateman, "Feminist Critiques" 155.

¹⁰ As Fara explains: "Delving back through the centuries, feminist historians have rewritten women's lives according to modern standards of equality and liberation. This anachronistic approach can involve much wishful thinking, because these women behaved and wrote in ways that simply do not conform with today's ideals of independence and equality. Many women of the past seem almost to be colluding in their own oppression, themselves accepting that they could not fulfil the same functions as their husbands, sons and brothers" (Fara, *Pandora's Breeches* 11).

¹¹ Kaplan, *Questions of Travel* 7.

of *One's Own* (1929), Kaplan reaches the conclusion that “such a concern with location and space, with rooms of one's own, with expanding ‘home’ from the domestic to the public sphere, has been one of the hallmarks of Euro-American feminist practice.”¹² However, Woolf also argued in another essay, *Three Guineas* (1938), that the public and the private worlds are inseparably connected.¹³

Following this interconnectedness, Amy Kaplan in her essay “Manifest Domesticity” (1998) questions the monolithic logic behind the ideology of separate spheres and calls for an integrated perspective with the notion that “the female realm of domesticity and the male arena of Manifest Destiny were not separate spheres at all but were intimately linked.”¹⁴ In drawing upon the connectedness between the public and the private, rather than a dichotomized opposition, Sara Mills also finds the growing community activities of middle-class women to have briefly generated a new form of politicized domesticity, a political claim on society in the name of family loyalty.¹⁵

For Kaplan, mobility itself needs to be a focal point of study, particularly when discussed in conjunction with separate spheres and the trope of women leaving their prescribed realm, i.e. the domestic sphere, in order to go abroad and to move beyond the limitations of society. Traveling was an important factor for the lives and professional activities and engagements in the careers of many women at the fin de siècle, e.g. the American reporter Nellie Bly. Influenced by Jules Verne's novel *Around the World in Eighty Days* (1873), Bly repeated the fictional circumnavigation in 72 days and compiled her journal *Around the World in Seventy-Two Days* (1888).¹⁶ Elizabeth Pritchard put it thusly: “To be free is to be mobile; it is to be unencumbered by borders of place or location.”¹⁷ In assessing the hegemonial dominant position, she comments on the idea that “the modern West's understanding of liberty relies upon a narrative of mobility, of openness and dynamism.”¹⁸ When Henry David Thoreau reasons that “the life in us is like the water in the river,”¹⁹ in a

¹² See Kaplan, *Questions of Travel* 161.

¹³ Woolf, *A Room of One's Own and Three Guineas* 214.

¹⁴ Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire* 18.

¹⁵ See Mills, “Decade of Discovery in the US” 146.

¹⁶ Next to her travelogue, Nellie Bly is most famous for her investigative study one year before her travel adventure *Ten Days in a Mad-House* (1887) – compiled from serial articles in the *New York World* – that dealt with Bly feigning insanity in order to go undercover and investigating brutality and neglect in the Women's Lunatic Asylum on Blackwell's Island.

¹⁷ Pritchard, “Rhetoric of Mobility” 50

¹⁸ Ibid. 49.

¹⁹ Thoreau, *Walden* 153.

Melvillian sense, travel and geographical mobility mean that “the great floodgates of the wonder-world swung open.”²⁰

Travel, liberty, and enlightenment, the very embodied and metaphorical act of overcoming social binaries, the private sphere that is “domestic” and constraining and the public as “cosmopolitan” and dynamic,²¹ is not only acknowledging the historiographical effort put into explorations of the relationship between this very materialistic act of “breaking free” and its idealistic implications in the sense that “to become enlightened is to exit from a kind of bondage; it is to cross a frontier, a border.”²² In concordance with the idea that “development of mobility and stasis is, of course, also gendered,”²³ Catherine Scott argues that “modernity has been envisioned, particularly by modernization theorists, in opposition to a feminized and traditional household.”²⁴ However, the oppositional thinking of separate spheres again homogenizes a diverse group of historical agents. In challenging this, Pritchard writes that “the repudiation of location is characterized as a matter of breaking out of the confines of a feminized household and the cycles of a tradition-bound culture.”²⁵ Consequentially, mobility *per se* is a wholly inadequate index of freedom and development.²⁶ The importance lies in the fact that mobility itself needs to be recognized as an “axis of power”²⁷ and that it needs to be contextualized in order to avoid naturalizations of gendered mobility.

Transforming their yearning for travel and their transnational upbringings (see ch. 2.1), traveling for the protagonists provided an avenue to pursue a professional career beyond the limitations of the private/domestic sphere for a woman in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Travel for the protagonists not only embodied liberation; more than that, it provided them with a durable perspective to engage in a professional career. This chapter discusses and follows the protagonists on their careers through various countries and locales that shaped their respective professionalism and engagements, with the special case of the Atlantic zone as a major realm of engagement in their professional line of work, as well as discussing how their lives were shaped by constant travel and its effects.

²⁰ Melville/Parker/Hayford, *Moby Dick* 22.

²¹ Pritchard, “Rhetoric of Mobility” 49.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid. 51.

²⁴ Scott, *Gender and Development* 5.

²⁵ Pritchard, “Rhetoric of Mobility” 51.

²⁶ See *ibid.* 57-60. She realizes that it also cloaks the fact that there are rich nomads and poor nomads, as well as the notion that a fixation on development or liberty as escaping or exiting the “closure” entailed in various locations re-inscribes a utopianism that jeopardizes the possibility of a politics directed toward an alternative and livable world (see *ibid.*).

²⁷ See Pritchard, “Rhetoric of Mobility” 53.

3.1. In the Field, on the Front Lines, and in the War Zones

As stated in the introduction, in the same way that transnational approaches follow historical agents, this chapter seeks to trace the geographic spaces and locales where the protagonists traveled to and to what extent traveling was essential to their respective activities (in the field) and for their careers. The transnational and transcultural influences, the global conflicts – World War I and World War II, the Caste War in Yucatán, conflicts in the Near East and uprisings in Central Europe in the 1930s – all had different ramifications on how the protagonists dealt with these situations. They were forming in every case, but differently. While for Lady Drummond-Hay and Alice Le Plongeon these conflicts sparked interest and caused a detailed preoccupation with the circumstances and situations in those countries resulting in an adjustment of how these women understood themselves and their position in the world, the same circumstances caused Zelia Nuttall to avoid global conflicts, particularly because of her lack of any nationalistic identification.²⁸

Miriam Leslie: Between Leisure and Business

Projected against the lives of the other protagonists, Miriam Leslie's life and work show more national elements than the other protagonists. She lived almost exclusively in the United States. However, she traveled to many places in Latin and South America as well as Europe. Despite Leslie's greater local limitations in terms of living, the importance of traveling becomes clear when her itineraries are considered. Leslie was an avid and almost restless traveler of the Atlantic Ocean between the two shores of the Old and New Worlds. In contrast to previous research, this thesis focuses on Leslie's travels. Leslie's marriages had influenced her travel and are particularly connected to her professional work: whereas during her marriage to Ephraim Squier Leslie had "whetted her taste for travel in journeys to Europe and Peru," her next husband, Frank Leslie, "would introduce her to life on Publisher's Row and to the fascinations of the American West."²⁹

Not only by having been introduced to European languages and cultures, but also by having grown up in the multicultural hotspots of New Orleans and New York, the Spanish

²⁸ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 961-2.

²⁹ Stern, "Introduction" ix.

influences and the French *joie de vivre* especially permeated through Leslie's American identity. This becomes clear when considering her almost innumerable trips to Europe, e.g. London, Paris, Florence, etc., and even short trips to Latin and South America.³⁰ However, Leslie was never a *bon vivant* concerning traveling in the sense that it was merely for her private enjoyment alone. For example, her visit to San Sebastian in Spain was inspiration that directly translated into a publication "Summer Saunterings in San Sebastian" (1888). In contrast to the usual "American travelers in Spain, [who] expected to find a sudden Hispanic milieu laden with sensualism, historical associations, and other peculiarities,"³¹ Leslie's affection towards the country was sincere: "Never do I approach a Spanish shore or a Spanish frontier without feeling something of the attraction for the magnet for the pole, and, if possible, I always obey the attraction."³² Her interest lay in the "sonorous language," the "grand and tragic history," its "stately manners and her chivalrous people – the men so fearless, so grandiloquent and so devoted, and the women so sweet and caressing."³³

In 1867, Miriam Leslie (then Squier) traveled to Europe once again aboard the SS *Australasian*, chaperoned by her husband E.G. Squier and her future husband Frank Leslie, who had been appointed United States commissioner for the Paris International Exposition that was opened to the public in April of that year.³⁴ When the Leslie party arrived, "a panorama of exotic costumes was unfolded" before Miriam Leslie's eyes.³⁵ The 1867 exhibition was the first exhibition to have established the tradition of the "national pavilion," that is, nations having both the inclination and the financial resources to construct their own individual exhibition buildings.³⁶ Paul Tenkotte also finds that, furthermore, these exhibitions celebrated the very things that contributed to the growing internationalism of their century – and it was this internationalism, in turn, which expressed itself in the staging of further world fairs.³⁷

Deemed "kaleidoscopes of the world,"³⁸ these exhibitions of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries compressed the contemporary geo-political world order, i.e. the centers

³⁰ Stern noted about a trip to Havana in March of 1860 that she would later reprise: "Her language skill served her well, too, during a brief visit to Havana which she made with E.G. [Squier] in March of 1860, a journey that combined business arrangement with ample opportunity to enjoy the ceremonies of Holy Week" (Stern, *Purple Passage* 31).

³¹ Gifra, "Nineteenth-Century American Travel Writings" 63.

³² LES, "Summer Saunterings" 642.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 47. Madeleine Stern refers to it as the Paris Universal Exposition (see *ibid.*).

³⁵ *Ibid.* 49.

³⁶ See Tenkotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World" 9.

³⁷ See *ibid.* 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.* 5.

and global outreaches of the then-known world, into tightly organized nexuses along the lines of benevolent Western imperialism. The aspect of travel is present in the exhibitions as they allowed any visitor to transcend the hardships of travel and instantly reached locales that would otherwise be inaccessible for them: “In a few moments she traveled from the Temple of the Caciques to the Bardo of Tunis, from an American log hut to a Kirghiz tent.”³⁹ It provided Leslie with a multicultural stimulus, similar to that of New Orleans, of carefully selected (stereotypical) exhibits from all participating nations: “She saw grave-looking Turks selling fez caps and perfumes; she saw Cuban orange peddlers and American Indians display their wares; she watched a Russian drive a troika, drawn by Tartar steeds.”⁴⁰ Like her fellow Victorian contemporaries, Leslie savored the clothing, food, drink and entertainment of foreign cultures within the safe confines of this fair.⁴¹ This shielded indulgence provided a significant sense of cultural superiority and as long as the foreign cultures were regarded as mere amusements, everything remained secure.⁴²

While Frank Leslie studied the American art collections at the Exhibition, investigated new processes for color printing, and prepared his *Report on the Fine Arts* (1868),⁴³ ultimately, this particular trip was particularly important for Leslie as it served as a further steppingstone in preparing her for the business of newspaper publishing. She recalled in “Europe [...] my acquaintance with the details of his business and my knowledge of foreign languages induced Mr. Leslie to call upon my services in making all his business transactions.”⁴⁴

As mentioned, Leslie’s extensive traveling career was not limited to traveling abroad; she also traveled extensively across the United States. Leslie not only explored the South of the United States, she also traveled across the continent from the East to the West coasts several times in her lifetime. The transcontinental railroad line that connected New York and San Francisco was established in 1869,⁴⁵ at a time when the United States were just recovering from the severities of the Civil War. With the only recently completed transcontinental railroad, Leslie – like other journalists and traveling men – took advantage of this improved transportation in order to view what was still a remote and exotic frontier West.⁴⁶ Loaded with

³⁹ Stern, *Purple Passage* 49.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ See Tenkotte, “Kaleidoscopes of the World” 11-2.

⁴² See *ibid.* 12.

⁴³ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 50.

⁴⁴ See *ibid.* 222. These duties included the purchase of literary and artistic material, machinery for the production of his periodicals, etc. (see *ibid.*).

⁴⁵ See Morin/Guelke, “Strategies of Representation” 436.

⁴⁶ See *ibid.* 437.

luxury, the transcontinental journey of 1877, according to Madeleine Stern, fell almost midway between 1860, when the trans-Missouri West still a wild landscape with much of the land belonging to Native American tribes, and 1890, when the American soil had been tunneled by miners and the frontier no longer existed.⁴⁷ In fact, Leslie traveled to California roughly thirty years after the land had been acquired from Mexico after the Mexican-American War with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848),⁴⁸ an event Leslie had witnessed herself during her early life. A few years later, Leslie's interest was awakened by letters sent from her half-brother, Noel Follin, who was connected to a San Francisco theater and who introduced her to the life and land at the Golden Gate overseeing the Pacific Ocean.⁴⁹

During the extensive trip through the American Midwest, Leslie observed her surroundings and took copious notes, the result of which was her first major standalone publication *California: A Pleasure Trip from Gotham to the Golden Gate* (1877).⁵⁰ In the book, Leslie "viewed the West from the vantage point not of a pioneer woman but of a flamboyant *grande dame*,"⁵¹ writes Madeleine Stern in the introduction to the reprinted version. In general, Leslie's account is not merely a solid contribution to American travel literature, but an original version of western life during a time of startling change that at times was even "disdainful" to a degree.⁵² Leslie's innate desire for traveling led her to repeat this transcontinental journey again twice after this "lavish" trip in 1877. In 1892, she repeated it and wrote about it in "Our Transcontinental Caravan," published by *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*. Although she had already retired from her active career as editor of the Leslie Publishing House, in 1910 a reception was given in Leslie's honor by the Alameda Literary Club.

In 1883, Miriam Leslie traveled yet again, this time through the American South. She visited Florida and stopped in the city of her childhood, New Orleans. Leslie then published her experiences in a series of articles in magazines from the Leslie Publishing House, i.e. "The Home of Jefferson Davis," "The Old French Market in New Orleans," "Orange Culture in Florida," and "Scenes in and About New Orleans." On her tour through the South of the United States, Leslie reminisced: "That the South was dear, very dear to me, goes without saying; that I longed with a 'precious yearning' to revisit it, an abiding desire."⁵³ Leslie

⁴⁷ See Stern, "Introduction" vii.

⁴⁸ The Treaty entailed transferring 500,000 square miles of Mexican land to the United States for \$15 million (see Greenberg, *Manifest Destiny* 25).

⁴⁹ See Stern, "Mrs. Leslie Goes West" 77.

⁵⁰ Stuart, "Empress of Journalism" 46.

⁵¹ See Stern, "Introduction" vii-viii.

⁵² See *ibid.* viii.

⁵³ LES, "Home of Jefferson Davis" 75.

viewed the South, particularly her home in New Orleans, with a nostalgic element, describing the South as having a “soft and caressing climate” with “its vivid and wondrous vegetation; its peculiar and attractive scenery; its winsome and gracious people!”⁵⁴ In relating the South to a greater American audience, Leslie also enjoyed the growing tourist industry in Florida and partook in a tour of Colonel Hubbart Lott Hart’s orange plantation, “one of the oldest and most extensive in Florida,” as she acknowledged.⁵⁵

Particularly her articles on the southern continental United States, e.g. “The Home of Jefferson Davis,” seem to introduce the various cultures to a broad public with the unique perspective of Leslie – who at that time was already a seasoned traveler and experienced international figure – by negotiating and highlighting the transcultural elements of the American South. She related the old European influence that weighed on the relatively new American history: “So new is it, yet so old, so much of the polish of the *ancient régime*, with just enough leaven of the rush of the Nineteenth Century to add a special and pungent piquancy.”⁵⁶

In visiting the house of Jefferson Davis, former president of the Confederate States during the Civil War, in 1883 – almost twenty years after the war – Leslie creates a sense of historicity towards an American identity in the nineteenth century that is largely agreed upon by most historians who consider a broad sense of American nationality to be a phenomenon of the early nineteenth century.⁵⁷ When she describes the Spanish Fort of New Orleans, Leslie reminisces:

The Confederates occupied it during the war, it was a very charming picture of peace to see its once formidable guns dismounted and lying on the green grass, while elegantly-dressed little dots of children, symphonies in lace and embroidery, frisked and disported themselves even at the cannon’s mouth.⁵⁸

Leslie describes the sites of the former disunity or rift that facilitated an armed conflict between the sides and parallels them with naturalistic images of these healed wounds of the past. Generally, Leslie’s articles on the South attempt to trace a plurality of American identity and the various forms of life within the United States, yet they are written with an informed transcultural perspective that allows her to view this identity seemingly from the outside.

⁵⁴ LES, “Home of Jefferson Davis” 75.

⁵⁵ LES, “Orange Culture” 142.

⁵⁶ LES, “Home of Jefferson Davis” 75.

⁵⁷ See Hill, *National History* 15.

⁵⁸ LES, “Scenes in and about New Orleans” 158.

Like many other New Yorkers at the time, Leslie “had a taste for European royalty,”⁵⁹ which not only influenced her on the lecture topic during her tour in 1890 but was also part of the reason for her many transatlantic travels, particularly to Spain and France. But for Leslie, the connection to Europe meant a deeper connection. Leslie played many roles in her life. In fact, she played so many that it complicated her sense of identity. At the core, she lived her life as a New Yorker cosmopolitan bohemian,⁶⁰ but remained a “southern belle.”⁶¹ Her upbringing in New Orleans and the life of the multicultural influences and literatures had long-lasting effects on her life. During her 1883 tour through the South, Leslie nostalgically described the nature and character of the South to a broader audience:

With the glamour of the Sunny South upon me, its sunshine in my eyes, its voices in my ears, its charm in my heart – with the recollection of my gracious and all too flattering reception fragrant as sweet blossoms in my mind – I feel how little my pen can do, even in describing something of what I have seen during the days that passed with such inexorable swiftness, and can but jot down the flotsam and jetsam eddying upon the now full tide of my memory.⁶²

While she lived and worked in the North, her career being a cosmopolitan adventure from one episode with important statesmen and “celebrities” to another, her transcultural upbringing in New Orleans was only a marginal part of New York society at the end of the nineteenth century. Leslie’s transcultural experiences during her upbringing were deeply ingrained in her American identity and continued to push Leslie’s restless mobility in seeking new inspiration and rest in Europe. Ultimately, as a result of Leslie’s continuous traveling, she oscillated between several identities, which is aptly signified by her decision to reside in a hotel, a way of life that embodies the state of never being at home (see ch. 4.1). Even after having retired from business and her active career, Leslie never ceased her traveling. Particularly the 1890s was a time in Leslie’s career that saw a change from active editorship of the Leslie Publishing House publications. Leslie traveled through the United States for her lecture tour from mid-October to mid-November; she would lecture as often as ten nights out of eleven, each time in a different city.⁶³ Most importantly, however, the “nomad life,” as Madeleine Stern termed this phase of her life, seemed to appeal to her and her managers proceeded to “train her with the care usually given to a race horse.”⁶⁴ Even when Leslie finally sold her business in 1903, she continued to travel. It was so ingrained into her personality and her lifestyle that she continuously traveled, even in retirement.

⁵⁹ Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 161.

⁶⁰ See Stern, “New York’s Last Bohemian” 21.

⁶¹ Frost, “Where Women May Speak For Themselves” 60.

⁶² LES, “Home of Jefferson Davis” 75.

⁶³ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 140.

⁶⁴ See *ibid.* 140.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Explorer and Expeditionary Photographer

Le Plongeon's career almost instantaneously began with her marriage to Augustus Le Plongeon and their subsequent travels to Yucatán, where they traveled from 1873 to 1876. The trip to Yucatán was not only the catalyst for her work but also predestined, for she was about to go beyond the national confinements in her life and her professional line of work at the side of her husband Augustus. These travels provided the main impetus for Le Plongeon's diverse publications ranging from literature to archaeological and ethnographical texts.

Even before their marriage, Augustus had announced his planned trip to Yucatán before the American Geographical Society in his lecture "Vestiges of Antiquity: On the Coincidences between the Monuments of Ancient America and Those of Assyria and Egypt." Shortly after their marriage, supported financially by the president of the American Antiquarian Society, Stephen Salisbury, they undertook the expedition to Yucatán.⁶⁵ On July 28, 1873, the Le Plongeon family embarked on their journey to Yucatán from New York, arriving at Progreso on August 7, as the itinerary reads.⁶⁶ On the peninsula, the Le Plongeon family traveled, excavated, observed, photographed, and conversed and lived with the ancient ruins and modern cities, with foreigners and native inhabitants – eventually reaching Merida again on January 14, 1876.⁶⁷ Subsequently, the pair continued to stay in Yucatán and Belize until 1884. For an entire decade, they traveled throughout most of northern Yucatán, explored Isla Mujeres and Cozumel Island, and photographed and excavated at many Mayan archaeological sites.⁶⁸

When Alice Le Plongeon recalled coming to the Yucatán peninsula, she remarked that: "Indeed no country can surpass Yucatan in the beauty and variety of color of its flowers, insects and birds."⁶⁹ An evaluation to which later Zelia Nuttall could only agree: "There is certainly no portion of our globe which can boast of a more rich and varied flora."⁷⁰ In a letter to her parents, Le Plongeon describes the life in Yucatán:

No one to please except yourself and companion, nothing to do except your work, nothing to bother you except your workmen, complete silence for miles around, save the noise of

⁶⁵ See Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 129.

⁶⁶ "Itinerary," ADPP VI/14.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 2.

⁶⁹ Le Plongeon, "Notes on Yucatan" 79.

⁷⁰ ZN, "The Flower Lovers and Gardeners of Ancient Mexico" 365.

the insects, the singing of the birds; and the wind hustling among the trees; an almost cloudless sky, for the rainy season is drawing to a close. Brilliant birds, butterflies, and wild flowers in any direction you please to stroll. Large trees here are not common. The forest is close low bush and it is unwise to penetrate far.⁷¹

Le Plongeon further explained this daily life in her unpublished manuscript “Yucatán: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities” (1884):

Notwithstanding many annoyances and much discomfort there was a certain charm about life at Chichen, a fascination which evaded analysis. The close of the day found us always weary, but, free from all conventional forms and superficialities we rested upon our broad terrace, in a pure tranquilizing atmosphere, while our people amused themselves telling ghost stories.⁷²

The letter mentioned above shows that during Le Plongeon’s travels, she was aware of the margins of the exotic scenery: “The forest is close low bush and it is unwise to penetrate far.”⁷³ The element of fascination, of entering adventurous spaces, can still be trumped by everyday life and the stresses of what had previously appeared to be exotic. As Marshall says: “Closer acquaintance was, however, to set limits to the exotic.”⁷⁴ However, it was not only the superficiality of everyday life – the exotic is also limited by the margins of danger. The Yucatán peninsula at the time was not a pristine paradise devoid of any societal tensions. On the contrary, during their time in the forests that hid the ancient Mayan ruins, the descendants of the Mayans were fighting a bloody civil war.

It was at Chichén Itzá that Alice Le Plongeon and her husband Augustus “were under constant threat of attack by the Chan Santa Cruz Maya, who often patrolled many miles from the Line of the East that divided their territory from Yucatán.”⁷⁵ While Le Plongeon stayed at Tizimin, she and Augustus prepared for battle as an attack by the Chan Santa Cruz Maya was imminent.⁷⁶ As Le Plongeon reports, it was during this event that “Cruzob Maya in 1875”⁷⁷ under Bernadino Cen “surprised the hacienda of Xuxub and tied the owner, an American named Robert Stevens, to a tree and demanded a ransom for his life.”⁷⁸ As Reed further explains, “Stevens did not have sufficient funds but offered a check on his account at Belize,” however, “Cen dealt in cash only and killed him.”⁷⁹

⁷¹ ADLP, “Letter to her Parents,” 26 Dec 1875, ADPP VI/11.

⁷² ADLP, “Yucatan” 499, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁷³ ADLP, “Letter to her Parents,” 26 Dec 1875, ADPP VI/11.

⁷⁴ Marshall, “Taming the Exotic” 56. For more elaboration on exoticism and the female imperial gaze, see ch. 5.1.

⁷⁵ Desmond, *Yucatán* 2.

⁷⁶ See *ibid.* 63.

⁷⁷ Ford, *Archaeology of Maritime Landscapes* 209.

⁷⁸ Reed, *Caste War* 272. Detailed information on Bernadino Cen and the incident can be found in Paul Sullivan’s book *Xuxub Must Die: The Lost Histories of a Murder on the Yucatan* (2004).

⁷⁹ Reed, *Caste War* 272.

In the field, the revolution and the destruction of the Mayan ruins and culture were particularly important for Le Plongeon, as she in her epilogue of her unpublished manuscript addressed the devastating outcomes of the Caste War in Yucatán (right up until 1901). As Desmond repeatedly argues, Le Plongeon “often included the Maya point of view in her writings.”⁸⁰ Desmond relates the way noted French explorer Désiré Charnay on the one hand and Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon on the other wrote about the native inhabitants:

In one area they differ quite markedly. Generally Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon took the side of the ‘natives’. In their writings they often speak of the abuses perpetrated upon the Maya by their oppressors. Alice Le Plongeon wrote extensively in the Magazine of American History about the oppression of the Maya and attempted to have her readers understand the Caste War from the Maya viewpoint.⁸¹

Despite the apparent dangers in the forests of Yucatán, Le Plongeon and her husband were able to conduct their research as well as their excavations. In 1885, Le Plongeon published the volume of collected papers and articles titled *Here and There in Yucatan*, conveying her recollections about their exploration of the Yucatán peninsula during the years 1873-1884. She expressed her views on the Mayan civilization in the preface: “During a sojourn of several years in Yucatan, traveling here and there, stopping where we found interesting vestiges of the Mayas, the highly-civilized ancient inhabitants of that country, we had every opportunity of mingling with the natives.”⁸²

Living with them in a form of a contact zone, Le Plongeon familiarized herself with the local Yucatecan life, customs, and culture. She “became acquainted with their mode of life, religion, sacred rites, superstitions, fables and traditions; as well as learning something of their philosophy and observing how communism is practiced among them.”⁸³ It was through this form of “mingling” that Le Plongeon was able to gain insight into the world she was visiting and later describe things from a Yucatecan perspective. Le Plongeon’s notion of “mingling” contained a transcultural element that she relayed in her ethnographical writings in being emphatic towards their lives and hardships. Le Plongeon’s later article “The Conquest of the Mayas” was written to explain why the Maya continued their struggle for economic and political rights. And although her views on “Indians” were not always welcomed, she continued to write and lecture about injustices.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Desmond, *Yucatán* 312.

⁸¹ Desmond, “Letter to Keith F. Davis,” 22 Aug 1980, LGD III/1980B.

⁸² Le Plongeon, *Here and There* i.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 263.

Being in the field also sparked Le Plongeon's interest in the politics and history of the peninsula. She wrote several accounts of the experiences she encountered during her time in the field. In her writing, Le Plongeon would repeatedly address the issues of the population of the Yucatán peninsula, in particular the events of the Caste War in Yucatán (1873-1901), e.g. "The Yucatan Indians: Their Struggle for Independence" (1895), "Chan Santa Cruz's Fall" (1901), "Mexico's Mayan War" (1901). Le Plongeon also included an epilogue in her unpublished opus magnum "Yucatan: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities" that dealt with the end of the Caste War in 1901.⁸⁵

The training Le Plongeon received in her father's photographic studio in London in combination with her husband's expertise in the field of outdoor imaging proved to be another trajectory of Le Plongeon's professional career. In general, photography has had a rich and diverse history in Latin America, with certain photographs being considered essential to the global canon of iconic images, as Parvati Nair acknowledges.⁸⁶ Transcending the domestic and national limitations of English studio photography by traveling to the jungle enabled Le Plongeon to expand the skills in photography she had acquired in the photographic studio of her father. Here, she could explore the field of expeditionary photography or documentary photography.

Indicating the scientific tendency of photography in the early 1900s, for example in mountain climbing, Mila Moschik and Simon Weber-Unger remark upon the extreme mountain climber and expeditionary photographer Vittorio Sella (1859-1943): "The camera is being regarded as an instrument of science."⁸⁷ Already before him in the early 1870s, Alice Le Plongeon engaged in what can be referred to as expeditionary or scientific photography during her travels through Yucatán. Le Plongeon not only worked together with her husband on the photography of the Mayan ruins in Yucatán, but also compiled articles on the techniques of photography as the direct result of their experiences there.

This is similar to Julia Margaret Cameron's photographs that she took in Sri Lanka when she, together with her husband, moved there in 1875. These photographs have often been dismissed as lacking Cameron's earlier quality.⁸⁸ Cameron's process of painstakingly controlling the influences on the making of the photographs proved difficult in the difficult

⁸⁵ The last page of the manuscript is dated in pencil with the year of 1901 (see ADLP, "Yucatan" 545, ADPP VI/17-19).

⁸⁶ Nair, *A Different Light* 30.

⁸⁷ The German quotation being: "Die Kamera wird als Instrument der Wissenschaft begriffen" (Moschik/Weber-Unger, *Reisen* 122).

⁸⁸ See Ford, *Julia Margaret Cameron* 78.

outdoor conditions of the Indian subcontinent. According to Steve Edwards, it was Julia Margaret Cameron who pursued the idea of photographic art more inventively than anyone else during this period, as her pictures are much simpler, consisting of just a few figures artfully posed against a vague background.⁸⁹ Although there was a concerted effort towards the end of the nineteenth century to establish photography as a creative art, which coalesced into the international movement known as Pictorialism,⁹⁰ Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and Augustus Le Plongeon's photographic documentation opposed this upcoming major trend in American photography.⁹¹ Le Plongeon's photographs were not directed at the imperialistic tendencies to view the colonial subjects; rather, whenever they were in the image, they were staffage.⁹²

In contrast to Miles Orvell's view in his book *American Photography* (2003) that the landscape photograph relied initially on a long-established tradition in the fine arts, meaning that early photographs were inspired by paintings, featuring a vistas of land and water framed by trees with a distant view of mountains, all brought into view from a foreground perspective,⁹³ the photography done by the Le Plongeon's followed a trajectory of expeditionary photography, or more precisely, one of documentary photography, as they tried to depict the ruins as precisely as possible.⁹⁴ As Olga Shevchenko recognizes, this "preoccupation with the accurate rendering of the past in both memory and photography has informed the habits of thought not only in the late 19th century, but up to the present day."⁹⁵

⁸⁹ See Edwards, *Photography* 44.

⁹⁰ See *ibid.*

⁹¹ Steve Edwards is keen to note that at the time when Le Plongeon undertook their scientific photographic mapping of the ruins, a photographic document was one means through which the colonial powers envisaged their difference from their colonized subjects (see *ibid.* 24). Seen in connection, the discipline of anthropology became increasingly aware of this form of documentation; however, also in this time images of the colonial Other are overwhelmingly predicated on an idea of essential racial differences and a concomitant vision of racial superiority (see *ibid.*). The activities of the Le Plongeon's also contrast Edwards, who places the beginning of documentary photography well into the twentieth century, i.e. 1920/30s (see *ibid.* 26).

⁹² Parvati Nair explains this with the dualistic nature of photography that while photography is able put forward a universalistic message, it also presents, through its framing of otherness, the notion of relativism and an appreciation of difference (see Nair, *A Different Light* 29).

⁹³ Orvell, *American Photography* 39.

⁹⁴ Naturally, the medium of photography has always carried a difficult burden, as Edwards adequately formulates: "Common sense perceives the photograph as a 'transparent' or 'unmediated' copy of reality" (Edwards, *Photography* 68). Criticality lies in the fact that the viewer of a photograph implicitly assumes that "photography represents an unmediated, faithful re-presentation of things has been hanging around the medium for a long time" (Edwards, *Photography* 69). Photographs have always "carried an imprimatur based on the universally recognized authority of photography to deliver a 'true' picture of the world" (Orvell, *American Photography* 61). In contrast to Le Plongeon's efforts to depict the ruins as accurately as possible, pictorialist photographers have sought to define photography as "less an instrument for pinning down the 'real' than a means to generate imaginative worlds" (Strassler, *Refracted Visions* 147).

⁹⁵ Shevchenko, "Placing Photography in Memory Studies" 274.

As opposed to studio photography that gained popularity throughout the nineteenth century and in contrast to Julia Cameron's work that diminished in quality when she could not control the intricacies of the photographic studio, the form of expeditionary or outdoor photography had to cope with the unpredictability of the surroundings, i.e. wind, rain, sun, humidity, etc. Practicality was important to the Le Plongeon's, i.e. in the form of setting up the dark box within a relatively short time period to allow for the development of the photographs.⁹⁶ In her manuscript "Yucatán," Alice Le Plongeon recalls this:

Our dark-box was placed amid the Ruins and then we began to struggle with photographic difficulties. We desired sunlight exposures, and there were many tantalizing clouds. A high wind swayed every bough, so that these made unsightly blurs on the plates. When other conditions were right the natives, posed to embellish the pictures, moved at the critical moment, even though they had stood like statues for some time before. In the dark-box we were annoyed by dust, and the difficulty of excluding light, for the wind stirred the black curtain although this was weighted with lead and held down by stones. Finally, the colodion ribbed because the dry heat caused a too rapid evaporation of the ether.⁹⁷

Photographing the ancient sites was a task that had never been undertaken to this extent and was more laborious than anticipated. In the words of Le Plongeon herself: "Photographing the Ruins was not a pleasing pastime. Precipitous stairs, felled trees, thorny bushes, piles of debris, and other obstructions, faces us at every turn, not to mention vipers and insects that lurked everywhere."⁹⁸ Not only were the outdoor elements a constant factor that had to be considered in taking pictures of the ruins, but in being as realistic as possible the Le Plongeon's took pictures objectively. That entailed changing the position of the camera (in contrast to landscape photography) every time a new motif needed to be taken, meaning that for "photographs the upper part of [...] building[s] it was necessary to construct a scaffold upon which to elevate the camera-stand."⁹⁹ At times, these were rather insecure supports.¹⁰⁰

Not only the working condition presented difficulties for the Le Plongeon's, but the photographic process itself was a complex and intricate task in the surroundings of the outdoors. Working on the documentation of the ruins, Le Plongeon remarked that it "proved to be a painfully laborious task, the conditions creating many difficulties that will be understood only by those who have used the wet-plate collodion process out in the open,

⁹⁶ Le Plongeon notes that Augustus "had reason to congratulate himself upon his invention of a box in which each article was packed in its separate compartment and which could in a few minutes be converted into a complete dark room supplied with every necessary for the work" (ADLP, "Yucatan" 235-6, ADPP VI/17-19).

⁹⁷ Ibid. 47-8.

⁹⁸ Ibid. 245.

⁹⁹ Ibid. 247.

¹⁰⁰ Le Plongeon recalls the use of simple ladders for the change of position: "We had surveyed the buildings without help, though it cost us several days of very hard work. Photography was the next part of our undertaking, and as the sculptures were all above the doorways the pictures had to be taken from the top of a ladder, and that ladder moved for each picture, hence the absolute necessity of obtaining men" (ibid. 409-11).

where heat, wind, and dust, combine to spoil plates.”¹⁰¹ Moreover, as the photographic process included taking the picture and then developing it in the already mentioned dark-box, the major difficulty was that “every journey to and from the dark-box was over rough ground where debris and felled timber made hurried walking doubly tiresome.”¹⁰² Often, these photographs would be spoiled because of minute deviances in the process of developing.¹⁰³ Alice Le Plongeon also recalled the difficulties in contrast to the safe surroundings of a photo-studio (in which the then highly popular genre of portrait photography flourished): “Amateurs of photography find it pleasant to spill chemicals and spoil plates in convenient studios with unlimited supplies of requisites. It was a different matter to operate in tropical forests, far from all supplies.”¹⁰⁴

Alice Le Plongeon was also concerned with the printing process of the photographic documentation the couple took.¹⁰⁵ More than that, the couple also made stereoscopic pictures that could produce images with a three-dimensional effect (that Alice Le Plongeon would later use in her lectures). Lawrence Desmond acknowledges the professionalism and skill Alice Le Plongeon must have possessed: “While the quality of a stereo 3-D photo could be superb, much depended on the skill of the photographer.”¹⁰⁶ Both Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon were “well-seasoned photographers and were able to make very high-quality negatives, but they still had to contend with the complicated and often idiosyncratic wet collodion glass-plate negative process.”¹⁰⁷

Zelia Nuttall: A Traveler with a Home in Mexico

It was clear to Nuttall that her line of work necessitated her to pursue her projects on an international scale. Soon after the publication of her first article on the terra-cotta heads of Teotihuacan in 1886, Nuttall began traveling to various destinations, visiting archives all over the world (ranging from various destinations in Europe to Russia as well as North, Middle and South America).

¹⁰¹ ADLP, “Yucatan” 237, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ See *ibid.* 239.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. 411.

¹⁰⁵ In a letter to her parents, Le Plongeon explains: “I very much occupied in printing the views. We had an order for a copy of the entire collection of 90 plates – they are finished – delivered – and paid for – stereoscopic views, at \$4 each. We shall send you a like collection as soon as possible” (ADLP, “Letter to her Parents,” 27 Jan 1876, ADPP VI/11).

¹⁰⁶ Desmond, *Yucatán* 26.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

In the same year as her publication on the terra-cotta heads, Nuttall took up a permanent residence in Dresden, where she had spent a great amount of time during her childhood, and lived there until 1899.¹⁰⁸ Despite her permanent residence in Germany, Nuttall traveled to various destinations in order to attend conferences, meet fellow researchers, conduct her fieldwork and, most importantly, visit libraries and archives. In 1896, Nuttall traveled to California, Italy, Sweden, Spain, Switzerland, and even Russia.¹⁰⁹

In 1896, Nuttall traveled to Russia as emissary of Sara Yorke Stevenson, member of the University of Pennsylvania Museum's Board of Managers and Curator of the Egyptian Section, in order to establish artifact and publication exchanges with Russian museums and to offer financial assistance to Russian archaeological excavations in exchange for a proportionate share of the discoveries.¹¹⁰ Also in 1896, Nuttall traveled to the All-Russian Industrial and Art Exhibition at Nizhny Novgorod, where she was able to inspect artifacts from as far away as Siberia and southern Russia.¹¹¹

After Nuttall had secured a two-year fellowship for research in archaeology from Phoebe Hearst, she decided to settle in Mexico.¹¹² In 1902, with the acquisition of Casa Alvarado in Coyoacan, Mexico, Nuttall made Mexico her permanent home.¹¹³ In *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, Coyoacan is described as the oldest and perhaps the most conspicuous suburb of the Mexican capital, antedating, in fact, the great city itself in European occupation.¹¹⁴ As the first seat of the Spanish Government in New Spain was established in Coyoacan in 1521, Hernan Cortés settled there after the Conquest.¹¹⁵ This historical building was built by Cortés's lieutenant Pedro de Alvarado in 1525 and inhabited by him while the capital was growing.¹¹⁶ *Terry's Guide* describes the house as "facing a giant tree with stone

¹⁰⁸ See Tozzer, "Zelia Nuttall" 476.

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*

¹¹⁰ See Pezzati, "A Crowning Achievement" 7.

¹¹¹ See *ibid.* 8.

¹¹² See Mark, *Stranger in Her Native Land* 297.

¹¹³ Tozzer, "Zelia Nuttall" 476. The casa possessed massive doors in the ornately decorated street façade that led into the central court, where the conquistadors once rode on horseback, as Joan Mark colorfully writes (Mark, *Stranger in Her Native Land* 297). Just outside the house was an orchard and a garden, which Nuttall, whose passion besides archaeology was gardening and horticulture, turned into one of the showplaces of Mexico City (see *ibid.*). Nuttall's acquaintance and fellow US-American anthropologist Alice Fletcher marveled that the "house and all its belongings save the bath rooms and electric lights are all in the 16th century" (*ibid.*). *Terry's Guide* also remarks that the casa "has undergone a number of restorations" (See Terry, *Terry's Guide* 409). Addressing some of the restorations, Nuttall's daughter, Nadine, remarks that "some additions have been made but all is in the style of the period, thick walls, big rooms with arched doors and great shells over them" (Parmenter, "Recovery" 559). Overall, she found it to be "very quaint and has most picturesque little corners in the house and garden" (*ibid.*). With Nuttall as new owner, Casa Alvarado developed into a calling place for many archaeologists and Americanists visiting Mexico City (see McVicker, *A Victorian Artist* 121).

¹¹⁴ See Terry, *Terry's Guide* 408

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.* 409.

¹¹⁶ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 559.

seats around its base,” “a shrine and a figurine adorn the entrance, an iron *reja* extends along a portion of the upper story, and a fine garden stretches away in the rear.”¹¹⁷ Despite moving to Mexico, even with her permanent residence that Nuttall would keep and live in until her death in 1933 – and that would be closely associated with Nuttall herself – she would still engage in research travels ranging from Europe to Alaska and Honolulu to visiting the ruins of Yucatán.¹¹⁸

In December 1909, Nuttall visited the Isla de Sacrificios off the coast of Mexico. There, she conducted preliminary research on the buildings on the island and found them promising enough to outline an in-depth analysis of these structures. She then proposed an official inquiry for 1910 to the Mexican authorities in order to conduct more exhaustive research. This would later become a major incident that challenged Nuttall’s ties to the Mexican government, in particular to the Ministry of Public Instruction with its inspector Leopoldo Batres (see ch. 4.2).

The events leading up to the Mexican Revolution, Parmenter argues, Nuttall was largely unaware of, “largely because Zelia [Nuttall] was seldom upset by the plight of the poor, or aware that discontent against Díaz was growing among disenfranchised liberals, as well as people without land.”¹¹⁹ Yet, at the same time, Timothy Henderson finds that, towards the end of the first decade of the twentieth century, Nuttall grew “edgy about Mexico City’s rising crime rate.”¹²⁰ Parmenter reasons from Nuttall’s correspondence that “one finds no sign of outrage at the social injustices of the regime of Don Porfirio.”¹²¹ Parmenter elaborates on this apparent lack of outrage and finds that “her lack of concern over Mexican poverty shows how a trait noted when she travelled through the American South in 1885 – equanimity in the fact of inequality had persisted.”¹²²

In March 1911, Nuttall left Mexico and traveled to Europe in order to escape the Mexican Revolution.¹²³ Nuttall’s forced absence from Mexico was also financially strenuous, as she wrote in a letter to W.H. Holmes at the U.S. National Museum on April 13, 1912: “‘It is impossible for me to return to live in my house at present.’” That meant that Nuttall’s

¹¹⁷ Terry, *Terry’s Guide* 411.

¹¹⁸ See Tozzer, “Zelia Nuttall” 476.

¹¹⁹ Parmenter, “Recovery” 827. As an example of Nuttall’s unawareness, Parmenter states that Nuttall did not include information of the mobilization of American troops [on March 6 [1910] in her March 8 letter to her mother (see *ibid.* 853).

¹²⁰ Henderson, *The Worm in the Wheat* 166.

¹²¹ Parmenter, “Recovery” 701.

¹²² *Ibid.* 701.

¹²³ See Nuttall, “The Aztecs and their Predecessors in the Valley of Mexico” 246-7.

expenses were doubled, as she had to maintain her residence abroad as well as Casa Alvarado (see ch. 3.3).¹²⁴

Nuttall had left Mexico in March 1911 expecting to be absent from Casa Alvarado for a couple of months, but stayed for more than six years.¹²⁵ She returned in 1917 to the unsettled conditions that prevailed in Mexico at the time. For safety reasons, Nuttall had decided to leave the American continent for the Old World. However, during these six years, Nuttall was tossed into the upheavals on the continent.

Although Nuttall had been disconnected from her native country, the United States, as well as her chosen homeland, Mexico, she was an experienced traveler who had lived many years abroad, so this existence was not foreign to her. On the contrary, as Parmenter argues, Nuttall was “being cut off from her home, with fewer opportunities for social activity [that] enabled her to exercise more self-discipline.”¹²⁶ As bad as the political and social situation caused by the Revolution was, the “Mexican Revolution might have interrupted one aspect of her career, but it fostered another.”¹²⁷ In 1911, Nuttall localized the *Cronica de Nueva Espana* (Francisco Cervantes de Salazar) and visited the Vatican Archives during a stay in Italy.¹²⁸ Being an agile traveler, as Parmenter argues, Nuttall could not have made the Spanish and English discoveries that would lead to her publication *New Light on Drake* if she had returned to Mexico.¹²⁹

Only nine days after Britain entered the war, the publication of *New Light on Drake* was announced, e.g. in *The Times*, among others.¹³⁰ In 1913, while Nuttall was editing her materials (on Drake), conditions in Mexico had already worsened. When World War I broke out in 1914, Nuttall was in England. The war maneuvered Nuttall into a difficult situation. Until then, Nuttall’s stations in life had all been geographically remote.¹³¹ In contrast to Drummond-Hay, who had actively sought to report from front lines and conflict zones such as the Great Syrian Revolt, the Riff War, etc., Nuttall was inclined to avoid these zones of

¹²⁴ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 891.

¹²⁵ Contrary to Nuttall’s own information, Parmenter argues Nuttall had left Mexico and moved to New York on May 3, 1910, when Mexican leaders were laying siege to Ciudad Juárez, while at the same time Nuttall’s daughter Nadine, together with her husband and children, stayed behind and were in charge of Casa Alvarado (see Parmenter, “Recovery” 853). It was also during the time of the revolution that Arthur Edward Seymour Laughton was assassinated at Coahuacan, Michoacan, for the purpose of a robbery of a \$1,500 payroll; Laughton was Nuttall’s son-in-law and left Nadine with their three children (see “Two Slain by Peons” 1913: 1).

¹²⁶ Parmenter, “Recovery” 959.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ See *ibid.* 891.

¹²⁹ See *ibid.* 959.

¹³⁰ See *ibid.* 962.

¹³¹ See *ibid.* 961.

conflict. Staying away from Mexico when the Revolution turned into civil war and the way she left England as soon as war broke out shows that she was not a woman who would remain in a country at war if she could help it.¹³²

As Nuttall found herself stranded in England during war, her complicated relationship towards identification with a “homeland” or country became more apparent. Her life, and particularly her career as scholar, was marked by traveling across geographical areas and national borders. Nuttall defied any particular nationalistic affiliation; her transnational career and her transcultural experiences show the genesis of her identity:

Even though she liked England, she was not English-born and she did not feel patriotism for the country where her brother had made his home. Besides, she also liked Germany, perhaps even more, and she had spent more time there. It is true that now Roberta was safely in England, [Nuttall] had fewer ties in Germany, but she still had friends there and her brother’s wife, Paula, was German with many family connections. [...] Under the circumstances, she would feel less torn in a neutral country, to say nothing of being less endangered, and less likely to be interrupted in any scholarly work she wanted to do. Italy, which she loved, had not taken sides, but it was a member of the Triple Alliance with Germany [...] [...] That left the country which had not been included in her planning – the United States. Besides being neutral and far from where fighting was likely to take place, the United States was, after all, the country in which she was born, and where she had many connections. [...] So [Nuttall] decided to seek haven in her native land, rather than remain in England.¹³³

Federico Orozco, in Nuttall’s obituary, found her in character and interests to be a true Mexicana who, according to Orozco, never felt more attracted to a country than she did towards Mexico. She told Orozco: “I think that here I will dream my last dream.”¹³⁴ Parmenter writes about Nuttall’s multinational and multicultural affiliations: “To her British correctness, [...] she united a Mexican affability, and except in her accent in speaking Spanish, she was in everything a complete Mexican, even to her physical appearance.”¹³⁵

Nuttall’s personal reluctance to identify with specific national affiliations is mirrored by her reluctance to acknowledge social injustices or to interfere with them. An example of this is the case of Rosalie Evans, a fellow American who had emigrated to Mexico together with her husband. The couple bought a hacienda and farmed the surrounding land. After her husband’s death, Evans took control over the estate and continued to operate the farm. When Evans, an American citizen, was caught in the crossfire of the Mexican Revolution and seen as a foreign aggressor to the Mexican nationalist cause, friends of hers who were also on good terms with Nuttall entertained the possibility of approaching Nuttall as an intermediary. It was

¹³² See Parmenter, “Recovery” 1040.

¹³³ Parmenter, “Recovery” 961.

¹³⁴ Orozco, “Doña Zelia Nuttall” 115.

¹³⁵ Parmenter, “Recovery” 1435.

assumed that Nuttall, as a well-known figure in Mexico who possessed a certain amount of social standing, could ease the tensions despite being an American herself. In the end, Nuttall chose not to interfere with the issue and jeopardize her own position within Mexico. Subsequently, Evans was murdered on August 2, 1924, together with sixteen workers while defending her Puebla estate from fifty campesinos.¹³⁶ Her case became a cause célèbre in the United States and Europe, especially among critics of the Mexican Revolution.¹³⁷

Although Parmenter sees the United States as Nuttall's "native land," her affiliations and identification with her long-standing home in Dresden need to be taken into account as much as her decision to settle in Mexico. In order to escape from World War I, in January 1915 Nuttall went back to the United States – to San Francisco, California.¹³⁸ On the crossing of the steamer to the United States, Sir Harry Johnston described Nuttall as an "interesting" woman who taught him more about Mexico than anyone else had before.¹³⁹ Nuttall's decision to return to Mexico was not out of the sentiment of a "homeland" but out of pragmatism: with the entry of the United States into World War I, Nuttall found Mexico to provide a greater "promise of internal stability than it had since the Revolution began."¹⁴⁰

During the time of her absence, the International School of Ethnology and Archaeology continued operations.¹⁴¹ Also, the Mexican Revolution had not halted the activities of the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, and Nuttall's friends in Mexico who were members stayed in contact with her.¹⁴² However, with Nuttall's absence from Mexico (and the Americas), support for the International School gradually dwindled away until its closure in 1914. Due to the disruptiveness of the Mexican revolution, Nuttall "had few large-scale discoveries to report," according to Ross Parmenter. Nevertheless, Nuttall focused on the finds of Manuel Gamio and his colleagues in uncovering the pyramid of the Cuidela in Teotihuacan.¹⁴³

¹³⁶ See Neumeier, "Mexico Arrests Assassins of Rosalie Evans" 12.

¹³⁷ See Bachelor, "Review of *The Worm in the Wheat*" 770. The case of Rosalie Evans is explored by Timothy J. Henderson in his book *The Worm in the Wheat: Rosalie Evans and Agrarian Struggle in the Puebla-Tlaxcala Valley of Mexico, 1906-1917* (1998).

¹³⁸ Parmenter, "Recovery" 970.

¹³⁹ See Johnston, *Story of My Life* 431. Johnston in his account of the journey includes information on Nuttall; however, much of it is incorrect, e.g. Johnston assumes Nuttall to be of English origin and having married an American, who then bequeathed Casa Alvarado to her after his death (see *ibid.*).

¹⁴⁰ Parmenter, "Recovery" 1040.

¹⁴¹ See Nuttall, "The Aztecs and their Predecessors in the Valley of Mexico" 246.

¹⁴² See Parmenter, "Recovery" 875.

¹⁴³ See *ibid.* 1138.

Although the end of the Mexican Revolution is generally dated around 1920,¹⁴⁴ Nuttall's report "La Ceramica Descubierta en Coyoacán" (1925) offers the information that in November 1923 Gamio told her he had to postpone his archaeological explorations in Oaxaca because of revolutionary disturbances.¹⁴⁵ When things had settled down after the Mexican Revolution and the political changes, Nuttall came back and made herself a home again in Coyoacan. Although Nuttall had lived in Coyacan before the Mexican Revolution, coming back after the revolution marked a sharp end to Nuttall's copious travels. Towards the end of her career and late in her life, Nuttall refrained from traveling and devoted her last years to her research on the shadowless moment as a festival of the ancient, pre-Columbian societies of Middle and South America.

Lady Drummond-Hay: From Egypt to the the World

After Drummond-Hay's early journalistic pieces, she began specializing in two very different areas of work. On the one hand, she wrote articles and comments about the global high society, travel logs, and travel literature about her trips in the Middle East, China, Africa, and North and South America (e.g. in the journal *La Revue Belge*); on the other hand, Lady Drummond-Hay specialized in the emerging field of political journalism, economics, and particularly the political interview. Both fields of interest required extensive travels. In fact, traveling facilitated Drummond-Hay's career to a great degree beyond the bounds of traditional female roles. Traveling vastly, she interviewed the most widely known statesmen, politicians, officials, and ambassadors as well as dictators in the first half of the twentieth century: "I was Foreign Correspondent for a big London paper, and travelled all over Europe and the Near East for my concern – a thing which no woman had ever done before in the same way, and I remained the only woman in the field."¹⁴⁶

Among these dictators or totalitarian heads of state were Italo Balbo,¹⁴⁷ Benito Mussolini, Zaghul Pascha, and, most notably, Hermann Goering and Adolf Hitler. The interview with Adolf Hitler was published within Lady Drummond-Hay's regular column "Gossip of the World" in the magazine *Mentor-World Traveler* in its last issue of January 1931. Additionally, Lady Drummond-Hay conducted interviews with Hermann Goering (to

¹⁴⁴ At least its military phase, with the deaths of Emiliano Zapata in 1919 and José Carranza in 1920; while another key figure in the revolution, Francisco (Pancho) Villa, died in 1923.

¹⁴⁵ Parmenter, "Recovery" 1190-1.

¹⁴⁶ LDH, "Letter to Doris Stevens," 23 Jul 1928, DSP LXX/13.

¹⁴⁷ Published as "Italie wil geen oorlog zegt Maarschalk Balbo" in the Dutch newspaper *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* (1935).

be found in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* 1933). She also conducted interviews not only with dictators but with statesmen and important people of her time. Among them were Gustav Stresemann and Albert Einstein. However, the “political interview” conducted with heads of states and dictators was her specialty, which she often claimed herself.

From a very early stage onwards, Drummond-Hay made clear that she was interested in covering news ranging in topic and varying in geographical rootedness. From the start, Drummond-Hay was interested in more challenges and it seems that her skills were left unchallenged by the early articles.¹⁴⁸ Not long after her first journalistic pieces on Egyptian society were published in the *Daily Express* in 1924, Drummond-Hay, assisted by her partner, friend, and companion Karl-Henry von Wiegand, began to internationalize her journalistic outreach. In the subsequent years, Drummond-Hay covered diverse global events. In a letter to the foreign editor of the *Daily Express*, Drummond-Hay asserts her readiness to tackle international topics and her interest in delving into being a war correspondent. She put forward the idea “to go to Fez, and from there to the zone of fighting, but the French will not allow anyone to investigate.”¹⁴⁹ In fact, Drummond-Hay added: “I must add that I am not the slightest bit nervous, or afraid to go anywhere.”¹⁵⁰

In contrast to Zelia Nuttall, who under all circumstances tried to evade conflict situations, Drummond-Hay stepped up early in her career and engaged actively in reporting from war zones and global conflicts. As she later recalled in her diary during her internment as prisoner of war in World War II:

[Karl von Wiegand] and I had been in grave danger on a number occasions when we are on the same assignment, in India, in western China, in the Graf Zeppelin, the Syrian and Abyssinian wars and on Spanish front in the Riff war when the Spanish Dictator, General Primo de Rivera took Kay into his own car to the hospital in Tetuan when he was hurt on that occasion.¹⁵¹

Karl von Wiegand recalled Drummond-Hay’s calmness in the face of danger during the transatlantic time when the Graf Zeppelin had to endure a heavy storm not uncommon on the Atlantic during the late season of the year. Von Wiegand recalled: “On our first flight across, the first, there came a moment when I had to tell her ‘the end may come any moment now.’”¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ As Drummond-Hay explains in a letter to the editor of the *Daily Express* that she can “go on turning them out indefinitely, on practically every and any subject” (LDH, “Letter to Blumenfeld,” 06 Jul 1924, KHWP LV/Speeches).

¹⁴⁹ LDH, “Letter to Gossley Sutcliffe,” 14 May 1925, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-DailyExpress.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ LDH, “Diary” 30, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941.

¹⁵² KHW, “Letter to Dr. Lawrence Washburne M.D.,” 08 Feb 1945, KHWP, LVI/Biographical.

According to von Wiegand, Drummond-Hay replied: “Then there is nothing to worry about,” and continued writing on the typewriter.¹⁵³

It is this form of British “stiff upper lip” work ethic that enabled Drummond-Hay’s transition from a writer of human-interest stories and news scoops in 1924 to an international reporter who could handle the difficulties of war zones. Opportunities to act on this development quickly presented themselves to Drummond-Hay as she began her duties as correspondent for the *Daily Express* during the Great Syrian Revolt from 1925-26. Drummond-Hay regularly patched news and cables to the *Daily Express* from the most recent developments during the revolution, stating that “the leaders of the Syrian rebellion have sent a mission to Mecca to obtain moral and material support and to inflame all Moslems against France.”¹⁵⁴ In a reprint of one of her cables in *The Sentinel*, Drummond-Hay also claims that “Palestine is waiting for a signal to rise in sympathy with the Syrian rebellion.”¹⁵⁵ At the same time, Drummond-Hay also reported for the *Daily Express* from the atrocities of the Second Moroccan War (also known as the Rif War), accusing the “Spanish soldiery in Morocco with raiding and looting villages.”¹⁵⁶

An important step in going beyond the national level to further express her personal freedom and utilize her travel was Drummond-Hay’s acquisition of a column in the magazine *The Sphere*. Drummond-Hay had previously published with this weekly newspaper. Founded in 1900, the newspaper

was a fortnightly London newspaper which, as its full title “*An Illustrated Newspaper for the Home*” suggests, exploited the turn-of-the-century technological advances in photographic reproduction and printing. Photographs and illustrations accompany the text, the visual image being integral to many articles and to the overall layout and design of the paper. By the 1920s, *The Sphere* had achieved a high level of sophistication in its printed reproduction of photographic images, including colour and colour-tinted, although the paper still relied heavily on illustrations, often made to resemble photographs. As the title

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ “Daily Express publishes alarming report from Near East” 4.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid. 4.

¹⁵⁶ “Summary” 1. Despite Drummond-Hay’s apparent excellent work on the story, the editor of the *Daily Express* decided not to pursue the matter as intended by her. Von Wiegand reported on the issue by citing the editor: “I do not doubt Lady Drummond Hay’s capability but not slightest interest Moroccan war here” (KHW, “Letter to LDH,” 05 Mar 1925, KHW VIII/1925). And continues: “I am afraid that settles the Rif story for you so far as we are concerned. [...] I have picked this out specially believing that it would appeal, and that you would have a wonderful opportunity to break into our papers big. I am sorry. We shall have to do it more slowly, and along other lines” (ibid.). Drummond-Hay uttered her frustration at the changeability of the editor: “The D.E. [*Daily Express*, PD] have changed their minds... again” (LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 12 Jun 1925, KWH VIII/1925). According to Drummond-Hay, “they decided that any routine work should spoil what they are pleased to term my originality, and style, and don’t want me near any office. By any ‘story’ that I like to propose, and to guarantee doing well, they want me to mention, and to keep me as a ‘roving’ correspondents on special subjects” (ibid.).

“...*Newspaper for the Home*” also suggests, *The Sphere* was aimed at a general readership, bringing the news of one sphere, the world, to another sphere, the home.¹⁵⁷

Suitable for Drummond-Hay, *The Sphere* was not merely a newspaper aimed at a domestic upper-middle class audience (particularly female).¹⁵⁸ Most importantly, *The Sphere* was directed towards an internationally oriented audience, as each issue had a news section with photographs of current events and people in the news from around the world and, like early cinema, the paper delighted in bringing ethnographic pictures of exotic people and places from far off corners of the globe.¹⁵⁹ In the year 1927, her regular internationally oriented column “World Affairs” went into print. This regular one-page column in the weekly newsmagazine lasted without interruption until 1932 (with a few name changes) and was “the only one of its kind,”¹⁶⁰ run by a woman in England who discussed political events. She secured a weekly column focused on international relations on a broad variety of topics: foreign trade relations, foreign policies and international politics, national and international economics, political leaders, etc. Drummond-Hay covered political and economic topics of global interest, as opposed to many women who were restricted to national (and/or even regional) topics, and particularly gender-confined to “women’s sections” in newspapers and magazine, where, usually, “women were allowed the greatest opportunity to speak when they addressed only women rather than speaking to mixed gender [...] audiences.”¹⁶¹

Mostly for her column in the *Sphere*, but also other publications, Drummond-Hay traveled extensively to various European countries, China, India, and Japan, the Middle East, and North and South America, and took a trip around the world. Moreover, Drummond-Hay not only traveled by ship, car, or train, but was an aviatrix in her own right. Lady Drummond-Hay’s most important aerial adventures can be narrowed to the timeframe of 1928-1930, in which she traveled across the Atlantic in late 1928 and circumnavigated the globe aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* in 1929.

Furthermore, the circumnavigation of 1929 was a transnational media event, as new information about the *Graf Zeppelin* was reported in countries all over the globe. Every stop was broadcasted, interviewed, or written about. Rather colorfully, the New Zealand *Evening Post* summarized Drummond-Hay’s transnational endeavor thusly: “In one day Lady Drummond Hay breakfasted over Crete, lunched over Cyprus, had tea over Palestine,

¹⁵⁷ Finn, “Oberland” 101.

¹⁵⁸ See Finn, “Oberland” 102. As Howard Finn argues, the newspaper with pictures of high society figures at play, such material and the newspaper as a whole appealed to a middle-class readership that enjoyed reading about the lifestyle of the upper class (see *ibid.* 102).

¹⁵⁹ See *ibid.* 101.

¹⁶⁰ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 03 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9.

¹⁶¹ Bean, “Gaining Public Voice” 23.

cocktails in the neighborhood of Jerusalem, and dinner off Egypt – near Alexandria!”¹⁶² In early 1930, Drummond-Hay conveyed her vast itinerary to the British public:

I have crossed the Atlantic twice by air, travelled 71,250 miles – an average of more than 195 miles a day for every one of the 365 days of the twelve months from October, 1928, to October, 1929. I have sat in the second pilot’s seat of the colossal twelve-motored Do.X. – the “mystery” Dornier flying ship which has kept the world guessing for nearly a year, and felt the thrill of 6,000 horse-power tugging at the leash, like power-fiends tearing for freedom within their man-made turret prisons. I have visited twenty-one countries by air, interviewed celebrities from Washington to Tokio, Honolulu to Berlin, Shanghai to London – and known neither boredom, satiety nor disillusion.¹⁶³

In contrast to Drummond-Hay’s aerial adventures of these intense two years, the 1930s in Drummond-Hay’s career saw not only extensive travel all over the globe, e.g. the Near and Far East, Japan, Europe, America, etc.,¹⁶⁴ but also an increase in her journalistic work. For example, she recorded both times of peace and an increasingly instable Europe on its path to dissolution by political forces and attempts of colonial expansion, e.g. in 1935 when she interviewed Italo Balbo about his plans to extend the Italy into a “New Roman Empire” in Africa in an attempt to utilize scarcely populated lands for the expansion of Italian population.¹⁶⁵

In 1932, Drummond-Hay traveled to Russia in order to assess the recent developments in their efforts of building an air force. She commented in her article “Russia shakes her Wings” (1932), published by *Britannia and Eve*: “The era of great naval power is ending, that of air power beginning.”¹⁶⁶ She wrote that “much that is lacking in the Red Air Force in the way of the latest and fastest British and American military planes, in aero engines, in flying instruments, in personal equipment kits.”¹⁶⁷ However, she foreshadowed developments in citing an aviation authority: “‘Give Russia a few more years and it will surprise the world in the air.’”¹⁶⁸ In the same year, Drummond-Hay also managed to gain insight into the recent

¹⁶² “Women in Print” 15.

¹⁶³ LDH, “Twelve Crowded Months” 9-10.

¹⁶⁴ Despite her ambitious itinerary, the aerial adventures of Drummond-Hay continued as she acquired her pilot license in 1930 (see LDH, “I Learn to Fly” 146-7), taking another trip to South America, also in that year, and was to accompany an expedition to the North Pole in 1931 aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* (see “Eckener Will Meet Wilkins in Arctic” 5).

¹⁶⁵ Drummond-Hay writes: “Italy has a vision of re-creating an Imperial Roman Empire in North Africa. Mussolini’s genius is trying to make the desert bloom. He is watering the sands with money to develop the arid regions of Cirenaica and Tripolitania into productive colonies. Outside of Italy, very little is known of this stupendous undertaking, especially of the task in Cirenaica, which was war-ridden and practically impenetrable until a few years ago” (LDH, “A New Roman Empire” 10).

¹⁶⁶ LDH, “Russia Shakes her Wings” 16.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid. 112.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. Already one year later, Drummond-Hay recorded in an article in *The Sphere* that “Russia is in a fair way of becoming, next to America, the largest Air Power in the world” (LDH, “Russia’s Air Force” 418). Rather prophetically, Drummond-Hay added: “One may think what one wishes of the Soviet regime, but it must be admitted that the masters of Russia have vision and no illusions about eternal peace” (ibid.)

developments of the German air force by being granted exclusive access to the German aviation program by Hermann Göring himself. In an interview with Göring published in the *New York Times*, he described to her that: “‘Germany is preparing for peace by making ready for war.’”¹⁶⁹

Only one year later, Drummond-Hay again showed her prowess as correspondent from conflict situations when she reported on the Austrian Civil War in 1934 with the article “In Vienna During the Civil War: An Eye-Witness Account of the Recent Conflict between the Government and Socialist Forces” (1934). After interviewing the then chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß on the recent political developments and rather than seeing these events as disconnected from her observations in Europe, Drummond-Hay acknowledged the danger of the current political climate: “Like a pall above hangs storm over Europe and the black foreshadowing of the mechanical inhumanities of the next war.”¹⁷⁰

In 1936, Drummond-Hay visited Ethiopia during its conflict with Italy, as she later confided in a letter to one of her many acquaintances: “You know I was in Abyssinia with the Emperor Hailé Sélassié when he was fighting the Italians?”¹⁷¹ This was Drummond-Hay’s last interview with the great and powerful politicians, dictators, and political leaders around the world, as she found herself in yet another transition from intrepid aviatrix and reporter to public lecturer. For her 1937 Peat Lecture Tour through the US, Drummond-Hay traveled with her secretary Katherine White.¹⁷² Naturally, her choice of topic was “My Adventures with People – Dictators I have met” in which she elaborated on the personalities of these public figures (rather than discussing their respective politics).

After the mediocre success of the Peat List that Drummond-Hay had been warned about by her partner Karl von Wiegand (see 3.2), her ability to travel diminished beginning in the late 1930s due to a combination of health issues and a medical incident (see ch. 3.3) in which she needed “a serious operation.”¹⁷³ Despite her medical condition, at the end of 1938, Drummond-Hay undertook a trans-Pacific trip from Manila to San Francisco via Wake Island, Guam and Honolulu, publishing an account of her layover on Wake Island titled “Wings over the Pacific” in *Britannia and Eve* (1939).¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹ LDH, “German Air Gains” 1.

¹⁷⁰ LDH, “Vienna During the Civil War” 308.

¹⁷¹ LDH, “Letter to Mrs. Philips,” 15 Jul 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ See *ibid.*

¹⁷⁴ The article was simultaneously her last publication with the magazine.

Being caught up in international conflicts, her life-long travel, and her illness had slowly but progressively taken its toll. Therefore, Drummond-Hay traveled to the United States, then, following another serious operation, to Hawaii in order to take a rest in a warmer climate.¹⁷⁵ This rest was only of short duration, since in 1941 Drummond-Hay was already on the way to Shanghai, where she assumed the position of as assistant to her partner von Wiegand in his journalistic work.¹⁷⁶ Following the worsening of political tensions in the Asian-Pacific region in the late 1930s and early 1940s, Drummond-Hay explains that “the situation was looming darkly” when she and von Wiegand were transferred to Manila, arriving on December 7, 1941.¹⁷⁷ Only shortly thereafter, the Japanese army began bombarding the city, continuing until January 2, 1942, when the army entered the city.¹⁷⁸ The Asian-Pacific War began merging into the global conflict of World War II, during which Drummond-Hay became a prisoner of war after the Japanese Empire had attacked and conquered Manila, which effectively ended her traveling career (see ch. 4.4).

3.2. The Atlantic: An Ocean of Passages, Myths, News, and Networks

The Atlantic has a long and complex history as a zone of cultural contact. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Atlantic Ocean was already transforming from a barrier that separated the American continents from Africa and Europe into a bridge that united them through the myriad of people and commodities that traveled on ships in both directions.¹⁷⁹ A history of the Atlantic thus concerns the reciprocal exchange of agents, goods, and practices between the shores and hinterlands of the Old World and the New World; it involves decentering the narrative away from capital cities to places on the margins where trade and exchange actually took place.¹⁸⁰ As Karen Kuppermann suggests, Atlantic history “means a whole new cast of characters, people who may not appear in national stories, but who were the most important actors in creating a new historical reality.”¹⁸¹ The conception of an Atlantic history has been referred to as “one of the most important new historiographical developments of recent years.”¹⁸² Interpreting historic agents and events through an “Atlantic lens”¹⁸³ has

¹⁷⁵ Drummond-Hay corresponded with a friend on the issue: “Then I went to the States, thence to Hawaii as I had been ill following a very serious operation” (LDH, “Letter to Lolo Baroness Palmstierna,” 08 Aug 1945, KHWP LVII/PQR).

¹⁷⁶ LDH, “Letter to Mrs. Philipps”, 15 Jul 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/LDH-PQR.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ See Kuppermann, *Atlantic in World History* 98.

¹⁸⁰ See *ibid.* 2.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Elliot, *Common History* 19.

¹⁸³ Kuppermann, *Atlantic in World History* 1.

become a dynamic field of research. In literary studies, particularly in the last two decades, many scholars have argued for a dismantling of the traditional national canons and for a new focus on the complex and multiple cultural conditions in which texts have been produced, distributed, read and critiqued.¹⁸⁴ It is the focus of this chapter to “think Atlanticity”¹⁸⁵ in the sense of examining cross-cultural identities and transcultural as well as transnational influences on female professionalism, the production of knowledge, and identity: “people caught up in Atlantic cultural cross-currents sometimes found avenues to new identities in ways of thinking previously unknown to them.”¹⁸⁶ It is about uncovering and finding those avenues for women at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries, of new-found identifications and affiliations.

The American botanist Elizabeth Gertrude Knight Britton (1858-1934), known for her lasting contributions to bryology,¹⁸⁷ can be seen as an example of these avenues and the interconnectedness between the two shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Britton was a successful scientist and the first female member of the Torrey Botanical Club in 1879 and was elected the club’s curator in 1884 and 1885.¹⁸⁸ Between 1886 and 1888 Britton also served as editor of the *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club*.¹⁸⁹ During the latter year, Britton, together with her husband, traveled to England and visited the Royal Botanical Gardens at Kew. Since at the time of their visit in England there was no satisfactory herbarium in the United States,¹⁹⁰ during the visit Elizabeth Britton famously asked her husband: “Why could we not have something like this in New York?”¹⁹¹ While Marshall Howe in his obituary for Elizabeth Britton gave her credit for the infamous question she asked, Harry Dunkak stresses the joint effort by the couple in describing the visit to the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew in England.¹⁹² According to Dunkak, Elizabeth Britton gave her momentous description of the Royal Botanical Gardens at the meeting of the Torrey Botanical Club on October 24, 1888, where the need for a botanical garden was discussed; this played an important role in the founding of the New York Botanical Club.¹⁹³ In 1891, by the signature of then governor Hill, the New York Botanical Garden was officially legislated.¹⁹⁴ In the following years, from 1899 to her

¹⁸⁴ See Womack, “Women’s Reform Literature” 108-9.

¹⁸⁵ Kuppermann, *Atlantic in World History* 1.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. 68.

¹⁸⁷ As a branch of biology, bryology follows the study of mosses.

¹⁸⁸ See Slack, “American Women Botanists” 96.

¹⁸⁹ See ibid. 96.

¹⁹⁰ See Dunkak, *The New York Botanical Garden* 16.

¹⁹¹ Howe, “Elizabeth Gertrude Britton” 102.

¹⁹² See Dunkak, *The New York Botanical Garden* 16.

¹⁹³ See ibid. 16.

¹⁹⁴ See Howe, “Elizabeth Gertrude Britton” 102.

death in 1934, Britton was appointed curator of bryophytes at the New York Botanical Gardens and in 1912 was made Honorary Curator of Mosses.¹⁹⁵ Although she never received any pay as curator, it was an important position.¹⁹⁶ During her time with the Botanical Gardens, Britton was instrumental as a negotiator for the purchase of European collections for the New York Botanical Gardens.¹⁹⁷

As evident by its transatlantic effect on Elizabeth Britton, the Atlantic realm as a geographical and intellectual space was influential on women's professionalism, as the interconnected Atlantic Ocean connects to human activities and natural trends all over the world.¹⁹⁸ All four protagonists of this study were in contact and affiliated with different centers of power on both sides of the ocean as well as identifying the Atlantic realm as important factor in their work. Their professional ties across the ocean include transnational publications, transatlantic correspondences (e.g. as suppliers of information and intellectual exchange), travels across the Atlantic (e.g. pioneering flights, archive visits, etc.), as well as attending cross-oceanic conferences or lecture tours.

Miriam Leslie: Travels and Business Contacts

Despite traveling in the Atlantic region to Cuba and the Bahamas as well as to South America, from an early time on in her life, Miriam Leslie frequently traveled back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean. In May 1858, shortly after their marriage, E.G. Squier took Miriam Leslie across the Atlantic, "introducing her to the Old World," and together the couple embarked on a European tour.¹⁹⁹ They saw London and its attractions, after which the couple traveled further to Paris, where Leslie could freely converse with her excellent French as she was *au courant* with the latest French literature.²⁰⁰ They traveled further through Brussels and Cologne, they made a Rhine trip, they traveled to Switzerland, Lucerne, Lausanne, and Geneva.²⁰¹ They continued to Rome, the Eternal City where Leslie could exchange her French for Italian and where the year-long European tour ended on January 12, 1959, when the couple sailed back to the New World on the S.S. *Arago*.²⁰² This vast itinerary is exemplary of Leslie's far-reaching travels across the Atlantic and the related importance that this realm separating

¹⁹⁵ See Slack, "American Women Botanists" 96.

¹⁹⁶ See *ibid.*

¹⁹⁷ See *ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ See Kuppermann, *Atlantic in World History* 124.

¹⁹⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 28.

²⁰⁰ See *ibid.* 28-9.

²⁰¹ See *ibid.* 29.

²⁰² See *ibid.* 30.

the two hemispheres encompassed. According to the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Miriam Leslie was “one New Yorker whose name is well-known on both sides of the Atlantic”²⁰³ and she was continually interviewed on transatlantic matters and issues.

Until recently, research on Miriam Leslie was mostly concerned with interpreting her trips back and forth across the Atlantic as recreational in nature. Leslie’s transatlantic travels were, however, not only motivated by leisure alone. More than that, Leslie’s relationship to Europe was of greater importance than had previously been recognized. Her associations with the other side of the Atlantic, i.e. the Old World, can be separated on different levels: the personal (e.g. claimed descent from French nobility, Huguenot family, etc.), her upbringing, education and cultural as well as aesthetic influences (European influences in New Orleans, European languages, as well as European literature and culture), and lastly her business contacts (for Leslie Publishing House).

Moreover, Leslie’s translation efforts were either of European literature or plays, i.e. Dumas’s *Demimonde* (1855) or American travelogues written by Europeans, i.e. the French Arthur Morelet’s *Voyage dans l’Amérique Centrale* (1857). Already before Leslie’s stay during the Paris Exposition 1867, her trip to Europe in 1858 had a significant influence on her, as Madeleine Stern finds she “observed the originals of her Demi-Monde” while keeping up with the latest French literature and drama.²⁰⁴

Her perception and description of foreign as well as domestic American scenes is influenced by her professional training and European experiences. In her travelogue *California: A Pleasure Trip From Gotham to the Golden Gate* (1877), Leslie expressly remarks on going beyond the perceptions of the average traveler: “only a select few of the sons of Adam have personally compared the crisp waves of the Atlantic with the grander and more rhythmic swell of the Pacific.”²⁰⁵ This travel account of her transcontinental journey contains many features that Leslie draws from various European countries and images, sights, mythology, history, etc., that seemingly were influenced by her upbringing in multicultural New Orleans as well as her education. Having immersed herself in European history by having visited the “grandiose ruins of Rome Pagan and Rome Papal,”²⁰⁶ Leslie described the American landscape in Cheyenne via well-established pictorial traditions of Europe, for example describing a bar “with frescoed views of Vesuvius and the Bay of Naples.”²⁰⁷

²⁰³ “They Cannot Agree” 16.

²⁰⁴ Stern, *Purple Passage* 29.

²⁰⁵ LES, *California* 34.

²⁰⁶ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 52.

²⁰⁷ LES, *California* 50.

Aside from the influence of Paris on Leslie, in her article “Summer Saunterings in Spanish San Sebastian” (1888) recalling her trip to Spain, she describes having a “warm corner of my heart for Spain and the Spanish.”²⁰⁸ Clearly, the descriptions of architecture show how much this influenced her perceptions of beauty that had to be present in order to make for great surroundings. Gifra finds in his analysis that trips like these to Spain “did not represent to the American traveler an opportunity to broaden one’s horizons, but rather became a way to prove a solid training in foreign culture, a training one previously acquired only through schooling at home.”²⁰⁹ More than that, relating to travel writing, Gifra sees that the writing of travelogues “was the rhetorical exercise that concluded that process and in turn created new markers for future travelers.”²¹⁰ The romanticized Spanish landscapes, the culture and architecture met Leslie’s visual expectations trained by the aesthetic traditions of her upbringing. This is particularly enlightening as Leslie’s descriptions of Spain (England, France etc.) are not only mostly informed by but also measured against the romanticized idealism she came to expect from her educational background.²¹¹ Consequently, her descriptions of “desolate places” in *California* and other places like Cuba and Lima are influenced by the absence of what she considered to be beautiful about European culture.

By the 1880s, Leslie began spending her summer holidays in Europe every year, visiting London, Paris, Madrid, and the Continental watering places and being feted, admired, interviewed; inevitably, her ‘hobnobbing’ with lords and ladies leaked over to the other side of the Atlantic.²¹² At times, even Leslie’s private life was part of the conversation on transatlantic shores, as Ella Wheeler Wilcox remembered in 1918: “She and the Marquis de Leuville were very much before the public eye in the press, both in America and England.”²¹³ Here, Wilcox referred to the public scandal between the Marquis de Leuville and Prince Eschoff display. In 1891, while Leslie stayed in London, she enjoyed the company of Prince Eschoff, which angered the Marquis de Leuville, who admired Leslie greatly. One day, near Hyde Park corner, the two men collided as de Leuville “smacked Eschoff on the cheek with his glove,” to which the Prince replied by “smiting the French Marquis across the forehead

²⁰⁸ LES, “Summer Saunterings” 642.

²⁰⁹ Gifra, “Nineteenth-Century American Travel Writings” 65. During her trip, Leslie attended a bullfight and was appalled by the spectacle, detailing every facet and “listen[ing] to that muttering demand for blood” by the audience as “our poor bull, bleeding from a hundred wounds” (LES, “Summer Saunterings” 653) slowly died in front of her eyes. In her own words, Leslie “sat the thing through with averted face” (ibid.). This opportunity did not present Leslie with an insight to Spanish culture but with a situation to assert her own perspective on the traditional bullfight from her American point of view.

²¹⁰ Gifra, “Nineteenth-Century American Travel Writings” 65.

²¹¹ See in connection also Leslie’s female imperial gaze and the picturesque aesthetic that was influenced by her European educational background (ch. 5.1).

²¹² See Stern, *Purple Passage* 130.

²¹³ Wilcox, *The Worlds and I* 133.

with Mrs. Leslie's celebrated mother-of-pearl parasol, breaking it in half."²¹⁴ In the article by the *Chicago Tribune*, it is stated that "Mrs. Leslie was angry over the scandal that the encounter between her suitors gave rise to, and never received nor spoke to one or the other again."²¹⁵ Leslie did not appreciate being at the center of a transatlantic public news scandal, as it endangered her public reputation (see ch. 4.2.).

Whether it was in the salons of wealthy aristocrats (e.g. in London, Paris, Florence, etc.) or with other publishing houses, Leslie socialized with the powerful and wealthy from the New as well as the Old Worlds, for example during her receptions.²¹⁶ As Leslie in her capacity as successful journalist and even more as editor of several weekly newspapers and, following 1880, an entire publishing house of the size of the Leslie Publishing House, her contacts and travels also included a professional element in the sense of stimuli and input for her journalistic work or with regard to professional business contacts. Furthermore, in her position as editor-in-chief of the Leslie Publishing House, during her active career, Leslie must have been concerned with keeping up business contacts between the United States and Europe.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and the Mythical Atlantic

For Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, the Atlantic as a space of professional engagement in science is of importance in two ways. First, as a British citizen crossing the Atlantic,²¹⁷ working in Central America and settling in the United States had specific ramifications for her transnational identity. Second, her ideas of Mayan history and pre-Columbian archaeology and history were highly influenced by her hyper-diffusionist interpretation of transcultural diffusion and the mythical continent of Atlantis being the origin of human culture that spread to Egypt and America.

It was John Lloyd Stephens, in his travel account *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1841), who first acknowledged the idea of highly developed societies before the Spanish Conquest, by highlighting the "works of art, proving, like newly-discovered historical records, that the people who once occupied the Continent of America

²¹⁴ "Is Mrs. Leslie No More" 1.

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ As an example, on October 26, 1888, Leslie dined with Henry F. Gillig, the then former manager of the American Exchange in Europe (see "General Metropolitan News" 3).

²¹⁷ Also, Le Plongeon's family ties across the Atlantic caused her to cross the ocean several times, e.g. in 1891 or 1897 when Le Plongeon and her husband traveled to the Old World to meet her family in London (see Desmond, "Augustus Le Plongeon" 188-90).

were not savages.”²¹⁸ Le Plongeon’s views, too, had manifested the idea of the Mayas as a “highly-civilized ancient” group of people. Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon theorized about this ancient civilization from their time visiting the ruins in Uxmal, Tikal, etc. until the end of their lives. Alice Le Plongeon’s reasoning rested mostly on drawing conclusions from other similar phenomena in history. This reasoning positioned Le Plongeon near cultural diffusion, although the notion was only later conceptualized by Leo Frobenius in his book *Der westafrikanische Kulturkreis* (1897/98). Both Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon believed in cultural contact between the Old and the New World, on the assumption that Mayan culture and components of its civilization had diffused to Egypt. Augustus Le Plongeon had already formulated these ideas in *Vestiges of the Mayas* (1881) based on fundamental commonalities: similar forms of burial rituals,²¹⁹ ostensible similarities in pictographic writing,²²⁰ or arbitrary similarities in the shape and/or architecture of pyramids in Egypt and Mesoamerica.²²¹

Influenced not only by Augustus Le Plongeon’s paper *Vestiges of the Mayas* but also his later publication *Queen Moo and the Egyptian Sphinx* (1900), Alice Le Plongeon assumed the Mayan civilization to be the focal starting point of cultural migration across the Atlantic Ocean. She derived this idea from Augustus Le Plongeon’s central thought that, across the Atlantic, the “Maya colonists transported their ancient religious rites and ceremonies, not only to the banks of the Nile, but to those of the Euphrates, and the shores of the Indian Ocean, not less than 11,500 years ago.”²²² She believed it to be true that not only had there been a situation of cultural contact several thousand years ago, but, in a reverse movement, Le Plongeon assumed that the direction of the Atlantic crossing was directed from the Americas to Europe, Africa and Asia, thereby re-centering the “mythical” origin of the human civilization away from a Euro-centrist position to the Americas.

²¹⁸ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* I 102.

²¹⁹ “These statues [at Chichén Itzá] also hold an urn between their hands. This fact again recalls to the mind the Egyptian custom of placing an urn in the coffins with the mummies, to indicate that the spirit of the deceased had been judged and found righteous” (Le Plongeon, *Vestiges* 20).

²²⁰ The Mayas “also worshipped the sun and fire, which they represented by the same hieroglyph used by the Egyptians for the sun” (ibid. 22).

²²¹ On a global scale, Augustus believed the following: “If we start from the American continent and travel towards the setting sun we may be able to trace the route followed by the mound builders to the plains of Asia and the valley of the Nile. The mounds scattered through the valley of the Mississippi seem to be the rude specimens of that kind of architecture. Then come the more highly finished teocalis [t., Nahuatl for ‘God-House,’ is a Mesoamerican pyramid surmounted by a temple] of Yucatan and Mexico and Peru; the pyramidal mounds of *Maui*, one of the Sandwich Islands; those existing in the Fejee and other islands of the Pacific; which, in China, we find converted into the high, porcelain towers; and these again converted into the more imposing temples of Cochin-China, Hindostan, Ceylon – so grand, so stupendous in their wealth of ornamentation that those of Chichen-Itza, Uxmal, Palenque, admirable as they are, well nigh dwindle into insignificance, as far as labor and imagination are concerned, when compared with them” (ibid. 27).

²²² Le Plongeon, *Sacred Mysteries* 22.

This is a belief Alice Le Plongeon claimed on multiple occasions and defended in public speeches, e.g. in her lecture on Yucatan on November 24, 1888, before the Cooper Union: “point[ing] out many startling similarities between their [Maya’s] gods and forms of worship and those of the Egyptians.”²²³ In another lecture on December 8, 1893, at the meeting of the National Geographic Society, Le Plongeon “connect[ed] the two continents of America and Europe, not only offering the alphabet as an evidence, but also the similarity of the measurement used in the construction of buildings and the exact counterparts of the carvings in stone, which were abundant in the ruins.”²²⁴

Le Plongeon gave a presentation before the Albany Institute on December 22, 1896, titled “The Monuments of Mayach and Their Historical Teachings” (1896), which included many, if not most, of the findings Augustus Le Plongeon had described in his publication *Queen Moo and The Egyptian Sphinx*. As Desmond explains, Le Plongeon had “hoped that her popularity as a lecturer might convince the educated members of the institute of their [Augustus’ and hers] conclusions.”²²⁵ Despite her in-depth knowledge about American archaeology in Yucatan for which she received praise by fellow researchers at the time,²²⁶ her views on cultural diffusion were influential in constructing historical relationships based upon common similarities and resemblances: in her lecture, Le Plongeon claimed that a demi-circular object on the west side of the so-called ‘Governor’s House’ at Uxmal²²⁷ resembled a trunk similar to that of an elephant, thus symbolizing a mastodon.²²⁸ From that reasoning, Le Plongeon concluded that since the mastodon became extinct on the American continent ten thousand years ago and the elephant-headed Ganesha was worshipped by Indians, then the Maya colonized other parts of the world, Asia in this instance, leaving traces in form of these examples:

Is any one in a position to positively affirm that the elephant-worship prevalent in India did not originate in America? Equally unsafe would it be at present to assert that such was the case, but there is much evidence tending to show that very long ago Maya colonists went forth to various parts of the globe, leaving in each place a deep impress of their ideas and

²²³ “Lecture on Yucatan” 6.

²²⁴ “Alice Le Plongeon’s Scientific Lecture” 4.

²²⁵ Desmond, *Yucatán* 299.

²²⁶ Lawrence Desmond recalls that Le Plongeon “gave a lecture on Maya Archaeology at the Natural History Museum [in New York] in 1894 to Mrs. Jesup, her coterie, Mr. Armour, Prof. [Frederick Ward] Putnam – Putnam, she says, ‘rose and stated that my lecture was the best exposition of the subject he had ever listened to’” (Desmond, “Letter to Ekholm,” 06 Jan 1981, LGD III/1981A).

²²⁷ Today commonly known as the Governor’s Palace.

²²⁸ She explains: “An instance of this is seen in that form of decoration that is repeated again and again, a large visage which is a conventional representation of the face of the mastodon, extinct on the American continent ten thousand years ago, according to learned geologists” (ADLP, *Monuments of Mayach* 1-3). She repeats this assertion in her unpublished opus magnum “Yucatan: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities” (1884): “The exterior walls were plain except on the north where, above the cornice, were great faces, a conventional representation of the mastodon, noticeable on most of the edifices” (ADLP, “Yucatan” 225, ADPP VI/17-19).

practices. It is known that the Brahmins acquired some of their religious doctrines from civilized strangers who, in remote times, settled in India.²²⁹

Le Plongeon's ideas about cultural encounters beyond the Atlantic were also instrumental in her fictional account in her two most widely known publications *Queen Moo's Talisman: The Fall of the Maya Empire* (1902) and "A Dream of Atlantis" (1910-11). Fictional in character yet derived from Le Plongeon's scientific engagements with the ancient pre-Columbian culture of the Maya, both publications depict a changed idea about the role and function of the Atlantic zone in the distribution of cross-cultural ideas, customs, etc.

Despite some outlandish claims, neither Le Plongeon nor her husband introduced the idea of pre-Columbian transatlantic contact. Conceptions of different – sometimes even colorful – ways the Mayan civilization came into existence, even after the turn of the century, were not as uncommon at the time as it may appear. Aside from Channing Arnold and Frederick Frost, who in their book *The American Egypt* (1908) put forward the idea that "America's first architects were Buddhist immigrants from Java and Indo-China,"²³⁰ James Churchward fostered the idea of "Lemuria" as the mythical origin of the Atlantis.²³¹ As Nigel Leask argues, rather "than attributing the monuments of the New World to the ancestors of modern Native Americans, antiquarians had spawned fantastical diffusionist theories which identified their builders as immigrants from the Old World, Phoenicians, Jews or Romans."²³² However, Allen T. Rice in his paper "Ruined Cities of Central America" (1880) had already cautioned the scientific community that "theories of the origin of the American races from an Israelitish stock, or from Kymric or a Gaelic, may be safely dismissed as the fruits of misguided enthusiasm and perverted ingenuity."²³³ Despite dismissing the misguided enthusiasm, Rice was open to the idea that America possessed a richer history than previously thought.²³⁴

²²⁹ ADLP, "Monuments of Mayach" 4, ADPP VII/11.

²³⁰ Arnold/Frost, *American Egypt* viii.

²³¹ Churchward developed his ideas about the lost continent of Mu and Lemuria in works such as *The Lost Continent of Mu: Motherland of Man* (1926) or *The Children of Mu* (1931). Because Churchward utilized parts of Le Plongeon's work, e.g. the idea of M'oo, only slightly altering spelling to Mu, he is sometimes perceived as Le Plongeon's intellectual successor: "The legacy of M'oo scholarship following the Plongeon's death fell to the even more speculative scholar James Churchward, to whom Alice had bequeathed Augustus' papers in 1911" (Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 151).

²³² Leask, "A Yankee in Yucatan" 131.

²³³ Rice, "Ruined Cities" 96.

²³⁴ In his paper Rice remarked about archaeological research: "But, just as geology shows that this Western Continent is really the 'Old World,' so archaeological research will perhaps show that man and human civilization are as ancient here as in Europe. However that may be, these venerable monuments appeal with special force to Americans of the present day, not only on account of their value as purely scientific data, but also because they supply the links which connect us with the past" (ibid. 108).

With her second major literary publication “A Dream of Atlantis,” however, Le Plongeon, left the path she had walked together with her husband Augustus, who had died only a few months prior to the publication. Written in similar literary style as *Queen Mío’s Talisman*, Le Plongeon stated in the introduction that Atlantis had once been a thriving continent and credited Augustus Le Plongeon with providing her with linguistic and archaeological support for that conclusion.²³⁵ “In this work the author accepts the story of Atlantis as bequeathed by Plato, and also the corroborative evidence offered by the discoveries of Le Plongeon.”²³⁶

As suggested by Desmond in *Yucatán* (2009), Le Plongeon went far beyond the conclusions Augustus Le Plongeon had drawn in *Queen Mío and the Egyptian Sphinx*.²³⁷ She assumed a tripartite succession of how Mayans were involved in a pre-Columbian transatlantic contact with Europe and Africa and reached the conclusion of a hyper-diffusionist theory centering on the Mayas. In her view, the Mayas, in a first step, developed their civilization on the American continent. Assuming that the Mayas had “gone forth from the West [Yucatán] to people Atlantis,”²³⁸ Le Plongeon identified the establishment of the Atlantean civilization as a second step. She then continued to explain that “sometime, before the destruction of Atlantis, the Maya sailed to Egypt where they founded Egyptian civilization.”²³⁹ Despite this tripartite idea, for Le Plongeon, “the Maya were still the source of world civilization, albeit colonizing from Atlantis,”²⁴⁰ as she reiterated in her Albany lecture:

[A] few thousand years ago civilized people lived in the tropical parts of America, and that from among them, colonists went out in various directions, introducing their language, traditions, customs and religion, traces of the same being now found in many parts of the world.²⁴¹

Nigel Leask, in this context, makes an important statement when he argues that John Lloyd Stephens’s “seminal importance for this scholarly tradition doubtless lies in his establishment

²³⁵ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 323.

²³⁶ ADLP, “A Dream of Atlantis” 15.

²³⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 323.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ ADLP, “The Monuments of Mayach” 28, ADPP VII/11. Le Plongeon repeatedly functionalized historical facts and myths in order to support her views, e.g. in one of her typescripts she writes: “The old Britain was of Atlantean stock – Atlantean civilization was old when Egypt was young, and had passed away long before the beginning of Rome. It preceeded [sic] Greek civilization by thousands of years. Sais, birthplace of king Amasis – 17,000 B.C., was founded by the goddess Neithe, Athene of the Hellenes. The Hellenes more than 29 centuries ago were but the remnant of a great people who perished at the same time that Atlantis disappeared. Rhea was mother of Poseidon” (ADLP, “Typescript Color Notes,” ADPP VI/15.)

of what might be termed an ‘Americanist’ ideology in interpreting Maya high culture.”²⁴² His claims include the argument that Stephens and his intellectual heirs in the USA sought to promote – whether openly or subliminally – the world-historical significance of pan-American culture and history over and against an older Eurocentric perspective.²⁴³ Leask theorizes that in the late phase of the nineteenth century the hegemonic role of the USA in affirming this significance as a spokesman for the American hemisphere was at stake (see ch. 4.2).²⁴⁴

In the tradition of Ralph Waldo Emerson’s subsequently published speech, “The American Scholar” (1837), in which he encouraged his fellow citizens to emancipate themselves from the intellectual grip of Europe and develop their own indigenous intellectual tradition, Stephens represented the conjunction of the scientific discovery of American antiquities and the larger discursive field of national identity and international relations.²⁴⁵ Part of this was the conception of a Western civilization, which in turn was the history of the north Atlantic rather than the south Atlantic, of Anglo-America rather than Latin-America, and of the connections between America and Europe rather than those between the Americas and Africa.²⁴⁶ Le Plongeon’s work, however, not only questioned the Euro-centric legitimization of the transatlantic ties, since after all, the Atlantic was a European invention, as a product of successive waves of navigation, exploration, settlement, administration, and imagination.²⁴⁷ She also questioned the notion of an American descent of ‘Israelitish stock,’²⁴⁸ and gathered “evidence for Brasseur de Bourbourg’s thesis, proving the theory of Bering Strait migration to the Americas – but in *reverse*.”²⁴⁹

As at this point, the search for human antiquities on both the local and the international scale would be a contributing factor to the project of the historiographic self-invention of modern nation-states.²⁵⁰ Le Plongeon shifted the ideological axis of interpretation away from a Eurocentric perspective on the colonization of the Americas because, according to James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, in the way as “the roots of an Atlantic community are often (Anglo-centrally) traced to the Grand Alliance of the Second World War, a less glorious notion of such a community had already emerged in pseudoscientific notions of ‘Anglo-

²⁴² Leask, “A Yankee in Yucatan” 130.

²⁴³ See *ibid.*

²⁴⁴ See *ibid.*

²⁴⁵ See Mackenthun, “Conquest of Antiquity” 101.

²⁴⁶ See Armitage, “Three Concepts” 14.

²⁴⁷ See *ibid.* 12.

²⁴⁸ Rice, “Ruined Cities” 96.

²⁴⁹ Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 128.

²⁵⁰ See Mackenthun, “Conquest of Antiquity” 102.

Saxonism’ in the late nineteenth century.”²⁵¹ Alice Le Plongeon (and her husband’s) theorizations of a Mayan colonization of the Americas and across the ocean to spawn the civilizations in Egypt, Greece and even Indochina²⁵² counteracted the notion of this form of Anglo-Saxonism that identified with a vision of racial confraternity, i.e. the lines of imagined ‘blood ties’ that ran from East to West across the North Atlantic, uniting European Protestants and their American descendants against ‘Southerners,’ Africans, and Jews,²⁵³ which was prevalent in discourses inside academic circles as well as the broad public understanding that the colonization of the Americas was spawned by ancestors of Europe.

Zelia Nuttall: Exploring Archives along Imperial Lines

In addition to her childhood spent in Europe (Germany, Switzerland, Italy, England, etc.), similar to Miriam Leslie and Alice Le Plongeon, the Atlantic also played a vital role in Nuttall’s professional career. Nuttall often made clear that coincidence guided her discoveries, for in *New Light on Drake*, Nuttall explains in her introduction: “The present volume is the outcome of a long series of extraordinary opportunities and remarkably fortunate coincidences, which recurred with such persistency that some of my friends are apt to refer to them as ‘positively uncanny.’”²⁵⁴ Although Nuttall stresses that it was chance that helped her in making these discoveries,²⁵⁵ the realm of the Atlantic zone, laden with history, primed her discoveries in so far as she was also able to follow the lines of intricate historical annotations, quotations, connections and details, etc., that she had acquired through her acquaintance with many pre-Columbian documents.

With the emergence of the professionalization and institutionalization of archaeology and anthropology as a discipline both in the Americas and Europe, the networks in the Old

²⁵¹ Delbourgo/Dew, “Introduction” 14.

²⁵² Le Plongeon linked the Mayan colonization with other civilizations of the Americas, e.g. in her unpublished manuscript *Yucatán*: “Possibly the inhabitants of Aké kept a chronological series of statues of their kings and priests, as the Egyptians did in their temple of Amun at Thebes, according to Herodotus; and, later, the Incas in their Temple of the Sun at Cuzco, according to Garcilasso de la Vega in his ‘Comentarios Reales’” (ADLP, “Yucatán” 43, ADPP VI/17-19). Her connections beyond the civilizations of Egypt even include the Khmer Empire ruins of Angkor Wat: “The inner side of the round shields seen in the fresco paintings at Chichen Itza are exactly the same as those found among the bas-reliefs at Angkor Wat in Indo-China. At Bakheng – Indo-China we see the stair entrances guarded by animals similar to the Japanese Cici (guardian of the temple) called lion, but spotted like a leopard. At Angkor there is a 9 headed giant, with straps crossed over the breast and a belt around the waist as Coh as in the mural paintings at Chichen. The Cambodgians, like the Mayas look upon the antiquities with awe and are unwilling to point them out to strangers. Serpents form balustrads as in Yucatan. Elephants in the malls, as in Yucatan the mastodon Caryatids like those at Chichen. Bas-relief walls at Chichen” (ADLP, Undated Note #2, ADPP VI/16).

²⁵³ Delbourgo/Dew, “Introduction” 14.

²⁵⁴ ZN, *New Light* xiii.

²⁵⁵ For example in ZN, *Fundamental Principles* 4-5.

and New World also developed, meaning researchers and scientists needed to regularly cross the ocean in order to be successful in their work. This transatlantic contact between the centers of scientific work naturally entailed the attendance of congresses on both sides of the ocean as well as conducting research; essentially, going back and forth between the Old and the New World. This Atlantic zone also became the stage not only for Zelia Nuttall's vast correspondence network, e.g. with fellow researchers like Max Uhle in Germany, but also for the confrontation between Nuttall and the renowned German Americanist Eduard Seler in what Ross Parmenter labeled the "Feather War,"²⁵⁶ an academic dispute in which both researchers argued as to whether an ancient pre-Columbian feather-work artefact was a standard or a head-piece (see ch. 4.2). Also, for Nuttall these developments meant that she was capable of utilizing her varied language skills not only for accessing information, i.e. reading pre-Columbian codices, accounts of Spanish Friars and chroniclers, but also to publish in English, French, Spanish, and German-language magazines and journals on both sides of the Atlantic (see ch. 5.2.).

When Nuttall wrote about the purple sea snail for the production of purple skirts in the regions of Tehuantepec, she concluded, with many references to connections between the Old World and New World containing notions of diffusionism:

it can scarcely be ignored that, in the Old and the New World alike, are found, in the same close association the purple industry and skill in weaving, the use of pearls and of conch-shell trumpets, the mining, working and trafficking in copper, silver, and gold, the tetrarchical form of government, the conception of 'Four Elements', the cyclical form of calendar. Those scholars who assert that all of the foregoing must have been developed independently will ever be confronted by the persistent and unassailable fact that, throughout America, the aborigines unanimously disclaim all share in their production and assign their introduction to strangers of superior culture from distant and unknown parts.²⁵⁷

As she had ordered a skirt dyed in the particular fashion with purpura, Nuttall was sure she had witnessed "an extinct survival of an ancient, primitive method of dyeing similar to that practised by the Phoenicians not only at Sidon and Tyre, but in the islands of Cythera, Thera, and Crete, which were also 'main seats of the purple trade.'"²⁵⁸ The Phoenicians were to play a larger role in Nuttall's book *Fundamental Principles* (1901); she traced the alleged origins of the swastika symbol and its subsequent dispersion all over the globe as a successful symbol for the ancient people of the Old World as well as the New World. It was a book that would later influence D.H. Lawrence in his reasoning on animism – a religion that he declared to be 'the only live one' – and that would manifest in his book *The Plumed Serpent* (1926), having

²⁵⁶ Parmenter, "Recovery" 203.

²⁵⁷ ZN, "Curious Survival" 382-3.

²⁵⁸ Ibid. 371.

been a regular guest of Nuttall and fictionalizing her as a character in the book.²⁵⁹ Although not as pronounced as Le Plongeon's views on hyperdiffusionist expansion of the Mayan culture across the Atlantic via the mythical continent Atlantis several thousand years ago, Nuttall's diffusionism was based on similar cultural peculiarities that prompted her to assume correlations between Old and New World civilizations.

The Atlantic presented an important realm for Nuttall as it connected as well as separated two worlds sharing a history that can be understood as interlocking parts of a larger history of knowledge, communication, and empire in the Atlantic world – a history that transcends any single national framework and is defined as much by unpredictable crossings as mercantile containment.²⁶⁰ In order to acquire the materials necessary for her research, Nuttall followed the lines across the ocean, since many sources had transgressed the Atlantic throughout history. Famously, leader of the Plymouth Colony William Bradford's account *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1630-1651) is one of the earliest documents of American history that traversed the Atlantic. After Bradford's death, the book fell into the hands of British troops during the Revolutionary War and subsequently disappeared for a century before it was discovered on the other side of the Atlantic in the Bishop of London's library at Fulham Palace and published in 1856.²⁶¹

At a time when scientific diffusion spread Western, i.e. European and North American, science into the world, Nuttall's explorations of archives, libraries and collections embodied

²⁵⁹ See Schneider, "The Debt to Tylor, Frobenius, and Nuttall" 161. In the 1920s, D.H. Lawrence traveled through New Mexico and Mexico, and Nuttall offered Lawrence accommodation in her house Casa Alvarado during his travels. Lawrence writes: "Mrs. Nuttall [...] offers us a house of hers in Coyoacan, a suburb here. I'd rather be farther from town" (Lawrence, "Letter to Bessie Freeman" 421). Lawrence, however, found it to be too urban and instead moved into a hotel in Chapala (see Clark, "Introduction" x). Despite having declined the offer to stay at Nuttall's house, Lawrence did meet with Nuttall for tea during his Mexican excursions, as a somewhat "regular visitor" to Casa Alvarado (see Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 66). While in Central America, Lawrence familiarized himself with the history and religion of the country. In the novel, Lawrence presents Mexico as a "dark place riddled with fear and evil, paganism, the relentless beating of sacrificial drums, speeding heartbeats, and phallicism" (see *ibid.*). During his visits, Lawrence read and was influenced by Nuttall's publication *Fundamental Principles* (see Rintoul, *Dictionary* 712; Clark, "Introduction" xxxii; and Parmenter, "Recovery" 1267). The result of Lawrence's travels, experiences and interactions manifested in his novel *The Plumed Serpent* (1926). Introduced as "widow of an English ambassador of thirty years ago" (Lawrence, *Plumed Serpent* 29), Lawrence describes the fictionalization of Nuttall as follows: "Mrs. Norris was an elderly woman, rather like a Conquistador herself in her black silk dress and her little black shoulder shawl of fine cashmere, with a short silk fringe, and her ornaments of black enamel. Her face had gone slightly grey, her nose was sharp and dusky, and her voice hammered almost like metal, a slow, distinct, peculiar hard music of its own. She was an archaeologist, and she had studied the Aztec remains so long that now some of the black-grey look of the lava rock, and some of the experience of the Aztec idols, with sharp nose and slightly prominent eyes and an expression of tomb-like mockery, had passed into her face. A lonely daughter of culture, with a strong mind and a dense will, she had browsed all her life on the hard stones of archaeological remains, and at the same time she had retained a strong sense of humanity, and a slightly fantastic humorous vision of her fellow men" (Lawrence, *Plumed Serpent* 32-3).

²⁶⁰ See Delbourgo/Dew, "Introduction" 20.

²⁶¹ Gaskill, *Between Two Worlds* 384.

a transverse process.²⁶² As Robert Williams in his edition of the Codex Nuttall highlights, the documentation of New World native books and their arrival in Europe remains controversial, as does connectively the interpretation of those that may survive in museum and library collections.²⁶³ In Iris Young's conceptualization of the "five faces of oppression," i.e. exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence, each of these categories can be operationalized and applied not only through the assessment of observable behavior, relationships, but also through distributions, texts, and other cultural artifacts.²⁶⁴ Ancient pre-Columbian American codices can be interpreted as a form of cultural artifacts that were subject to exploitation, namely the exploitation of the pre-Columbian American past stored within these artifacts. The appropriation of cultural artifacts by the European colonizers was part of the imperialist strategy to exploit and marginalize the native population of the Americas and through violence exert cultural imperialism, similarly expressed by Edward Said, who lamented the ransacking of Egyptian monuments in order to satisfy the European avidity treasures.²⁶⁵ In his book *World Art* (2013), Ben Burt acknowledges that (exotic) artifacts "became commodities to be bought and sold on the lucrative international art market through which wealthy countries stocked their public and private collections."²⁶⁶

In order to gather materials, codices, texts and acquire information, Nuttall knowingly followed the imperial paper trails of transatlantic lines of exploitation, i.e. a form of colonial looting of pre-Columbian texts by European powers. This meant traveling against the "well-worn imperial route."²⁶⁷ In assuming that these processes took place in the time after the

²⁶² Although in recent years, the study of scientific flows has questioned the monolithic narrative of science diffusion, e.g. in James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dews' *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World* (2008). They find "the straight lines of communication that scholars of scientific 'diffusion' once traced from center out to periphery, through which European science was seen as the engine of 'modernization' and 'development' for the entire world, are now being replaced by an intricate latticework of intersecting itineraries and competing agencies (Delbourgo/Dew, "Introduction" 10).

²⁶³ See Williams, *Zouche-Nuttall* 1.

²⁶⁴ See Young, "Five Faces" 29.

²⁶⁵ Having distanced herself from "the usual surplus of idlers who travel for the mere love of travel, or the satisfaction of purposeless curiosity" (Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* 14) at the beginning of Amelia Edwards' famous travel account *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1888), towards the end of her recollections of Egypt, she returns to these tourists as she explains to her readers "that the popular compulsion of English visitors to commodify what they see is demolishing the Egyptian landscape" (see Marx, "Female Imperial Gaze" 58), concurring with Edward Said, who asserted that Egypt "was mainly available as a place to be ransacked for treasures and imposing ruins, a great many of which found their way into the major European museums" (see Said, *Reflections on Exile* 156). Concordantly, as Edwards had traveled up the Nile she had seen "with her own eyes the extent and speed with which ancient sites were being looted, destroyed or irrevocably damaged" (Rees, "Amelia Edwards's Nile Journey" 144).

²⁶⁶ Burt, *World Art* 181.

²⁶⁷ Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires" 6. Like Calderon de la Barca, who had followed her husband, a Spanish ambassador, from Europe to Mexico, where she could refashion herself as more European and aristocratic (see *ibid.*).

colonization by European powers (particularly by Spain), Nuttall deliberately traveled to Europe in order to find the texts belonging to the Americas from the time of the Conquest.²⁶⁸ Key examples of Nuttall's transoceanic tracing of imperial looting were her discoveries and introduction to the scientific community of the Codex Magliabechiano in 1890²⁶⁹ and the Codex Nuttall in 1902.²⁷⁰

Going against the grain of these imperial lines, Nuttall in 1890 had initially studied Berndadino de Sahagún's Codex Florentino in the Biblioteca Laurenziana.²⁷¹ During her stay in Florence, Nuttall also visited the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, where she made a new discovery:

I had been frequenting this, the largest library of Italy, in search of Americana, when, upon inquiring for old Spanish Manuscripts, Baron Podesta, the distinguished custodian of the manuscript department, brought me a manuscript booklet which he had noticed whilst rearranging the vast collection of Oriental Manuscripts under his care.²⁷²

While searching for these "Americanas," a term ascribed by Ross Parmenter to pre-Columbian codices, Nuttall learned of the existence of this ancient Mexican codex that had once formed part of the library of the Monastery of San Marco in Florence and was later sent from Florence to Rome to be examined by Church authorities.²⁷³ Subsequently, the manuscript was sent to England, where it came into the possession of Robert Curzon, the 14th Baron Zouche. After his death, his son, the 15th Baron Zouche, gave permission for the publication. Then, aided by Charles P. Bowditch, a benefactor of the Peabody Museum, Nuttall had the original manuscript copied by a skilled artist and published in full color in 1902 by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.²⁷⁴

When Nuttall began her research on *New Light on Drake* at the National Archives in Mexico in 1908, the compilation, translation and organization of the historical sources caused Nuttall to embark on another transnational journey in order to trace materials that crossed the Atlantic. Her travels were interrupted by the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution. After

²⁶⁸ These were mostly documents in Spanish that Nuttall translated and published because she deemed these "important and valuable publications" of documents "practically unobtainable and inaccessible to students" (ZN, *Official Reports* 45). Documents like these ranged from "Certain MS. Relating to the History of Mexico and the Missing Text of the Magliabecchi MS. in the National Library of Madrid" (1912), or "An Historical Document Relating to the Plague in Spain in 1600-1661" (1913), to Spanish documents of seafarers relating to Sir Francis Drake in *New Light on Drake* (1914), or Nuttall's translation of "Official Reports on the Towns of Tequizistlan, Tepechpan, Acolman, and San Juan Teotihuacan sent by Francisco de Castaneda to the Council of the Indies in 1580" (1926).

²⁶⁹ Introduced to the public in 1890 and officially published in 1903.

²⁷⁰ Chiñas, "Zelia Maria Magdalena Nuttall" 269.

²⁷¹ Boone, *Codex Magliabechiano* 11.

²⁷² ZN, *Book of Life* iii.

²⁷³ See Miller, "Introduction to the Dover Edition" vii.

²⁷⁴ See *ibid.*

Mexico, Nuttall traveled to the United States to visit the archives of the Hispanic Society in New York. Then, she traveled across the Atlantic to the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London in order to track down the original documents by Francis Drake and Nuño da Silva on their circumnavigation. Her vast itinerary of archives and libraries include, for example, visiting the archives of the Biblioteca Nacional and the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid before heading towards Seville, then the Vatican Archives in Rome, the Medicean Archives in Florence, and the Archives of Venice, and from there, to Paris and the Bibliothèque Nationale, and back to London for the Bodleian Library.²⁷⁵

As a scholar, Nuttall took credit for her work but showed humility in her efforts. In the introduction to her book *New Light on Drake*, Nuttall remarks on the aspect of contingency for scientific breakthrough: “The volume which chance literally threw across my path [...]. It lay on the floor in a dark and dusty corner from which I carried it to the light.”²⁷⁶ Despite her unpretentiousness, it was not, as Williams claimed, that Nuttall “learned of the codex that now bears her name entirely by accident,”²⁷⁷ a position that devaluates Nuttall’s skills and abilities as researcher. In the preface to *New Light*, Nuttall described it as her “hunt for [...] manuscripts.”²⁷⁸ In the end, Nuttall’s dedicated research had earned her the status of being “remembered most for her talent for finding lost or forgotten manuscripts and bringing them to the attention of scholars.”²⁷⁹ As evident by these examples, Nuttall was aware of the Atlantic as a zone of human movement throughout history. This embodies a central element in Nuttall’s transnational career, whether by tracing possible connections in human migration in ancient times by relating cultural artefacts in terms of similarities or by acknowledging the hegemonial past of European powers on the American continent through finding historical documents presumed lost by imperial exploitation.

Lady Drummond-Hay: Crossings and Connections

For Lady Drummond-Hay’s journalistic work, the Atlantic was a central key to her career. From an early point in her career onward, she published, in addition to her British newspaper articles, pieces in American media such as *The New York Times* or the *Chicago Herald and Examiner*. In that regard, she broadened her publication syndicate on both sides of the Atlantic, both in the United States as well as in Great Britain. The successful Atlantic crossing

²⁷⁵ See ZN, *New Light* xiii-xviii.

²⁷⁶ See *ibid.* xiii-xiv.

²⁷⁷ Williams, *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* 10.

²⁷⁸ ZN, *New Light* xvii.

²⁷⁹ Williams, *Codex Zouche-Nuttall* 10.

in 1928 with the *Graf Zeppelin* had amplified Drummond-Hay's already growing interest in America. After this successful trip, she spent the following weeks in the United States and wrote about her experiences in a series of articles titled "These Amazing Americans" (1929). These articles praise her as "Heroine of the Transatlantic Flight,"²⁸⁰ which is a reference to her crossing in 1928.²⁸¹ Drummond-Hay describes various cultural aspects about American society from a European perspective. This act of communicating between the hemispheres of the Atlantic would become formative for Drummond-Hay's journalistic work in the following years.

Drummond-Hay's writing, despite covering global events, displays a dualism in terms of the Atlantic realm: explaining European culture, history and politics specifically to an American audience and vice-versa, explaining American life to a European, mostly British, audience. Drummond-Hay continuously reported and reflected upon the differences and similarities between the British Empire and the United States, linked politically, economically, historically and culturally via the Atlantic geographical zone. From the beginning of her career, Drummond-Hay's interest in political and economic reportages not only manifested in her weekly column in *The Sphere* but also led to a growing interest in American society and to its communication with a European audience on the one side, while she ventured to explain European politics and culture to an American audience.

Crediting an American colleague of the Hearst Press as her greatest source of inspiration,²⁸² it appears natural for Drummond-Hay to also display a sensitivity towards differences and national peculiarities in audiences, markets, and the publishing industry on either side of the Atlantic. Already in early 1925, only months after her first publications in the *Daily Express* about Egyptian culture, she asserted: "I understand that America will have much to teach me."²⁸³ Her later partner, Karl-Henry von Wiegand, was instrumental in

²⁸⁰ LDH, "These Amazing Americans I" 218.

²⁸¹ As oceans are socially constructed, with meanings that vary across space and time, any definition of the 'Atlantic' will be local and period-bound" (Delbourgo/Dew, "Introduction" 7), in 1999 Paul Butel asserted that "the history of the Atlantic has gradually become inextricable from stories of a space made up of mysteries and wonders" (Butel, *The Atlantic* 1). The attention to pioneering Atlantic crossings is viewed critically by James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew. Remarking on the bigger impact on historiographical writing, Delbourgo and Dew find: "Owing in part to the seductive power of the heroic narrative, we ironically know much more about the knowledge made on those few specific journeys than on the thousands of commercial voyages less glamorously made around the Atlantic" (Delbourgo/Dew, "Introduction" 5).

²⁸² She states in an article in the *Britannia and Eve* magazine that "Leola Allard, an executive of the Hearst Press, is one of my landmarks in New York. She is an amazing personality, gifted, brilliant, with a mind for logic and organisation that is more 'masculine' than feminine. I always gain inspiration from her strength, sweetness and charm" (LDH, "Twelve Crowded Months" 11).

²⁸³ LDH, "Letter to KHW" 24 Jan 1925, KHWP VIII/1925.

advising her on these peculiarities;²⁸⁴ being highly thankful for his advice,²⁸⁵ she focuses on the American audience: “I shall be able to please your American readers in course of time.”²⁸⁶ She respected his opinions and explicitly sought advice in meeting the needs of a different market in order to be more successful:

I have just received your delightful letter of March 11th [1925] and some American newspapers which I value, because they will give me an idea of your Press. Oh, how different from the English papers. I had sen [sic] many American newspapers before, but the type that come across to England, not the real ones like you send me. They are worth all the explaining and all the writing and talking. I can understand now the angle you require, and can realise the type of stuff likely to interest your readers. I wish I had seen them sooner.²⁸⁷

In contrast, Drummond-Hay’s regular column was also well received by the American audiences and considered authoritative.²⁸⁸ This sensitivity towards an American audience and, in the early 1930s, her growing interest in America manifested in Drummond-Hay becoming involved with the North American Newspaper Alliance (NANA). Being associated with NANA held a great advantage for Drummond-Hay: syndication. Overnight, syndication could mean an increase in audience size and in the process magnify the respective status and impact; in other words, journalists and columnists could quite literally become household names, as their columns spread to millions and then to tens of millions of readers.²⁸⁹ In the case of Drummond-Hay, this occurred on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean.

By being associated with NANA, Drummond-Hay continued making her observations on journalism as it was practiced in Great Britain and in the United States. In addressing the issue of journalism from a transnational perspective, Drummond-Hay found the profession to be “overcrowded.”²⁹⁰ However, more important than the unifying factor of a discipline with a great amount of competition, Drummond-Hay contemplated the differences between the

²⁸⁴ Although he never specifies these peculiarities, von Wiegand later described the American audience to Drummond-Hay in a disparaging manner: “You observed on your lecture tour in the USA how avid the American public is for information and to know things. That makes them very gullible and they become woozy from contradictions and then do not know anything and much that they believe simply isn’t so, isn’t the Truth” (KHW, “Letter to LDH” [No. 69/1940] 17 Feb 1940, p.2, KHWP VIII/1940).

²⁸⁵ Drummond-Hay asked von Wiegand for a “copy of the story as it goes to America, so that I may profit by your great experience of the needs of that market[,]” [...] “for all you have done for me, and for the interest you have taken in my ambitions” (LDH, “Letter to KHW” 14 Feb 1925, KHWP VIII/1925).

²⁸⁶ LDH, “Letter to KHW” 19 Feb 1925, KHWP VIII/1925.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ She explains her surprise that she “found *The Sphere* so widely read in the States, and considered by intellectual American such a valuable authority on matters of British Empire and foreign interest” (LDH, “Arriving by Air” 584).

²⁸⁹ See Daly, *Covering America* 217. For more, see the interconnectedness of multinational syndication and multilingualism in ch. 5.2.

²⁹⁰ Drummond-Hay remarked in the interview with Ralph Schlaeger: “In England as in America journalism is an overcrowded profession, since a number of mediocre people have taken to it as their field of endeavor. Yet students who have the inborn traits and do show a great aptitude toward writing will, no doubt, succeed” (Schlaeger, “Stormy Petrel” 2).

two countries, saying: “The British press is controlled by the two leading political factions, while in America the opinions are spread over a number of groups which differ.”²⁹¹ Extending her argument, she surmised that “the enormous propaganda syndicates are unable to function as efficiently in a country that varies so differently in opinions.”²⁹²

In contrast to Drummond-Hay’s perception of the power of political factions, throughout the history of America journalism has played a central yet different part. From providing the forum for the Founders’ early debates over independence and self-government to ferreting out corruption in high places, from organizing the major political parties to helping form and strengthen communities, journalism has filled an indispensable role, as Christopher Daly acknowledges.²⁹³ Newspapers and magazines played an important role in social movements, such as those favoring temperance, transcendentalism, abolition, or women’s suffrage, and their editors often helped create or strengthen communities or associations of readers who would otherwise never have found one another on the sprawling continent.²⁹⁴ Here, Drummond-Hay misjudges a key factor in American journalism, i.e. plurality and freedom of opinion, as a shortcoming in efficiently channeling censorship.²⁹⁵

A great part of Drummond-Hay’s transatlantic focus is concerned with international politics. Consequentially, she repeatedly covered the diplomatic and political developments between the shores of the Atlantic. In answering the question “What is a journalist?” the renowned American publisher Joseph Pulitzer answered:

A journalist is the lookout on the bridge of the ship of state. He notes the passing sail, the little things of interest that dot the horizon in fine weather. He reports the drifting castaway whom the ship can save. He peers through fog and storm to give warnings of dangers ahead. He is not thinking of his wages, or of the profits of his owners. He is there to watch over the safety and the welfare of the people who trust him.²⁹⁶

He almost literally describes the stormy waters of diplomatic tensions between the United States and Great Britain as two superpowers on either side of the Atlantic. In her column in

²⁹¹ Schlaeger, “Stormy Petrel” 2.

²⁹² Ibid.

²⁹³ See Daly, *Covering America* 3.

²⁹⁴ See *ibid.* 186-7.

²⁹⁵ Alexis de Tocqueville, in his seminal study *Democracy in America* (1835-40), had remarked on the relationship between democracy and the function of newspapers: “Newspapers therefore become more necessary in proportion as men become more equal, and individualism more to be feared. [...] [I]f there were no newspapers there would be no common activity. [...] The newspaper brought them together, and the newspaper is still necessary to keep them united. [...] There is consequently a necessary connection between public associations and newspapers: newspapers make associations, and associations make newspapers; and if it has been correctly advanced that associations will increase in number as the conditions of men become more equal, it is not less certain that the number of newspapers increases in proportion to that of associations. Thus it is in America that we find at the same time the greatest number of associations and of newspapers” (Tocqueville, “Democracy in America” 332).

²⁹⁶ Daly, *Covering America* 153.

1928, Drummond-Hay observed further political tensions between the United States and Great Britain concerning naval policies. Under the title “The Anglo-American Naval Dispute” she drew conclusions on the pre-war period, saying that the “Naval controversy, with some of its amazing parallel phase of the British-German naval crisis preceding the War, threatened for a time to add its cloud to the really cordial, not merely perfunctory, friendly diplomatic friendship between the two countries.”²⁹⁷ Commenting on the conflicting situation and asserting that the “crux of the naval controversy with America lies in the old question of the freedom of the seas,”²⁹⁸ Drummond-Hay reflects on the level of international ramifications in the Atlantic zone arising from national politics. Drummond-Hay also remarks on a shift in global domination:

Deceive ourselves as much as we may, two cold, disagreeable facts stare Britons in the face – that the struggle is on between Britain and the United States; that we, who so long have held first place in wealth, world power, statecraft, and that national spirit which makes the future secure, are being pushed into second place in the sun [...]²⁹⁹

She concludes that “there will be changes on our side: Let the motto on both sides of the Atlantic be co-operation, not rivalry.”³⁰⁰ While on the one side Drummond-Hay remains critical towards national policies and the relation in international politics between Great Britain and the United States, at the same time she also highlights their similarities. These commonalities, however, are not to be found on the level of international politics.

Concerning the grim outlook in European politics, Drummond-Hay “wish[ed] that America and Britain would get a little closer together,” because a “time may not be so far off when that standing shoulder to shoulder may save much for both countries.”³⁰¹ Drummond-Hay finds Great Britain and America to share core values and institutions:

America and Britain have so much in common that is fundamental with both peoples. Liberty, freedom of press, thought and opinion and of religion. Democratic institutions. Tolerance, the same or similar ideals in life, in politics and in government. All this and more has gone by the board in the so called New Germany. The Hitler-Nazi-Fascistic doctrine is one of force, of might, not by persuasion or conviction but the imposition of one will upon another. It may be too late to save the world from carnage, the Western White world. But it is not too late to save our respective countries by standing together.³⁰²

²⁹⁷ LDH, “World Affairs” 410.

²⁹⁸ Ibid.

²⁹⁹ Ibid. 486.

³⁰⁰ Ibid. 486.

³⁰¹ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 20 Apr 1934. KHWP IX/1934.

³⁰² Ibid.

Summing up the situation and how the Anglophone world on both sides of the Atlantic acted concerning the Hitler regime, Drummond-Hay asserts that “Britain, America and other have been too credulous, too gullible, all these years.”³⁰³

In these articles, Drummond-Hay does not primarily invoke the political implications of such a unique visit of a British monarch in the former colonies or the transatlantic political implications of the threats of the “Hitler-Nazi-Fascistic doctrine,” but expresses the long-standing history between the two nations. In times of distress and impending complications in pan-European politics, Drummond-Hay refrains from referring to an Atlantic dichotomy between America and Europe, but rather sees the notion of an ‘Anglophone world’ as a unifying factor on a cultural level.

Apart from economic topics, Drummond-Hay critically reflects on the political developments between the two nations. In her “Weekly Affairs” column, she addresses her suspicion of an upcoming “Anti-Americanism” regarding the Kellogg-Briand Pact,³⁰⁴ resulting from the “meticulous avoidance of English soil by Mr. Kellogg.”³⁰⁵ She senses that “things between the two great Powers whose relations are so vital to world peace and progress are not as they should be.”³⁰⁶ This thought of “Anglo-American estrangement” in terms of a “diplomatic drifting apart of Britain and America”³⁰⁷ poses an issue Drummond-Hay is repeatedly concerned about: “It [the estrangement] has been allowed steadily to get worse,” “it has grown to a cloud, large in proportions and dark, spanning the Atlantic and throwing its shadow even over other parts of the globe,” and it effectively threatens world peace.³⁰⁸

While documenting European misconceptions about the American economy, Drummond-Hay was also aware, from her perspective, of a dangerous economic development in the Anglo-American relations: “America ousting Britain from her markets is a subject which has been claiming considerable attention in the Press lately.”³⁰⁹ She reasoned that as “production in the United States increases, and home consumption nears the saturation point, America’s drive for foreign trade in all parts of the worlds is gathering impetus, and will continue to intensify.”³¹⁰ As a well-traveled globetrotter, Drummond-Hay was aware of this

³⁰³ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 17 Sep 1935, p.3. KHWP IX/1935.

³⁰⁴ The Kellogg-Briand Pact is an international agreement that entails the demand to abstain from war as a means to resolve disputes or conflicts among the signatory nations.

³⁰⁵ LDH, “World Affairs” 470.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid. 646.

³⁰⁸ Ibid. Drummond-Hay’s critical view is explainable by the fact that the agreement was sponsored by the USA and France. In order to promote the agreement, Frank B. Kellogg, U.S. Secretary of State, visited France instead of going to Great Britain as the closest trans-Atlantic partner for the promotion.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. 20.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

situation without falling back into national stereotypes. She realized that “obsolete British trade methods versus the most modern American methods”³¹¹ have to be taken into account. Recognizing the ‘American spirit,’³¹² she concludes “that the American and German are freer from prejudice against all that is ‘foreign’ than the Englishman.”³¹³ This is criticism Drummond-Hay would repeatedly utter in the following years, as she believed that the British Empire was growing more and more inflexible and complacent. While Drummond-Hay saw a bright future for the United States, she foresaw the ultimate demise of the British Empire in her article “Is the British Empire Dying?” (1930). In the article, published in *Business News*, Drummond-Hay thought the main reason for this to be that the “British Empire, its long history studded with remarkable leaders and outstanding personalities, is to-day without a single inspiring leader or magnetic personality capable of arousing the nation.”³¹⁴

Particularly the stratification in identifying with either the British Empire or the United States displays a dualism: while Drummond-Hay shows a critical analysis of current political events and is even keen to mention differences between Europe, more specifically Great Britain, and America in foreign, economic and cultural policies, she often calls upon the Anglophone world and the commonalities on both sides of the Atlantic as part of the Western world. The identification with America and invoking the notion of the Anglophone world in the sense of a shared history becomes stronger the more the critical the geo-political situation in Europe becomes. While her articles about differences in Anglo-American naval policies, foreign politics, etc. remain critical and she makes her descriptions with a level of nationalism, her articles that link the Anglophone worlds of Great Britain and the United States draw upon a shared history and common cultural experiences and values.

3.3. The Cost of a Transnational Life – Nowhere Home?

It has become clear that the travels undertaken by the protagonists were not only formative for their careers and professional engagements; they were also strenuous in other aspects.

³¹¹ LDH, “World Affairs” 20.

³¹² She often relates to the notion of the “American spirit,” for example in her column after she arrived in America after her trip aboard the *Graf Zeppelin*: “How did I like America? [...] How did I like the Americans? – every hour of very day these questions were levelled at me. I love being in America. It is so intensely human. It is the land where everything is possible. There is no tradition to criticise an idea or innovation. The atmosphere itself is stimulating; one can put in a hundred per cent more work there. It is the land of the mentally free. [...] If I have a new idea, no matter how extravagant it may sound, I can advance it seriously, and seriously will it be considered as a possible proposition. In England, someone would crush it at its birth” (LDH, “Arriving by Air” 584).

³¹³ LDH, “World Affairs” 20.

³¹⁴ LDH, “Is the British Empire Dying” 22.

Being a constant traveler implicated a sentiment already voiced in Herman Melville's book *Moby Dick* (1850): "I am tormented with an everlasting itch for things remote."³¹⁵ And while Frances Yates describes the constant traveler as being "in touch with groups of people in different places,"³¹⁶ Rehnuma Sazzad sees as a main feature that this traveler is "incapable of calling a particular place home."³¹⁷ Returning to the notion of a life in the 'habit of flux,' this expresses itself in not only the physical aspect of constant traveling, but also in questioning and constantly defying the innate human social desire or instinct to settle down – finding a place to call home. As the frequent traveler and American poet Elizabeth Bishop eloquently formulated in her poem "Questions of Travel" (1965):

Continent, city, country, society:
the choice is never wide and never free.
And here, or there... No. Should we have stayed at home,
wherever that may be?³¹⁸

The state of constant flux expresses itself in a somewhat elusive contradiction, just as the lines of Bishop's poem invite the reader on the one hand to trust "the apparent randomness of travel and the state of homelessness,"³¹⁹ while on the other hand remind the reader "that there are always consequences to those choices."³²⁰

A notable example for such a life influenced by a habit of flux is Gertrude Lowthian Bell (1868-1926), a historian, writer, traveler, and spy, among others. Well renowned for her tours through the Near East, Bell was an adventurer, intellect, archaeologist, photographer, author, diplomat and political strategist, poet, mountain climber, and ethnographer³²¹ – a woman who occupied many roles. Most importantly, according to Verena Leuken, Bell traveled in order to understand and learn. She was mesmerized by Arabic poetry as well as the loneliness of the desert; she also traveled because she did not find a place to stay for herself,³²² as if she was moving without a destination.³²³ Her life, as well as the protagonists' in this study, is an expression of what Bishop's poem prompts the reader to interpret as the utterance of a perplexed traveler who wishes to do the right thing, whatever that may be.³²⁴

³¹⁵ Melville/Parker/Hayford, *Moby Dick* 22.

³¹⁶ Yates, *Occult Philos* 38.

³¹⁷ Sazzad, "Travels and Transformations" 99.

³¹⁸ Kalstone, "Elizabeth Bishop: Questions of Memory, Questions of Travel" 23.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.* 22.

³²⁰ Matsukawa, "Elizabeth Bishop, Brazil, and the Question of Home" 539.

³²¹ See Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 89.

³²² Original German quote: "Sie reiste, um zu verstehen, um zu lernen, verzaubert von der arabischen Dichtkunst wie von der Einsamkeit der Wüste; sie reiste auch, weil sie keinen festen Ort für sich fand" (Leuken, "Eine unbehaute Wüstenföhsin" 11).

³²³ See Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 91.

³²⁴ See Matsukawa, "Elizabeth Bishop, Brazil, and the Question of Home" 539.

Similarly to Elizabeth Bishop's poem that explored how "the onus is placed on the traveler who must question his/her motives for how and where to travel,"³²⁵ the protagonists had to navigate through the aspects of technology and how it influenced the way of traveling and/or their work (e.g. Drummond-Hay, who was not only traveling via new technologies but also writing about them). Yet the cost is to be taken literally as well as metaphorically: literally in the sense that establishing and maintaining a lifestyle that was so dependent on travel as a means to keep their careers going and metaphorically as the protagonists had difficulties in finding a home, feeling disconnected and not belonging somewhere. The cost was also one of health, e.g. Alice Le Plongeon, who almost died in the jungles of Yucatán due to infectious diseases, or Drummond-Hay, whose travels put an enormous burden on her health.

Miriam Leslie Nearly Ruined: *From Gotham to San Francisco* (1877)

Leslie's life was characterized by constant travels that included not only her transcontinental journeys in 1877 as well as her later lecture tours, but also her countless travels across the Atlantic. These travels were not only an enormous contributing factor to her journalistic writing and work as editor, but her lifelong mobility also came at a great financial expense. As Ishbell Ross asserted, for Miriam Leslie the "settings had changed over the years from New Orleans to New York and Saratoga, to Peru and Spain, to France and England."³²⁶

Traveling exhaustively also had implications on the health of the protagonists (particularly Drummond-Hay). Ageing as well as traveling left marks on Leslie's health. The years of intensive travel and working, of "hard work and, even more, hard living had exhausted her."³²⁷ On one of Leslie's trips to Europe in the spring of 1891, she suffered from a severe case of influenza, during which "at times fears of her recovery were entertained,"³²⁸ as the *Los Angeles Times* recorded. Most likely, Leslie suffered from the resurgent influenza pandemic of 1889-1890, known as "Asiatic" or "Russian flu."³²⁹ It is possible that Leslie had contracted the virus during one of her travels.

Apart from health problems, the costs of living a transnational life were also quite literal, as Miriam Leslie led an expensive lifestyle. The frequent travels across the Atlantic were costly, e.g. when Miriam Leslie married E.G. Squier, their honeymoon trip through

³²⁵ See Matsukawa, "Elizabeth Bishop, Brazil, and the Question of Home" 539.

³²⁶ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 62.

³²⁷ Stern, *Purple Passage* 170.

³²⁸ "Mrs. Frank Leslie's Project" 10.

³²⁹ Other famous personalities suffering from a recurrence of the virus in 1891 include the mathematician Sofia Kovalevskaya, the theosophist Helena Blavatsky, and others.

Europe was largely financed by the money Squier had gained as a surveyor. Furthermore, with the advent of the 1867 exhibition in Paris, Frank Leslie financed the trip over the Atlantic himself for him, his wife, and the Squiers. Frank Leslie could afford it due to the enormous circulation and income generation by his publishing house.³³⁰ Only shortly thereafter, the 1870s were an economically challenging decade. Beginning with the Panic of 1873 financial crisis, the Long Depression ensued that lasted until 1879, which heavily affected the economy, including businesses, banks, and the railroad industry. This decade began not only with a public scandal around the two divorces of both the Squiers and the Leslies (which alone were costly) in 1873,³³¹ the year of the Panic, but also saw several expenditures that nearly ruined the Leslie Publishing House.

The Leslies had been outspending their income for some time.³³² Already in 1876, the Leslies published *A Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition*, which was a costly venture that caused heavy losses.³³³ One year later, in 1877, the Leslie Excursion across the continent would be the most lavish gesture yet by the already fabulous couple of Pearl Street, as Madeleine Stern acknowledges.³³⁴ In Chicago, Mrs. Leslie changed trains from a Wagner Palace Car to the even more luxurious Pullman Palace Car named the “President” that had cost \$35,000 to build and had then only recently been exhibited at the Centennial Exposition.³³⁵ In total, the trip amounted to a staggering \$15,000 for the Leslies alone.³³⁶ Considering Miriam Leslie’s travel expenses for her trips to Cuba and the Bahamas in 1878, a sharp decline in circulation due to the economic crisis of the 1870s, the expensive editorial staff of the Leslie Publishing House, for which a new printing machine cost nearly \$70,000, as well as the Leslies’ lavish lifestyle, Frank Leslie’s liabilities amounted up to \$335,555.³³⁷

Leslie was left with the accumulated debt resulting from their travel expenses and lavish lifestyle. Eventually, by January 1880, Frank Leslie had negotiated a 50 percent settlement of his debt which he managed to reduce to 35 percent before he died of throat cancer in 1880, leaving Miriam Leslie the heir to his business with debts amounting to \$100,000 at the age of 43.³³⁸ In trying to avoid being taken over by creditors who demanded

³³⁰ Madeleine Stern accounts that Leslie’s “Great Family Paper of America” reached a circulation of 80,000 and generated annual profits of over \$72,000 (see Stern, *Purple Passage* 46).

³³¹ Frank Leslie settled the divorce with his wife, when she acquiesced in return for \$28,000 (see Stern, *Purple Passage* 62).

³³² See Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 159.

³³³ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 72.

³³⁴ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 79.

³³⁵ See Stern, “Introduction” xiii.

³³⁶ See Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 47.

³³⁷ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 89.

³³⁸ See Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 160.

immediate payback of \$50,000 within ten days on penalty of forfeiture, Leslie turned to her acquaintance Mrs. Eliza Jane Smith, a wealthy Brooklyn widow who admired Leslie, who presented her with the amount necessary in turn for Leslie's jewelry as collateral.³³⁹

With the Publishing House out of debt, Miriam Leslie was focusing on rebuilding the newspaper empire when fate came to her aid. On July 2, 1881, a disappointed office-seeker Charles J. Guiteau shot President James A. Garfield, critically wounding him. When the first rumors of the assassination reached Leslie in the morning, she immediately recognized the significance of this event and the potential chance it presented to her business. Within an hour, she dispatched two artists to Washington to prepare sketches that, after their return on the midnight train to New York, could be placed in the next issue of *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* scheduled to appear on Tuesday morning with an account of the events.³⁴⁰ With two further extra papers expanding on the news of Garfield's assassination on the following Friday and the next Tuesday, following a regular publication with even more details about the story, Leslie was able to issue three papers in a week.³⁴¹ That journalistic feat not only established Leslie as successful leader of the Publishing House but also led the circulation numbers to skyrocket from 30,000 to 200,000.³⁴² Until President Garfield died on September 19, 1881, after lingering between life and death, Leslie made sure to regularly produce stories around the assassination and President Garfield's condition. Leslie seized upon the fateful events of the day and translated them into a huge financial success. According to Jean-Marie Lutes, women writers reacted in various ways to the sensationalism of the mass-market press and the identification of women with mass culture,³⁴³ and Miriam Leslie deliberately utilized sensationalism as an effective tool for her business.

Despite fulfilling the Victorian ideal of a woman with respect to clothing, etc., much about Miriam Leslie defied traditional gender roles at the time, particularly in the context of her travels. If women were supposed to be domestic, Leslie did not fulfill this gender role, as she lived much of her life traveling, mostly living in a series of hotels rather than keeping a home in the traditional sense, which was nothing she cared to do, nor required to do (see ch. 4.1).³⁴⁴ Although Miriam Leslie was locally bound to running the Leslie Publishing House from New York, her life was restless in many ways. This restlessness fired Leslie's energy and relentless will to accomplish her goals. As she said: "Do something! Spend yourself and

³³⁹ See Stuart, "Empress of Journalism" 47.

³⁴⁰ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 102-3.

³⁴¹ See *ibid.* 103.

³⁴² See Stuart, "Empress of Journalism" 47.

³⁴³ See Lutes, "Beyond the Bounds of the Book" 338.

³⁴⁴ See Jepson, *Women's Concerns* 191.

get something for it! Make your mark and achieve success, or if need be, die in the attempt.”³⁴⁵

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Living Off a Life in the Jungle

Augustus Le Plongeon’s obituary in the *New York Times* on December, 14, 1908, stated that throughout his career he had spent “a fortune of half a million upon excavations and archaeological research.”³⁴⁶ According to Desmond, most of that money had been earned by his activities as surveyor, land speculator, and photographer in California as well as photographer and physician in Peru. In living a transnational life, this money needed to not only fund Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon’s more than ten years of expenses for international travel, but also cover the costs for photographic equipment, paying the workers used for clearing the jungle forest for the ruins their excavation and subsequent photographing, as well as for armed protection by the army at Chichén Itzá and living expenses in Belize.³⁴⁷

Once Le Plongeon and her husband returned to Brooklyn, New York, they could live off of a steady income that supplemented their savings – not insignificantly bolstered by Alice Le Plongeon as she had become a full-time writer and had gained popularity as a lecturer.³⁴⁸ In the following years, the couple had to rely more and more on their savings and began to further their income by selling artifacts and accepting the help of friends such as Adela Breton.³⁴⁹ Financially, the situation was bad for the Le Plongeon family, since Augustus could not find a teaching or faculty position. Appealing to Phoebe Apperston Hearst, Le Plongeon wrote in a letter that both had tried their best to sell their molds but “have been met with opposition and disappointment on all sides, because our studies did not tally with old ideas of certain professors.”³⁵⁰ The couple managed to live off the royalties of Augustus’s book *Sacred Mysteries* (1886), although “with very strict economy.” Continuing to write and lecture, Augustus managed to publish *Queen Móo and the Egyptian Sphinx* (1896) with the help of Phoebe Hearst.³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 47.

³⁴⁶ “Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon” 9.

³⁴⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 322.

³⁴⁸ See *ibid.* 322.

³⁴⁹ See *ibid.* Adela Breton presumably began sending money, \$50 twice a year to the Le Plongeon family in the 1890s (see McVicker, *Adela Breton* 133).

³⁵⁰ See Desmond, “Augustus Le Plongeon” 186.

³⁵¹ Hearst, known for her philanthropic work in education, supported the Le Plongeon family: “I will make the payments excepting that I cannot pay the sum indicated in Mr. Le Plongeon’s letter. I am willing to pay \$250 or \$300 per month and will sign a guaranty if the publishers wish it” (Desmond, *Yucatán* 282).

It was Alice Le Plongeon who generated an income for their joint research work by giving lectures and publishing articles, stories, etc. She gave lectures before the New York Academy of Sciences on “Yucatan, Its Ancient Temples and Palaces,” at the Cooper Union Institute in New York (1886).³⁵² Yet to broaden her appeal and thereby increase her income, she soon expanded her lecture topics to Peru, Hawaii, London, Pompeii, religious doctrines, what she referred to as “occultism” in Yucatán, Burma, China, Egypt, India, Persia, and Polynesia; she expanded her topics to include “Modern Spiritualism,” or “Colors in all Departments of Being, as an aid to health and harmony and beauty,” and “A Talk regarding the Powers of the Mother.”³⁵³

The economic situation for Le Plongeon continued to pose great problems. In 1902, Le Plongeon lacked sufficient funding for the publication of her epic poem *Queen Múo's Talisman*, which prompted her to reach out to Frederick Putnam at the American Museum of Natural History and offer the museum two pieces of sculpture from the eastern façade of the Governor's Palace at Uxmal, several ornamented wooden artifacts, etc.³⁵⁴ In a memorandum to the president of the American Museum of Natural History, Morris K. Jesup, Frederick Putnam wrote: “The Le Plongeon family are in straitened circumstances and I know how hard it is for them to offer to dispose of these objects which they brought from Yucatan many years ago.”³⁵⁵ While the museum did not possess sufficient funds for the purchase of the artefacts, these were bought by “two wealthy New Yorkers,” which alleviated some of the financial distress of the Le Plongeon family.³⁵⁶

Furthermore, as for all the other protagonists, Le Plongeon's travel weighed heavily on her health. While traveling through the jungles of Yucatán, the Le Plongeon family faced near starvation, deadly snakes, swarms of insects, intense tropical heat, and illness.³⁵⁷ She later explained in her unpublished manuscript “Yucatan” that the “excessive moisture and decomposition of vegetable matter makes intermittent fever common throughout the country, and a mild form of Yellow fever is also endemic.”³⁵⁸ Shortly after their arrival, in August

³⁵² See Desmond, *Yucatán* 257-9.

³⁵³ See *ibid.* 276-7.

³⁵⁴ See *ibid.* 307-8.

³⁵⁵ See *ibid.* 308.

³⁵⁶ See *ibid.*

³⁵⁷ See *ibid.* 32.

³⁵⁸ ADLP, “Yucatan” 5, ADPP VI/17-19. However, not only bearing mild forms of fever, Le Plongeon recalled more serious epidemics as well: “Sometimes there is an epidemic of this latter and it then takes [sic] on a more virulent character to which natives, as well as foreigners, are liable to succumb. Such epidemics, as well as those of measles, smallpox, dysentery [sic], or sporadic cholera, that have occasionally broken out, appear during, or at the close of, the rainy seasons, which last from about the middle of May to the middle of July, and from the middle of September to the end of February” (*ibid.* 5-6).

1873, Le Plongeon did catch yellow fever. Laconically, Le Plongeon reports in her diary: “Dr [Augustus Le Plongeon] looked at me and told me I had yellow fever.”³⁵⁹ Later, she describes that, at the hotel in Progreso, the “masculine occupants prophesied death and burial within six days;” yet they “were mistaken only because Dr. Le Plongeon, expert in the treatment of that disease, watched tended the patient day and night.”³⁶⁰

Zelia Nuttall: An American in Mexico City

Although Nuttall has been called a “stay at home archaeologist,”³⁶¹ her life and work were marked by countless travels back and forth over the Atlantic, working in the archives of museums and institutions – most of it up until the purchase of Casa Alvarado. Even after that, Nuttall attended conferences and congresses in order to stay up to date. Her travels throughout her career (and subsequently the books and articles that mostly were the product of them) were also a financial factor that contributed to the extraordinary costs of living a transnational life. Her various travels and transnational activities earned her many acquaintances and colleagues, e.g. Frederic Ward Putnam, with whom she kept regular correspondence, Max Uhle in Germany, and Marian Storm, among others. Her youth that she had spent traveling through Europe as well as her constant travels between the shores of the Atlantic Ocean from the 1880s to the late 1900s (before the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution) are as much characterized by a continuous desire to travel. Also, having had a childhood that transcended so many international and cultural borders, feeling no patriotism for England where her brother had eventually settled, having some connections to Germany, and having strong inclinations toward Italy and Rome with its historical sites and landscape meant that Nuttall never expressed clear identifications with a specific country; despite the United States being the country she was born in and having many ties there, she settled in the country of her mother, Mexico.³⁶²

Nuttall made herself a home in Mexico with Casa Alvarado, ergo of all the four protagonists she had the most settled life. Also, during the Mexican Revolution Nuttall was forced to live abroad from 1910-1920 in Europe and the United States. Possessing a house was therefore not to be equated with being a “homestay archaeologist.” It is true that after the Mexican Revolution Nuttall settled mostly for a domestic life in Mexico. However, at this

³⁵⁹ Desmond, *Yucatán* 39.

³⁶⁰ ADLP, “Yucatan” 11-2, ADPP VI/17-19.

³⁶¹ Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 217.

³⁶² Parmenter, “Recovery” 961.

point, Nuttall was already well over 60 years old. Furthermore, the acquisition of the house was not a retreat into the domestic sphere. As Carmen Ruiz asserts on the ambivalence of Nuttall's home: Casa Alvarado was Nuttall's house from 1904 to her death in 1933, and it was indeed a major site for Mexican archaeology during the first decades of the twentieth century.³⁶³

Similarly to other scholars, Carmen Ruiz addresses the issue of Casa Alvarado to a greater degree. However, as other researchers refer to the house as an aesthetic refuge from the outside world, Martinez has a different view on Nuttall's relationship with her house: "She made a decision to make her house a space to practice archaeology,"³⁶⁴ and hence, Ruiz coins the phrase of the "stay at home archaeologist." Remarking on the domesticity paradox, she finds that although Nuttall decided to stay at home, from her home she was still a part of the international scientific community.³⁶⁵ In the end, Martinez surmises about Nuttall, her involvement with the International School, as well as her professional career in Mexico:

Zelia Nuttall was able to work in archaeology on her own terms. In a moment when archaeologists in Mexico and the United States became more associated with institutions, and fieldwork came to be seen as the primary method to acquire information about the past, Zelia remained at home. However, from that space she was also able to participate in various scientific communities with national and international scope, and she was involved in major archaeological research. I argue that by choosing to do archaeology from "home," Zelia was not marginalized. Her social privilege and her status as foreigner, who settled in Mexico, enabled Nuttall not to be marginalized.³⁶⁶

Research about Nuttall repeatedly tends to highlight the fact that she was born "into fortunate circumstances"³⁶⁷ to a wealthy San Franciscan family with a background in banking and mining.³⁶⁸ In 1876, Nuttall had significant knowledge of the world, was "worldly, she was wealthy," as Amanda Adams colorfully expresses;³⁶⁹ she is often commented on as having descended from a wealthy family of Californian industrialists.³⁷⁰ For her entire life, Nuttall was forced to pay for her travel expenses mostly herself. The longer her career lasted, the more the costs of researching archives all over the world and going on expeditions drained

³⁶³ See Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 202.

³⁶⁴ Ibid. 218.

³⁶⁵ Ibid. 242.

³⁶⁶ Ibid. 273.

³⁶⁷ Levine, "Uncovering a Buried Past" 144.

³⁶⁸ Adams, *Ladies* 69; Parmenter, "Zelia Magdalena Nuttall" 640; Levine, "Uncovering a Buried Past" 144; Chiñas, "Nuttall" 269; Lurie, "Women" 66, etc. About the family wealth, Parmenter remarks: "starting with her grandfather, her uncle and her brother-in-law, many men with whom she was associated (and their wives), amassed fortunes from mines" (Parmenter, "Recovery" 11). Tozzer describes that Nuttall's grandfather (through her mother), John Parrot, was the banker (Tozzer, "Zelia Magdalena Nuttall" 475).

³⁶⁹ Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 69.

³⁷⁰ See Éloïse Galliard on Nuttall being an "issue d'une riche famille d'industriels californiens" (Galliard, "L'artisanat touristique du Sud-Ouest des États-Unis" 17).

her funds. In order to finance her research abroad, Nuttall was dependent on benefactors like the Crocker-Reid-Fund, for which “Mrs. Crocker would put up money that Zelia could use for traveling expenses on her trip to Mexico.”³⁷¹

With her purchase of her Mexican home, Casa Alvarado, in 1903, Nuttall spent a large amount of her own money. As she did not have enough money to pay for Casa Alvarado, Nuttall turned to Phoebe Apperston Hearst, who granted Nuttall a loan of \$1,000 to not only buy but also remodel the house as the mansion was in need of repairs.³⁷² Similarly to Alice Le Plongeon, one of Nuttall’s benefactors was the wealthy Phoebe Apperson Hearst. Being established and possessing considerable wealth, Hearst funded various projects in the establishment of American archaeology and anthropology: her wealth allowed her to foster research in different areas of professionalization of the academic disciplines and specific individuals. Nuttall and Hearst lived near each other in San Francisco, close enough to be within easy walking distance, and it is understandable how Mrs. Hearst, with her interest in increasing educational opportunities for women, would be drawn to a serious and clever neighbor like Nuttall.³⁷³ Hearst not only funded Alice Dixon Le Plongeon’s publication, but for Nuttall, “Mrs. Hearst agreed to provide funds for purchases for the Peabody Museum.”³⁷⁴

Carmen Ruiz finds that the issue of money continued to be the theme of a great deal of the correspondence between Nuttall and Mrs. Hearst in the following years.³⁷⁵ In 1905, two years after she had received the loan from Hearst, Nuttall wrote to Hearst:

“I now see the prospect of being able to send it to you within the next year. I need not add what a relief it will be for me to do so, nor how eagerly I look forward to the day when I shall be freed from what has been and still is a heavy burden to me.”³⁷⁶

Nevertheless, Nuttall struggled to pay the full amount back; finally, in 1909, she sold part of the orchard near the house so that she could settle accounts with Phoebe Hearst.³⁷⁷ In the following years, as explained, Nuttall was forced to double her expenditures during the Mexican Revolution, as she had to pay for her residencies abroad in Europe and the United States, while at the same time she had to pay for Casa Alvarado.³⁷⁸ Particularly towards the end of her career, Nuttall had invested practically her entire family fortune in her career to

³⁷¹ Parmenter, “Recovery” 520.

³⁷² See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 202.

³⁷³ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 109. Parmenter speculates about their relationship that Hearst “was to become ‘almost like a mother’” (ibid.).

³⁷⁴ Ibid. 520.

³⁷⁵ See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 202.

³⁷⁶ Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 202.

³⁷⁷ See Mark, *Stranger in Her Native Land* 297.

³⁷⁸ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 891.

cover travel expenses, pay for publications, conference fees, etc. She had started her career as a woman with considerable means but consequentially towards the end of her career experienced severe drains on her expenses and financial difficulties, which led to her search for a possible tenant for Casa Alvarado in order to cover her expenses. By 1928, Nuttall's financial situation was growing worse: she had debts to the amount of \$9,000.³⁷⁹ Because of her bad financial situation, she had to sublet Casa Alvarado, for which she could not find a permanent renter.³⁸⁰

Aside the financial situation, on the one hand, Nuttall successfully negotiated transcultural as well as transnational experiences in her life. However, on the other hand, she also remained detached, unconditioned and unaffected by the environments in which she lived, as a form of "transcultural difference,"³⁸¹ similar to what Rosi Braidotti links to nomadism and Ross Parmenter describes as "equanimity."³⁸² Nuttall, like the nomad, was only passing through, making those necessarily situated connections that helped her to survive, but never fully taking on the limits of one national, fixed identity.³⁸³ As described, Nuttall had many various acquaintances with fellow colleagues; she befriended some of them and went beyond the borders of gender, being acquaintances with male colleagues like Putnam, Boas, Gamio, and others, as well as remaining on good terms with fellow women researchers like Margaret Fuller.

As nomadology instills movement and mobility at the heart of thinking,³⁸⁴ María Lagos, in citing from Braidotti's *Nomadic Subjects*, finds that traveling is not a requisite for nomadism.³⁸⁵ Rather, "it is the subversion of set conventions that defines the nomadic state, not the literal act of traveling."³⁸⁶ With the progress of her career, Nuttall became more and more locally rooted with Casa Alvarado in Mexico, yet remained distanced. What Parmenter describes as Nuttall's equanimity in the face of social injustice against the poor in Mexico can also be interpreted as nomadism that refers to a "consciousness that resist settling into socially coded modes of thought and behavior."³⁸⁷ More importantly, Lagos stresses the point that "physical displacement is an important factor in creating this consciousness because it allows the subject to see her world as one possibility out of several."³⁸⁸ Ultimately, as Braidotti

³⁷⁹ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 1344-5.

³⁸⁰ See *ibid.* 1455.

³⁸¹ See Moslund, *Migration Literature and Hybridity* 117.

³⁸² See Parmenter, "Recovery" 701.

³⁸³ See Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* 64.

³⁸⁴ Braidotti, *Nomadic Theory* 2.

³⁸⁵ See Lagos, "Borderlands" 123.

³⁸⁶ Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* 5.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 5.

³⁸⁸ Lagos, "Borderlands" 123.

reasons, a nomad comprises a subject in transit and yet sufficiently anchored to a historical position to accept responsibility and therefore make oneself accountable for it³⁸⁹ – only oneself, however. Nuttall was a well-known and internationally respected scholar, yet she remained distanced from any affiliation or identification beyond the perception of her own reality, i.e. the scope of her subject of professional inquiry. In line with this reasoning, Nuttall never made long-lasting friendships with Mexican women. Even with her male colleagues, Nuttall had a difficult relationship, e.g. with Leopoldo Batres, with whom she had a very public argument that pitted her as American against him as representative of Mexico. In these regards, the cost of Nuttall's transnational life was closer to being an intellectual nomad, or, as William Schell formulated: an “integral outsider”³⁹⁰ to Mexico, her chosen country of residence.³⁹¹

Lady Drummond-Hay's Career: The Sum of a Restless Life

For Drummond-Hay, traveling was not only an integral aspect of her life and work – such as her Atlantic crossings or her trip around the globe in 1929 – but a necessary act of self-definition. It was traveling that enabled her work that included interviews with statesmen around the globe, reports from adventurous places in the Near and Far East, news dispatches from conflict zones, etc. Drummond-Hay herself cited her extensive traveling as a source of inspiration for her work when she confessed to von Wiegand in a letter: “That is why I was always chasing round cosmopolitan London and Paris, not to mention Cairo and other places. It IS such a privilege, Karl, to have time to read and to think. And that is why I am never lonely.”³⁹² Even more so, Drummond-Hay described to her friend, Dr. Byrle MacPherson:

You see, I have always travelled, with my parents when I was young, in South Africa and other such places, then with my husband, and since then all over the Far East, India, Abyssinia etc. so it has become a habit as much as a pleasure to me. I am so utterly thankful that I have been able to travel all through this war too. Even when I was POW [prisoner of war, PD] of the Japanese they did transfer me from Manila to Shanghai.³⁹³

³⁸⁹ See Braidotti, *Nomadic Subjects* 10.

³⁹⁰ Analyzing the American Colony in Mexico City, William Schell defined integral outsider as: “a latter-day trade diaspora of expatriate cross-cultural brokers [...] whose give-and-take relationship with their Mexican hosts was at once intimate and distant” (Schell, *Integral Outsiders* x).

³⁹¹ Contrary to what Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro find about Frances Calderon de la Barca's travel narrative *Life in Mexico* (1843), in that it chronicles her journey from being a stranger to sojourner – from outsider to insider (see Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, “Between Empires” 6)

³⁹² LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 23 Jan 1941, p.3, KHWP X/1941.

³⁹³ LDH, “Letter to Dr. Byrle Farley MacPherson,” 10 May 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/MNO.

Being almost thirty years older than Drummond-Hay, her long-time companion von Wiegand shared his feelings on countless years traveling the entire world in a personal letter to Drummond-Hay:

Frankly, my dear, I am weary of being homeless. Thirty years of it, the enthusiasm of my work in all parts of the world, that has completely absorbed in those many years, is fading out. I have written for millions of people. I believe we estimate twenty million readers on Sunday. If I knew I had provoked one thousand to thinking, that I had given hope or encouragement to half that number, I would feel I had accomplished something. We do not know what seeds of thought we sow, still less the fruits they bear.³⁹⁴

As apparent from these lines, von Wiegand grew weary of the restless traveling. The extensive travel for his journalistic career took its toll. The price constant travelers like von Wiegand or Drummond-Hay had to pay was a sense of non-belonging and longing for a place to rest and simply live, as she further explained to von Wiegand:

More and more it is pounding at me – SOMEWHERE A HOME – a cottage, a log cabin, even a big tent, Somewhere [sic!] where I can assemble my books and things scattered all over Europe – and some of yours. Not necessary to be there all the time but a few months a year. I used to think it would be in Egypt. No more. That [p]icture is paling. I think I have got out of Egypt about all that may be there for me. I mean that spiritually and in health. I sense a different note there. I have a notion that this time I may get the last out of the Sahara that that favorite vastness of space and sun, holds for me. At least for a time. I may be mistaken but I will know and will tell you when get down to Ghadames or elsewhere there.³⁹⁵

As evident from these lines, the multiplicity of places constant travelers such as von Wiegand or Drummond-Hay had lived throughout her life complicated their sense of belonging to a specific locale. Being intellectual and emotional companions, Drummond-Hay, too, had similar thoughts about retiring and settling down eventually. Her indecisiveness was indicated further by Drummond-Hay when she remarked: “All I want to do, is to retire to a desert, some place like you tell me is Ghadames, or Wake Island, and write.”³⁹⁶ Not entirely sure where to settle, the common denominator between the two is the reclusiveness and solitude of these places. Drummond-Hay had publicly expressed her desire to find “off the grid” spots to settle, e.g. Mersa Matruh (Egypt) or Wake Island in the Pacific Ocean:

The only means of arrival and departure by air. But who would want to leave? This is Wake Island, an unspoiled little paradise. If I could, I would buy it. For all my traveling experience, I know only one other retreat I have coveted – that was Mersa Matruh on the coast of the western desert of Egypt before it became commercialised.³⁹⁷

³⁹⁴ KHW, “Letter to LDH,” 17 Dec 1939, KHWP X/1939.

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

³⁹⁶ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 11 Jan 40, p.7, KHWP X/1940. But relating to the current political events in Europe, Drummond-Hay was aware of the impossibility of such desire: “My world, not mine, but everyone else’s, is shattered. The pace has been too fast for the last twenty years. There has been no time to think. As crazy as is “civilisation” [sic], it was decidedly [sic] more comfortable than things today” (ibid.).

³⁹⁷ LDH, “Wings over the Pacific” 8.

Even if Drummond-Hay wanted to settle down, her lifestyle did not permit her to do so. On the contrary, even after her physical breakdown and her severe illness, Drummond-Hay managed to recover in Hawaii, become von Wiegand's assistant in 1940, get involved in the Japanese occupation of Manila on the Philippines, suffer internment, be expatriated to the United States, and subsequent return to the United Kingdom after World War II, only to thereafter embark on a journey to Spain and ultimately to the United States, where she wanted to re-start her career shortly before her death in 1946.

Traveling was an integral part of her identity and work ethic. Although Drummond-Hay might have wished for a steady, settled life in a home together with von Wiegand, her desire for personal freedom always interfered.³⁹⁸ Already in 1928, in a letter to von Wiegand, Drummond-Hay reports speaking to her father about settling down: "I keep on indirectly suggesting that I will never 'settle down' and spoke of various trips I mean to make, including one to the Pacific."³⁹⁹ However, she closes with the realization: "But I cannot settle down, of course."⁴⁰⁰

In *Imagined Communities* (1983), Benedict Anderson claims "that nations are 'imagined communities' that derive their existence chiefly from the desire of individuals to belong to some entity larger than themselves."⁴⁰¹ However, Ann Taylor Allen makes clear that "human beings may also feel the need to belong to many different kinds of communities, both smaller and larger than the nation."⁴⁰² Drummond-Hay shows this contradictory identification as part of her transnational life by naturally identifying as a British citizen, as a European, and – most importantly for her – as a woman whose life is the world, being a part of a community of women pilots and aviatrixes and a journalist and lecturer in different nations around the globe. The oscillation between these communities resulted in Drummond-Hay not feeling a connection to either but instead to all.

The constant traveling also took its toll on her health. From 1937-1938, Drummond-Hay suffered from severe illnesses, a medical incident that almost single-handedly ended Drummond-Hay's career that very well could have been the result of extensive travels

³⁹⁸ For example, when Drummond-Hay wrote about her life as widow and unmarried woman: "But everyone suggest remarriage to me all the time. I could not, even if you did not exist. Nothing on earth, neither money, position, jewels, treasures could compensate me for that fleeting glorious feeling of utter personal freedom, which is worth everything. It is not anything but personal freedom which attracts me, the right to do as I like, and I never am even slightly tempted to do anything that I should not" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 07 Feb 1929, p.3, KHWP VIII/1929).

³⁹⁹ LDH, "Letter to KHW," 17 Dec 1928, p.2, KHWP VIII/1928.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Anderson, *Imagined Communities* 7.

⁴⁰² Allen, "Lost in Translation" 97-8.

themselves.⁴⁰³ Subsequently, she went to health resorts in order to recover, e.g. at the Grand Hotel de l'Europe in Bad Gastein in August 1937.⁴⁰⁴ Her doctors strongly advised against extensive traveling, which was a contributing factor to the end of her career that was dependent on her mobility.⁴⁰⁵

Besides the repercussions of Drummond-Hay's restless traveling on her own life, the cost of traveling was also more than just symbolic, since a life and career dependent on traveling was expensive and Drummond-Hay was therefore in need of money. An article in the Austrian *Linzer Tages-Post* had erroneously assumed that Drummond-Hay's then already late husband had provided for her adventures and travels, instead of crediting her with her own income in order to achieve these accomplishments.⁴⁰⁶

Already at the beginning of her career, Drummond-Hay wrote to von Wiegand about the financial difficulties in pursuing her international journalistic work.⁴⁰⁷ Particularly

⁴⁰³ There is not sufficient information on the exact health issue; she, however, describes some of the symptoms to von Wiegand, telling him: "I am ever so much better and have not suffered from heart weakness, cold feet or nerves or anything ever since I took his prescriptions" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 27 Oct 1938, KHWP IX/1938). She often speaks about getting "her injections" (see LDH, "Letter to KHW," 16 Apr 1939, KHWP X/1939). In 1939, too, she states in a positive way that she is "no longer sick of nerves, which I could often feel myself almost stopped my heart, and I suppose stopped the circulation, and caused all the trouble" (ibid. 4). In fact, her long-time partner von Wiegand decidedly advised her against picking up her work again: "Please do not wait till you are 'looking better' before you make your applications. For the moment let your assignments journalistic be secondary consideration. Until you recover strength and from strength will come ambition and good spirits, you will scarcely feel like doing anything much" (KHW, "Letter to LDH," [No 78] 09 Mar 1940, KHWP X/1940). He was, however, sure that Drummond-Hay would recover: "I think you will have better health and will swing back into good work, because that will give you the greater happiness" (KHW, "Letter to LDH," [No 48] 04 Jan 1940, p.4, KHWP X/1940). A reconstructed diagnosis of Drummond-Hay's health issues proves difficult, von Wiegand wrote to her: she has to stay in warm climate and that she has to fight against the depression (KWH, "Letter to LDH," 17 Dec 1939, p.2, KHWP X/1939). Drummond-Hay had long-standing health issues, in part due to her extensive travels, and a long history of illness: "The rheumatic fever was only the aftermath of dengue fever, and other fevers in the Far East, and is now gone away. I had malaria too, years ago, and it was recurrent for ages, but that has also gone away" (LDH, "Letter to Dr. Byrle Farley MacPherson," 10 May 1944, p.2, KHWP LVI/ MNO).

⁴⁰⁴ "Aus den Kurorten und Sommerfrischen" 8.

⁴⁰⁵ Her doctors advised against traveling at all costs; she had been given advice by her physician: "I spoke of traveling, and he said he must have me under observation for the next two weeks" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 29 Jan 1940, KHWP X/1940). To von Wiegand, Drummond-Hay remarked about the benefits of a warmer climate: "In fact, I have been considering parking myself South for a long stay. My health does not seem to permit me to remain North in the winter" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 20 Jan 1940, p. 4, KHWP X/1940; also LDH, "Letter to KHW," 17 Dec 1939, KHWP X/1940). Drummond-Hay tells von Wiegand: "I am feeling much stronger but the clutching nerve pains still come at intervals with the coming of rains and drop of the barometer" (KHW, "Letter to LDH," [No 36] 17 Dec 1939, KHWP X/1939). She also specifically remarks that "sun and dry air will speed those pains away" (ibid.).

⁴⁰⁶ The article quotes the following: "Ihr Mann hat für Passionen natürlich das nötige Kleingeld!" ("Tagesneuigkeiten: Abenteuer der Lady" 2).

⁴⁰⁷ As early as in 1926, Drummond-Hay elaborated on the generally difficult financial situation for women in England and asserts her gratefulness to von Wiegand for helping her financially: "Widows are supposed to be 'merry' 'fast' 'daring' and number of epithets are applied to them here, as elsewhere, but I begin to suspect that an economic reason lies at the bottom [sic] of it all, like any other form of prostitution. Again I have reason to be thankful, to God and to you, who care for me so tenderly. With less than £300 a year, no income besides, to lose the income on marriage – what is the inevitable result? The £300 would furnish bread and butter, but modern life demands more than bread and butter. I am very thankful, and very grateful, you do not know how much. But

Drummond-Hay's specialities, the political interview and more general interviews with personages of high international renown, was a difficult financial endeavour: Although a Mr. Hopkins of the London General Press suggested to Drummond-Hay in 1926 that "apart from first class big interviews such ones, as from Einstein, von Tirpitz, Mme Curie, and mentioned beside, Clemenceau, Carol etc. Queen Marie of Roumania," he also remarked that "any of these they do not pay more than £25 outright."⁴⁰⁸ It became instantly clear to her that "when you come to think of the costs of getting the interview, it would be a great loss, unless it came incidental to something else."⁴⁰⁹ Therefore, financial reimbursement for her journalistic work was of the utmost importance, as an example of 1932 exemplifies. Drummond-Hay writes to von Wiegand regarding a job to go to India: "Another opportunity to see something of India may not come soon again, possibly never again on expenses."⁴¹⁰ On the aspect of travel, Drummond-Hay quickly mentions that: "Travel is background and that background and meeting and learning to know men and women doing things, is the asset or capital of a writer."⁴¹¹ Ultimately, she could not take the job as "it seemed to me I would be throwing away just that much capital."⁴¹²

At the end of her life, particularly due to her internment in a Japanese camp in Manila in 1941, Drummond-Hay's career experienced setbacks. In 1944, Drummond-Hay had already realized that the "problem of the post-war situation as regards my self [sic] financially is coming closer and closer, and I'll certainly have to be more practical than I was before."⁴¹³ She was in need of financial income, as she described in a letter to her acquaintance Charles Emanuel: I need the money very badly, and cannot exist without some remuneration, whether it be in the form of a salary, or expenses allowed."⁴¹⁴ Thus, Drummond-Hay found that "in one way, there is not so much choice."⁴¹⁵

what must be the plight of thousands of others, less favourably situated than I am, with even less than £300, and many of them with names and titles, a taste for comfort and luxury – I begin to think that the mass of people must be faced with difficulties I never suspected, for material cares have never been one of my preoccupations, I hardly realise the value of money, as you have at times ruefully remarked" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," [Undated. Presumably 1926], p. 3-4, KHWP VIII/1926).

⁴⁰⁸ LDH, "Letter to KHW," 04 Nov 1926, KHWP VIII/1926.

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid. The payments Drummond-Hay would receive for other topics were also limited and could not sustain Drummond-Hay's career alone: Mr. Hopkins "wants also political stuff for such papers as the Observer, and the Sunday Times, and would run a series of arycles [sic] from any place – mentioned the Balkans as an interesting subject, but pays only at the rate of £5.5.0 a thousand [...]" (ibid.).

⁴¹⁰ LDH, "Letter to KHW," 10 Jan 1932, p.3, KHWP IX/1932.

⁴¹¹ Ibid.

⁴¹² Ibid.

⁴¹³ LDH, "Letter to Herbert Quick," 11 Dec 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR

⁴¹⁴ LDH, "Letter to Charles Emanuel," 03 Nov 1944, KHWP LVII/DEF. At the time of her death, von Wiegand noted Drummond-Hay to have "a small bank account at the Irving Trust Company" (KHW, "Letter to W.P. McGoldrick," 05 Mar 1946, KHWP LVI/Biographical-File).

⁴¹⁵ LDH, "Letter to Charles Emanuel," 03 Nov 1944, KHWP LVII/DEF.

4. Professionalizations – Beyond the Frame

Since a transnational analysis of any kind should track the movements of the involved agents, who they knew, who they influenced, where they went, and what forms of organization they used are all important aspects.¹ What organizations were available at the time when the protagonists engaged in their respective activities was dependent on the professionalization at the end of the nineteenth century. This process of professionalization of the disciplines entailed the aspect of institutionalization in the sense of founding institutes and associations as well as creating self-sufficient positions that guaranteed regular income in exchange for a commitment to the work.

Professionalization meant that education became of crucial importance and access to colleges in the nineteenth century was an important demand among women who sought entry into the public sphere, as Sheila Rowbotham finds.² Essentially, women moved into higher education in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in large numbers.³ Despite this trend and as women were per se confined to the domestic or private sphere, a woman entering the public sphere and engaging in professions outside the home, especially in higher positions, was at the time considered to be an intrusion. In this regard, women were – over a long period in history – seen as the helpmate or menial assistant to their respective male counterparts who engaged in the profession, whether in natural sciences, humanities, or business fields.

Women were being denied professional status and engagement in professions in part due to societal conceptions of their mental and physiological abilities. Women were, in Montesquieu's poignant phrase, "domestic slaves" – a better position, he added, than "real slavery."⁴ Concordantly, women were thought of as the weaker sex. At its core, the nineteenth-century view that women were "vessels" at the disposal of men, and a dualistically dichotomous "weak" one compared to "strong" men, supplanted by the notion of a matriarchal prehistory is among the chief "fault lines in Western culture's understanding of gender and sex inequality."⁵ In the debate about the suitability of women in professional lines of work or as professional co-workers together with men, physiological differences were used to explain

¹ See Tyrrell, "Reflections" 467.

² See Rowbotham, "Feminist Approaches" 39.

³ See *ibid.* 39.

⁴ See Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* 22.

⁵ Eller, *Gentlemen and Amazons* 9. In her earlier book, *The Myth of Matriarchal Prehistory* (2000), Cynthia Eller traced back the notion of matriarchy as an ancient prehistoric social system to a myth perpetrated by male social scientists, historians, etc. as an effective tool to justify male supremacy by rooting it in a male overthrow to divide the matriarchal ur-society from the subsequent successful social order run by men.

the “passive nature of women,” – in contrast to men being active – e.g. the depiction of the female skull was used to prove that women’s intellectual capacities were inferior to those of men.⁶ More importantly, women and particularly their brains were thought of as less capable of rational thought.⁷

If women managed to acquire professional positions, these were mostly honorary participations; women were not in a position to earn direct financial compensation. Therefore, for women, the act of being professionally involved with an institution cannot be measured by the aspect of paid positions. While the figure of the (unpaid) female amateur is often posited as the precursor to the female professional, Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski find that there was a rather intertwined development of these two categories.⁸ In that regard, this chapter includes honorary positions in associations and society as part of women’s professionalization. Furthermore, the notion of “the” professionalization of a field, discipline, etc. as a societal process is contrived as too homogenous to accurately reflect the heterogeneous aspect of this process, particularly for women.

In this sense, Sheila Rowbotham explains that it is misleading to present a unified or steady progress for women as a homogenous group, for as the cultural gates opened through education and the upper-class women’s salons, which were to become spaces for exchanging ideas from the seventeenth century, they were also closing.⁹ In light of the various aspects, forms, and chronologies of professionalization (in terms of income, occupation, titles, memberships, networks, etc.), it would be more appropriate to speak in a plural of professionalizations. For example, Mary Anning, who collected fossils on the shore of Great Britain, could be named as a precursor for women marching on a path toward

⁶ See Oudshoorn, “Sex and the Body” 7.

⁷ See Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 11. At that time, in 1872, the leaders of European anthropometry were trying to measure the inferiority of women with scientific certitude (see Gould, “Women’s Brains” 43). Via craniometry, the measurement of the skull, one of these scholars, Paul Broca (1824-1880), unmistakably found that women, had smaller brains than men and, therefore, could not equal them in intelligence (see *ibid*). Women were thought of as less suited for work: they were, according to Patricia Fara “regarded as inferior versions of men, placed beneath them on the great chain of being that stretched from the lowest organisms up towards the angels and God” (Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 11).

⁸ See Hadjiafxendi/Zakreski, “Artistry and Industry” 3. This notion is addressed by Margaret Carlyle in her article “Invisible Assistants and Translated Texts: d’Arconville and Practical Chemistry in Enlightenment France” (2011). In her book *The Professionalization of Women Writers in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Betty Schellenberg explored the inadequacy of literary criticism or historiography that assumes female subordination as the fact of paramount importance (see Meyer-Sparks, “Review of *The Professionalization of Women Writers*” 521). In contrast to critical assumptions, women writers were not universally patronized or ignored (see *ibid*. 522). Critically, Schellenberg fails to further point out that the previous invisibility of the female contribution to canon regularization constituted an important instance of how women’s agency has vanished from familiar stories of critical history (see *ibid*. 523).

⁹ See Rowbotham, “Feminist Approaches” 39.

professionalization and handling science-related materials and discourses.¹⁰ However, Anning's path to professionalization was merely one of possible trajectories in the process of professionalization.

This chapter explores the interconnectedness of travel and careers in the public sphere as a specific path to professionalization for the protagonists from a transnational vantage point. It will be argued that their careers were marked by international travel, living, and working and that these women occupied various social and professional roles tied to their travelistic experience along the way to professionalization. Furthermore, it will be analyzed how the protagonists were embedded in their respective international communities of scientists and journalists, etc., and played parts in contestations. Subsequently, the inseparability of women in this era of professionalism and feminism will be examined by the ways in which the protagonists identified with international feminist movements of particular nations and regions. At the end of this chapter, the legacies of women will be discussed and the ways in which their careers led to an exclusion of historiography in a time of national occupation with heritage.

4.1. Home and Abroad: Multiplicity of Social Roles

Women's roles in the Victorian era, particularly when considering a professional engagement with a chosen field of interest, must be seen in the context of their respective partners or husbands. As Michiyo Morita (2004) finds that women played indispensable parts in achieving the results for which their men became renowned,¹¹ the absence of women in historiographic writing, or the "disappearing act,"¹² can be attributed to a variety of phenomena in the field. As a prominent example, in the case of the historian-couple Mary Ritter Beard and Charles Beard, Anke Voss-Hubbard considers their joint collaboration on their books *American Citizenship* (1914) and *The Rise of the American Civilization* (1927): "What is clear, however, is that Mary Beard's role in these collaborative works was barely acknowledged by her contemporaries."¹³ This is but one example of this paradox. The visibility of women in joint publications as well as the recognition of women's involvement of their respective partner's publications is heterogeneous and difficult to substantiate at times.

¹⁰ Tracy Chivalier novelized the life of Mary Anning in her book *Remarkable Creatures* (2010).

¹¹ See Fara, *Pandora's Breeches* 10.

¹² Gerassi-Navarro, "Picturing the Tropics" 218 (FN 37).

¹³ Voss-Hubbard, "Marry Ritter Beard" 18.

In *Pandora's Breeches* (2009), Patricia Fara analyzes women's contributions with regard to their husbands, brothers, fathers, etc. Evidently, Fara analyzes women's contributions to science and scientific advances in the Age of Enlightenment, when the distinction of separate spheres was ubiquitous. However, towards the end of the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century, these firmly tied social roles of distinctive oppositions and dichotomies were slowly eroding. Linda Kerber argues that the boundaries between the historically construed spheres may be fuzzier and that the reconstruction of gender relations and of the spaces that men and women may claim is one of the most compelling contemporary social tasks.¹⁴ As more and more women became independent in their pursuit of professionalism, the context of marriage and reading their contributions solely in the light of their partner's becomes increasingly complicated.

Women's roles could be contrasting and distinct at home and abroad, particularly for women who traveled with their spouses or partners. Female travelers were advancing into the public sphere, speaking and lecturing in public, traveling, collecting ethnographic data, hiking and mountaineering, writing and publishing books, and so forth.¹⁵ These roles could be distinct from one another while traveling and when being at home, for instance in the case of Calderon de la Barca who, in her writing, emerges as a migrating subject between multiple and often conflicting frames¹⁶ while others were travelers and travel writers by profession, explorers like Isabella Bird.¹⁷ Then again, other women could be "traveler-tourists" who presented themselves as wives traveling with their husbands or brothers on business or for pleasure.¹⁸ The example of Isabella Bird seems particularly interesting, as "her insistence on her own freedom did not necessarily imply a refusal to collude in the oppressive business of imperialism."¹⁹ Going beyond dichotomous conceptualizations of the social roles these women inhabited, Victorian women travelers such as Isabella Bird were mostly concerned with presenting themselves as vehemently against the "new woman" image, while many seemed to implicitly embrace it.²⁰

While abroad, some women assumed positions that appeared to be relationships more like working companions, e.g. Eduard Seler and Caecilie Seler-Sachs, Katharine Woolley and Leonard Woolley, or Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz and Louis Agassiz. However, only some of

¹⁴ See Kerber, "Separate Spheres and Women's History" 55.

¹⁵ See Morin, "Peak Practices" 493.

¹⁶ See Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires" 5.

¹⁷ See Morin, "Peak Practices" 495.

¹⁸ See *ibid.*

¹⁹ Kröller, "First Impressions" 91.

²⁰ See Morin, "Peak Practices" 510.

these married travelers continued this relationship of equal partnership at home, e.g. Jane Dieulafoy and her husband Marcel-Auguste Dieulafoy. Also, in relation to travel and domesticity, women were successful as writers, e.g. with travel accounts such as Seler-Sachs's *Frauenleben in Mexico* (1919) or *Aufalten Wegen in Mexiko und Guatemala* (1924). Writing was a social role that was associated with the private realm rather than being a successful speaker in the public realm, an issue moving through the intersections of the axes of man versus woman, home versus abroad, private versus public, and writing versus speaking, permeating through national borders.

It is the aim of this chapter to explore how spatial transgressions beyond the borders of the nation coincided with the overcoming of pre-ascribed gender-roles and to what extent roles that were explored during times of geographical mobility manifested in domestic settings, affecting a transgression or regression. In other words, this chapter examines whether, after returning to their respective home countries, the transgressions of social roles translated into the challenging of social gender-roles, e.g. in venturing into the public sphere by lecturing in front of gender-mixed audiences or other public engagements.

Miriam Leslie: Rejecting Domesticity

In the words of Madeleine Stern, throughout her entire life and career, “Mrs. Leslie had played many roles successfully.”²¹ In fact, so many roles that these intersected and at times even conflicted with each other. Leslie would display an “impulse to have it both ways; she believed, she wrote, in clothing an iron hand in a velvet glove.”²² In addition, concerning the independency of Leslie about her social status and gender roles, Jill Jepson finds: “The irony, of course, is that very little about Miriam’s life fit the nineteenth-century ideal of womanhood.”²³ Indeed, as countless biographers and researchers have commented, Leslie “became someone who managed both to fly in the face of social convention and to maintain the superficial attributes her society deemed valuable and significant for women.”²⁴ In fact, it can be argued that Miriam Leslie was the “antithesis of femininity”:

If women were expected to be domestic, maternal, chaste, and modest, Miriam could be said to be the antithesis of femininity. Her domesticity consisted of outfitting a string of residences with sumptuous furnishings. She spent much of her life traveling, and most of

²¹ Stern, *Purple Passage* 105.

²² Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 152.

²³ Jepson, *Women’s Concerns* 191.

²⁴ Frost, ““Where Women May Speak For Themselves”” 61.

the rest living in a series of hotels. The keeping of a home in the traditional sense was nothing she cared to do, nor was she required to.²⁵

Leslie became a successful writer, campaigner for women's rights, lecturer, and, most importantly, a remarkably successful businesswoman. It was thus "perhaps her most notable achievement, in an age when executives in silk dresses were rarely taken seriously."²⁶ Leslie was taken seriously because she had realized that being a public persona entailed not only restraint in managing this public image, but also providing a public audience with new and interesting information about her. For example, domestically, Leslie transformed herself and her public persona once again on May 23, 1881: after her husband had died, Leslie successfully changed her name to "Frank Leslie" in order to manage the business affairs – the Leslie Publishing House was thus safeguarded by a well-known woman now named after a man.²⁷

In that regard, repeatedly, Leslie's success as a woman in Victorian society rested on the introduction of semi-scandalous edges to her personality whilst upholding a thinly woven veil of social norms that only just covered her societal transgressions. That was true not only for her geographical mobility (traveling as American woman to Lima, Havana, Bahamas, her lecture tour, etc.) but also her social mobility (e.g. marrying men of diverse and increasing social standing, assuming the title of Baroness de Bazus, etc.). Most importantly, she was able to maintain at all times the superficiality of social roles that were acceptable for women of that era.

Travel affected Leslie's attachment to gender roles in many ways. She traveled as a single woman later in her life as well as a partner of her respective husbands. She was a traveling wife, yet not in a domestic sense. When she traveled with her respective husbands, she was a woman in her own regard and not an adjunct of her husbands. She was not a companion traveler to her husbands, particularly E.G. Squier, who went to South America. When Squier was appointed commissioner to Peru in 1863, Miriam Leslie joined her husband in Lima. Living at the American Legation, she would explore the city and write down her recollections in "The Ladies of Lima" that was published in *Frank Leslie's Pleasant Hours*.²⁸ However, in contrast to the wives of Agassiz, Maudslay, or Selser, who had accompanied them during their explorations, Miriam Leslie not only found "that the Peruvian climate did not agree with her" but also did not find herself in the position to stay with her husband any longer

²⁵ Jepson, *Women's Concerns* 191.

²⁶ Jackson, "Belle of the Boardroom" 152.

²⁷ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 102.

²⁸ See *ibid.* 40.

and she departed for New York.²⁹ In fact, being simply an adjunct to her husband was not enough for Miriam Leslie. By writing her future ex-husband in a letter “I being merely your wife, eh pet?”³⁰ this limited role as merely the wife of E. G. Squier ended. Leslie’s energy demanded more.

During their 1867 tour to the Paris exhibition, Leslie took in all the influences and information and eventually helped Frank Leslie with his business. Furthermore, on similar journeys, Leslie even traveled occupying different social roles. Although she traveled as journalist and wife of Frank Leslie through the United States in 1877, with her subsequent her travelogue *California*, she repeated this journey in 1892 as a single woman. In other words, while Leslie could assume traditional roles as wife of renowned travelers such like E.G. Squier; however, traveling was not linked to domesticity for Leslie.

Miriam Leslie’s rejection of traditional female domesticity was in large part due to her travels. Caring for children in a household would have impeded her ability to work and travel equally. During her trip across the continent described in *California*, Leslie “paid considerable attention to the closed, intimate “home-like” interiors of trains as they journeyed westward.”³¹ Moreover, as Karen Morin acknowledges, for Victorian women travelers such as Leslie:

[The] focus on social life aboard the trains, quality of food, lack of privacy, and complaints about American travelers and railroad personnel were consistent with a “feminine” voice of travelers who derived much of their textual authority from discussing appropriately domestic topics, and who aligned their femininity with their aristocratic class and superior English identity.³²

Miriam Leslie may have cared about private details such as cushions and interior designs, yet she did not totally comply with these feminine stereotypes. Managing her public image became an important part in Leslie’s career; and in her success, the “public did not realize that beneath the feminine frills and light touches, Mrs. Leslie was a granite rock of strength, ambition, and ability.”³³

The interdependency of Leslie’s career and public persona in terms of travel and social mobility needs to be seen in the context of travel and defying traditional gender roles and can be detected in Leslie’s decision to move into the stately rooms at the Gerlach Hotel, where she would continue to live until her death, after the successful coup in the aftermath of the Garfield assassination and the restoration of her business. On the basic level, a hotel provides

²⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 42.

³⁰ See *ibid.*

³¹ Morin, “Peak Practices” 496.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Stern, *Purple Passage* 105.

“sleep and shelter for the traveler,” as Caroline Levander and Mathew Guterl describe in their book *Hotel Life* (2015).³⁴ More than that, beginning in the nineteenth century, hotels became what Andrew Sandoval-Strausz termed “the architectural and social form that became the international standard for sheltering travelers.”³⁵ Hotels are among the sites that Martin Conboy relates to travel, as they were a facilitator of information exchange and, in places where travelers and merchants gathered such as coaching inns, commercial centers, ports and markets, news was most commonly sought and dispersed.³⁶

Incidentally, the hotel is a place in which the prevalent social order is suspended when stepping through the doors into the lobby. In the magazine *Puck*, a cartoon titled “Walledoff,” an overt wordplay on the famous Waldorf Astoria, the hotel serves as a “social machine” in which a collection of backcountry rubes is transformed into members of the high society.³⁷ The joke of the cartoon relies on the fundamental error that the sojourning, fish-out-of-water country folk continually misread each encounter. Nevertheless, in the end, the “social machine” functions according to its premise and they emerge significantly more polished and presentable than before.³⁸ The moral of the story is that the hotel makes it possible for anyone and everything to be re-made, allowing for a tiny social revolution, but making a hundred other parallel transformations possible, too.³⁹ The social space of a hotel is a paragon of leveling inequality. Social hierarchies are seemingly harmonized into a social plane for the price of a room. Furthermore, in the social aquarium of a hotel virtually anything appears to be possible.

Because the hotel is a space that is a symbol for both the traveler and the suspension of social order, it becomes an apt symbol for Miriam Leslie’s restless life. Rejecting the domestic ideal of the traditional woman’s sphere, Leslie “wanted none of the cares of housekeeping.”⁴⁰ In Sinclair Lewis’s novel *Work of Art* (1934), he:

pinpoints the imaginative release from home that the hotel provides individuals who check in precisely because they want to get away from feeling at home – because they are earnestly sick of wives, yelping children, balky furnaces, household bills, and getting the lawn mowed.⁴¹

³⁴ Levander/Guterl, *Hotel Life* 1.

³⁵ Sandoval-Strausz, *Hotel* 3.

³⁶ See Conboy, *Journalism* 8.

³⁷ See Levander/Guterl, *Hotel Life* 2.

³⁸ See *ibid.*

³⁹ See *ibid.*

⁴⁰ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 124.

⁴¹ Levander/Guterl, *Hotel Life* 4.

As Levander and Guterl acknowledge, “the hotel and the various kinds of life it enables create uncomfortable, inadvertent complicities and local acts of resistance, both of which are an inevitable part of modern life.”⁴² In that regard, Leslie functionalized her hotel rooms as “a site of power and resistance, authority and self-fashioning, dominance and subversion.”⁴³ For Leslie, hotels embodied a crucial aspect for her professional work in that they presented the chance or possibility of mobility. A hotel is a momentary suspension of travel: essentially, a moment of pause for the traveler. It is assumed to be merely a short stop, a transient momentum. Levander and Guterl crystalize this aspect in saying:

While the hotel is a fixed structure, made of brick and concrete and steel and rooted, literally, into the bedrock of a specific site, the life it supports and enables – across the full socioeconomic spectrum – is defined by transience and dislocation.⁴⁴

In other words, Leslie was able to “maintain the superficial attributes her society deemed valuable and significant for women,”⁴⁵ yet her conformity to societal expectations nevertheless remained superficial. Therefore, staying in a hotel elevates this state of suspension to a way of living that Miriam Leslie’s biographer Madeleine Stern describes as a form of “nomad life” that appealed to Leslie.⁴⁶ Traveling was an essential part of Leslie’s career and an impetus for her journalistic and editorial work as well as her travel writing and her lectures in European royalty in 1890: “the nineteenth century flies upon the coach-wheel,” she wrote in *California*.⁴⁷ As the many roles Miriam Leslie inhabited in her life, the hotel as a social space fittingly describes her:

The hotel [...] is an institution that utilizes space to amplify and refine an explicitly mobile, cosmopolitan self – a self that imagines the hotel as a site for fantastic, ever-shifting expressions of living and dying, fortune and failure, beginnings and endings – in short, of a life bigger, bolder, wilder, cleaner, and more therapeutic than “real life.”⁴⁸

For Leslie, as a Victorian woman, a hotel enabled instant mobility as it suspended the domestic act of caring for a household. Like potential energy that can be released instantaneously into kinetic energy, this mode of living resembled a form of potential travel that could be freely triggered, and freed Leslie from the restrictions of domestic boundedness for a woman in the nineteenth century.

⁴² Levander/Guterl, *Hotel Life* 5.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid. 6.

⁴⁵ Frost, “Where Women May Speak For Themselves” 61.

⁴⁶ Stern, *Purple Passage* 140.

⁴⁷ LES, *California* 65.

⁴⁸ Levander/Guterl, *Hotel Life* 6.

“Outshining Her Husband”: Alice Le Plongeon’s Public Career

Early literature on Le Plongeon, e.g. Robert Wauchope’s *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents: Myth and Method in the Study of American Indians* (1962) and Robert Brunhouse’s *In Search of the Maya: The First Archaeologists* (1976) tend to focus on her as an adjunct to her husband and portray her as a diligent assistant and defender of his theories; mostly, these elaborations are limited to a few remarks. Furthermore, the tone of Wauchope and Brunhouse is highly dismissive of Augustus Le Plongeon. However, the social role of Alice Le Plongeon transitioned from the Victorian ideal of the domestic wife to an autonomous, independent woman working in the public sphere. This become more prominent over the course of the Le Plongeon’s time abroad in Yucatán, working together as a team rather than Alice being a helpmate of her husband, and particularly after their return to the United States, when Le Plongeon became “the breadwinner” and the more public figure of the two when she gave her lectures. However, despite challenging the domestic role of the woman and that of the simple helpmate, as Desmond recognizes, Alice Le Plongeon was at the same time careful enough to keep her husband in the limelight, while her family and friends knew that she played a larger role in their joint work.⁴⁹

Early women archaeologists like Le Plongeon were all exceptional women who did not fit the Victorian mold of femininity.⁵⁰ While they worked together as equal partners, resembling Jane Dieulafoy’s relationship to her husband Marcel, Le Plongeon’s work, for a long time, was undermined by history as being purely administrative and inferior to that of Augustus. Alice Le Plongeon “has been classed with the unofficial helpmates and insignificant others married to academically prominent spouses.”⁵¹ However, she “was one of the few illustrious Victorian women who travelled to exotic places as her husband’s spouse and assistant but who also made her own reputation and career as a writer, ultimately outshining her husband as a public speaker and celebrity.”⁵² As Claire Lyons, Curator of Antiquities at the J. Paul Getty Center, argues, being “journalist, amateur ethnographer, and photographer, Alice’s bibliography reveals in a glance the breadth of her curiosity.”⁵³

Le Plongeon had a greater influence on her husband’s work than previously noted. As Patricia Fara argues in the context of professional production of knowledge: “female

⁴⁹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 25.

⁵⁰ See Chester, “Frances Eliza Babbitt” 180.

⁵¹ Lyons, “Foreword” xix

⁵² Mackenthun, “Women’s Liberation” 336-7.

⁵³ Lyons, “Foreword” xv.

participation was undoubtedly far greater than old-fashioned accounts suggest.”⁵⁴ Generalizing this idea, as Fara puts it, many scientific publications would have been less polished without their female critics, and some of them would not even have been written; others would have languished as piles of papers in a drawer, waiting for an editor to collate, organize and publish them.⁵⁵ In this regard, Le Plongeon interfered with the traditional roles of women and men when she entered her husband’s sphere and even refined his manuscript: Augustus Le Plongeon was not a native English speaker, therefore Alice took the task of editing and re-writing his papers for publication, as Desmond acknowledges that “much of her time was spent editing Augustus’ archaeological reports prior to publication by the American Antiquarian Society because English was not his first language.”⁵⁶ It was Alice Le Plongeon who likely spent considerable time polishing her husband’s writing.⁵⁷

Aside from the expeditionary photography that presented new fields of engagement for Le Plongeon, the liberty to travel abroad also enabled her to challenge stereotypes associated with women. Le Plongeon’s physique was noted with regard to her ability to explore the Yucatán peninsula. An article in the *New York Times* asserted: “Mrs. Alice Le Plongeon [...] is a pale, slender, delicate-looking woman – the last one would select as having a physique fitted to undergo the perils of the wildernesses, and waste places of the earth as she has done.”⁵⁸ At the time, it was generally accepted that no woman would be strong enough to take such action – women were by nature too “delicate”⁵⁹ and not suited for the exploration of the peninsula. Despite these implications by contemporary society, while abroad in the field, Le Plongeon had the opportunity to transgress traditional women’s roles in the aspect of her clothing at a time when feminism in the United States and Great Britain collided with other forms of negotiating the role of women in society, e.g. anti-feminism, anti-suffragism, etc.⁶⁰ A different aspect of Le Plongeon’s proficient engagement in documentary photography can be seen in her transgression of gender-appropriate clothing at the time in conjunction with her transgression of geographical boundaries. It was in the jungle of Yucatán where she could express her liberation in her choice of clothing as well.

⁵⁴ Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 16.

⁵⁵ See *ibid.* 26.

⁵⁶ Desmond, *Yucatán* 29.

⁵⁷ See *ibid.* 29.

⁵⁸ “Personal” 18.

⁵⁹ See Anderson, *Politics of Travel* 21.

⁶⁰ On the intricacies of these, see Ann Heilmann and Valerie Sanders’s article “The Rebel, the Lady and the ‘Anti’: Femininity, Anti-Feminism, and the Victorian Woman Writer” (2006).

As Desmond recognizes, at the site of Chichén Itzá, it was Alice Le Plongeon herself who took charge of the excavation of the Platform of Venus.⁶¹ More than that, Le Plongeon dressed in men's clothing:

Dr. Le Plongeon insisted upon my riding astride, contending that the side saddle was unsafe in the forest among thorny bushes and on very rough ground. Regarding the subject of masculine apparel, not to be again alluded to, a few remarks may not be out of place. Wide Afghan trousers, an ample blouse, and high boots – a requisite precaution against snakes – constituted an attire which enabled me to walk, run, or ride wherever duty called, and to climb dangerous places with confidence in my own movements. Furthermore, the freedom of action made me fear less, conferring a consciousness of independence and ability to escape danger by active agility. I grew stronger and less nervous, although taxed by being always obliged to carry a rifle, ready loaded for inimical bipeds or quadrupeds. The open air life had something to do with the physical improvement, but the dress was the principal factor.⁶²

As made clear by this passage, for Le Plongeon, dressing in clothes that were associated with a male dress code offered inherent practical advantages, yet also conveyed a sense of freedom and “physical improvement.” During the attack of Chan Santa Cruz Maya in February 1875 at Tizimin, Le Plongeon “sprang from the hammock” and remarked, “it was the work of five minutes to dress (I in male attire).”⁶³ Not only the practicality but also health issues seemed to be evident:

The close fitting bodice and long skirts were for many days so trying that I found nothing in city life to compensate for the discomfort of petticoat and whalebone; and therefore came to the conclusion that woman's mode of dressing is prejudicial to health and strength, irritating to nerves and temper, and that it undoubtedly makes her timid in action.⁶⁴

In that regard, Le Plongeon is similar to Jane Dieulafoy, who wore men's clothes as “comfortable pants were much better than dainty shoes and lacy gloves,”⁶⁵ as Amanda Adams writes. Both Jane Dieulafoy as well as Alice Dixon Le Plongeon worked together with their husbands on archaeological expeditions. They were, however, not only part of a professional couple, excavating and/or photographing in their respective site; they were also equal in their partnerships as well as their relationships.

Most interesting about Jane Dieulafoy was her decision to drop the Victorian dress code for women and sport men's clothes instead – not only during their joint expeditions but also in their home. In 1894, under the headline “Uses Hubby's Wardrobe,” an article in the *New York Morning Journal* explains:

⁶¹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 2.

⁶² ADLP, “Yucatán” 218, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁶³ Desmond, *Yucatán* 63.

⁶⁴ ADLP, “Yucatán” 218-9, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁶⁵ Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 46.

She goes so much into society with her husband, but never changes her way of dressing. Her husband approves, and they study and make archaeological researches together. They agree that a common dress enables man and wife to submit to the same conditions and share the same pursuits. One can go where the other goes in bad weather.⁶⁶

Jane Dieulafoy has puzzled researchers for a long time; various narratives have been explored to explain her cross-dressing – even assumed Dieulafoy to be a transgendered person whose gender expression appears to be at odds with her biological sex.⁶⁷ Just as the article about Jane Dieulafoy states that the “vicissitudes of travel and arbitrary social rules that make distinctions for petticoats are effaced,”⁶⁸ Alice Le Plongeon functionalized cross-dressing in a specific setting. However, in contrast to Jane Dieulafoy, who allegedly “looked just like a young man,”⁶⁹ Alice Le Plongeon never intended to occupy a certain look that would disguise herself as a man. Moving beyond the parameters of gendered clothing, Dieulafoy and Le Plongeon are similar in their relations to their respective husbands as intellectual and societal stimulus. Dieulafoy’s relationship with her husband was the catalyst for adventure, and Dieulafoy recognized that through romantic love as well as marriage to a man who did interesting things, she could open doors that would have otherwise remained locked.⁷⁰ In contrast to Dieulafoy, Le Plongeon, who did wear male clothing in the jungles of Mexico, never wore them back in the United States. The aspect of liberation described by Le Plongeon in the fieldwork did not translate to her wearing these in New York when they traveled back. Yet, the return to traditional feminine clothing caused a feeling of being trapped for Le Plongeon; this led her to pursue a different trajectory of liberation and thus transgress the societal boundary of public speaking that was controversial at the time.

During their time abroad in the Mexican jungles, Le Plongeon was never a domestic helpmate or adjunct, but rather a full companion, a partner who was not an assistant to her husband. Elbert Hubbard in his review of *Queen Mío and the Egyptian Sphinx* asserts that in all of Augustus Le Plongeon’s travel, Alice Le Plongeon was a “collaborator and companion,” being “‘possessed of that excellent thing in woman.’”⁷¹

⁶⁶ Irvine, “Jane Dieulafoy’s Gender Transgressive Behaviour” 13. Margot Irvine’s article explores the various narratives that have been used to explain Dieulafoy’s gender and cross-dressing.

⁶⁷ See *ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 49.

⁷⁰ See *ibid.* 63.

⁷¹ Hubbard, “Review of *Queen Mío*” 343. Other traveling women who were not only accompanying her respective partners but working together as companions in a team were not only the aforementioned Jane Dieulafoy, but also Anne Carey Maudslay and Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz. During their travels in America, between 1881 and 1894, Alfred Percival Maudslay and his wife Anne Carey Maudslay explored Central America published their travel narrative *A Glimpse at Guatemala* (1899). In contrast to preceding travelogues, e.g. Lloyd Stephens and Catherwood’s *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas and Yucatan* (1841), Anne and Alfred Maudslay took a rather unusual approach, dividing the work along gender lines, with each spouse

Besides experiencing the role as equal partner in her marriage, Le Plongeon used the experiences of travel in Yucatan by going beyond the bounds of roles and socially accepted behavior for women. As already discussed, Le Plongeon enjoyed the freedom of cross-dressing with male trousers in the jungles of Yucatán, as not only “the freedom of action made me fear less,” as Le Plongeon wrote in Yucatán, but most importantly: these trousers “conferr[ed] a consciousness of independence and ability to escape danger by active agility.”⁷²

In other words, by having been introduced to the transgression of gender roles in terms of her clothing in the jungles of Yucatán where Le Plongeon was an equal partner and not a domestic assistant for her husband, she felt its positive effects. Upon returning to the United States, Le Plongeon retrospectively lamented the loss of freedom she had enjoyed abroad with the ability to cross-dress: “it was necessary to again adopt conventional feminine garb,” which “produced a depressing effect which lasted some time.”⁷³ The aspect of being forced back into wearing traditional feminine garb irritated Le Plongeon and – after having experienced the transgression abroad – she concluded:

The close fitting bodice and long skirts were for many days so trying that I found nothing in city life to compensate for the discomfort of petticoat and whalebone; and therefore came to the conclusion that woman’s mode of dressing is prejudicial to health and strength, irritating to nerves and temper, and that it undoubtedly makes her timid in action.⁷⁴

Ultimately, as Amy Greenberg acknowledges, male clothing not only changed the appearance of a woman, it also changed her self-perception.⁷⁵ Even after having transgressed the

assuming control over one part of the texts. While Anne Maudslay’s narrative focuses intently on matters of cultural difference, with lengthy descriptions of landscape, local customs, and encounters with Central Americans, Alfred Maudslay’s strives for the detached tone of the scientist, with tables, graphs, and charts, but also with considerable attention to logics of value that inform practices of collecting and ideologies of ownership (see Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 232). The texts by Alfred Maudslay are particularly marked by his initials, indicating the voice of Anne Carey Maudslay to signify the textual norm. In the preface of *Glimpse* Alfred Maudslay even admits to his inability to write the book himself: “It has therefore frequently been suggested to me that I should publish a less ambitious and less expensive volume giving a general account of my travels as well as some description of the ruins visited; but, alas! I have to confess a hopeless inability to keep a regular journal” (Maudslay, *Glimpse* ix). Very often in these cases of joint endeavor, as Gerassi-Navarro remarks about this aspect of a gendered authorship, in his case between anthropologist Louis Agassiz and his wife, Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz, there exists this a duality between the scientific, serious and empirical, and the narrative, or “minor thread” that turns their texts into “entertainment,” or, in Humboldt’s terms that adds “sentiment” to “science” (see Gerassi-Navarro, “Picturing the Tropics” 218). Detecting the fault lines remains difficult in a jointly published work such as Elizabeth and Louis Agassiz’s book *A Journey in Brazil* (1868).

⁷² ADLP, “Yucatan” 218, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Even later, when Le Plongeon visited Paris in 1896, the gender-coded aspect of clothing occasionally startled her gaze of the seasoned traveler. She recalled about the French that: “They have no false shame of the beauties of natural forms” (ADLP, “Paris” 18, ADPP VII/1). During that trip, she was perplexed by French men who are “not compelled to wear skirts” nevertheless “like going about the streets in them, as all the priests do in Paris” (ibid. 22) – in contrast to the women of Paris who “don their bloomers to work in the streets in stormy weather” (ibid. 22-3).

⁷⁵ See Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood* 214.

limitations of the domestic and venturing into the public via traveling (see Le Plongeon's transgression of clothing, etc.) there is a difference between that role abroad and the role at home (where Le Plongeon, for example, never wore her Afghan trousers again). Le Plongeon even related this to incarceration: "I understood then how a bird feels when caught and caged."⁷⁶ The transgression of traditional clothing embodied a symbolic act that forced Le Plongeon to re-evaluate the conventions of acceptable gender-coded behavior. Furthermore, these transgressions in Yucatán were the beginnings of an irrevocable process of liberation that prompted Le Plongeon to pursue new trajectories or avenues of liberation in the form of public speaking.

Le Plongeon's successful lecture in Belize in 1876 at the Catholic School – which was the essence of her first publication "Notes on Yucatan" (1879) – encouraged her to seek public speaking engagements in New York.⁷⁷ Concordantly, as women "created their own audiences by organizing auxiliary reform organizations that paralleled and supported the same goals as men's groups in support of abolition of slavery, education, and temperance,"⁷⁸ Le Plongeon's first speaking engagements were concordantly sought by both private parties and institutions such as the Cooper Union Institute and the New York Academy of Sciences.⁷⁹ Both organizations promoted universal access to education regardless of race, religion, gender or social status – to be "open and free to all."⁸⁰ For Le Plongeon, the "open doors of the Cooper Union are like the outstretched hand of an angel friend, beckoning them to a higher plane, to the society of the noblest minds."⁸¹ For her, the institution provided "a gift of a great soul to the intellectual poor of New York."⁸²

However, since gender was a major social division in the nineteenth century and women were allowed the greatest opportunity to speak when they addressed only women rather than mixed audiences,⁸³ Le Plongeon often addressed single-gendered audiences. She spoke at the Literary Day at the Woman's Professional League of New York, was publicly credited as the author of *Here and There in Yucatan*, "Life in Yucatan," numerous poems and other works, and spoke about Mexico and its literature, touching on the national theatre, schools of art, and politics in a very interesting manner.⁸⁴ Pursuing a mixed-gender audience,

⁷⁶ ADLP, "Yucatan" 218, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁷⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 253.

⁷⁸ Bean, "Gaining a Public Voice" 23.

⁷⁹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 253.

⁸⁰ Young/Meyers, *Adventures in Old New York* 165.

⁸¹ ADLP, "Will They Aid Their Alma Mater" 3.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ See Bean, "Gaining a Public Voice" 23.

⁸⁴ See "Literary Day at the Woman's Professional League" 18.

Le Plongeon held a private lecture at the residence of a Mr. Daniel M. Tredwell at 22 Hanson Place before a select company of ladies and gentlemen, which bore the title “Yucatan: Its Ruins and the Ancient and Modern customs of the Mayas. An Interesting Paper read by Madame Augustus le Plongeon.”⁸⁵ The audience, guided by the way of maps, photographs and curiosities, “received an immense amount of information” and the lecture seems to have been successful.⁸⁶ As a result of her lectures, Le Plongeon became well-known for her knowledge about the ancient and modern Maya.⁸⁷

Having established herself as a woman capable of delivering expert lectures on the history of the Maya and modern issues, Le Plongeon held another lecture before a mixed audience at the Albany Institute in New York on December 22, 1896, with the title “The Monuments of Mayach and Their Historical Teachings.” Yet, although Le Plongeon had established herself as a capable public speaker on a variety of issues, particularly as a lecturer on the history of Yucatán in the United States, who drew large audiences, mixed as well as single-gendered, she faced male adversaries in higher positions. For example, in an article about Le Plongeon in the *Washington Post*, she is credited as an “entertaining conversationalist and lecturer,” for whom friends had been trying to arrange an engagement at the Lowell Institute course in Boston in 1890.⁸⁸ The administration allegedly reacted by asserting “the trustees would be glad to be instructed by her were it not for the distressing fact that she is a woman.”⁸⁹ In situations like these, when women risked being viewed of losing their feminine ways through public speaking, women concomitantly had to choose how to present themselves: give in to the inherent sexism, whether they would adopt the masculinist norms of speaking, or try to adopt such norms and fail through behaving in a stereotypically feminine way.⁹⁰ In her response to this challenge, Le Plongeon asked those very trustees “if a claw-hammer coat and trousers, like those worn by Mme. Dieulefoy [sic], in Paris, would obviate the difficulty.”⁹¹

Concerning her scholarly writing in general, being a woman during the time of the professionalization of American anthropology who was ousted from any official paid position, Le Plongeon could only revert to lucrative publications that enabled her to continue her studies. For Terry Lovell, scientific writing has always been associated with a “male

⁸⁵ See “Yucatan: Its Ruins and the Ancient and Modern customs of the Mayas,” ADPP VII/13.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 253.

⁸⁸ See “Mme. Alice Le Plongeon” 14.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ See Mills, “Gender and Performance Anxiety” 65.

⁹¹ “Mme. Alice Le Plongeon” 14.

voice” in contrast to a “female voice” of non-scientific writing. The dichotomous other from scientific writing, for example novel writing, is a form of domestic production where the home and workplace have never been separated. It is an individual and personalized form of production.⁹² The role of writing works of fiction, epic poems, etc., is associated with the domestic rather than the public sphere. In other words, Alice Le Plongeon reverted from public back to private roles, shedding her public roles and transitioning to the private of caretaker and wife of Augustus Le Plongeon.

Zelia Nuttall: From Wife to Independent Researcher

Zelia Nuttall was geographically mobile and during her life had traveled in various social roles. The transition in social roles in connection with travel started early on; having grown up on the European continent (see ch. 2.1), when Zelia Nuttall married Alphonse Pinart in 1880,⁹³ there was little to no question that marriage would bring an end to his explorations.⁹⁴ Ergo, in the time following their marriage, Nuttall accompanied Pinart while he worked in the West Indies, France, and Spain.⁹⁵ For example, in France during their honeymoon Pinart and Nuttall visited the Bibliothèque Nationale with the original of Codex Telleriano-Remensis (named after Archbishop Tellier of Rheims) and also the Musée de Trocadero.⁹⁶ An important step in the development of Nuttall as a researcher on her own was Alphonse Pinart’s library:

One of the great excitements of Paris [1880] must have been Pinart’s Mexican and Central American library, which included the one Abbé Brasseur had built through more than a quarter of a century. [...] [S]ubsequent developments show Zelia’s access to that library influenced her greatly. [...] Many chroniclers, whose reports were suppressed when submitted, or never published in their lifetimes, were represented in the recent editions of the Mexican ethnohistorians. The library also included the historical studies of those Mexican historians. It held official colonial documents, which, thanks to Zelia’s exposure at Bedford to the methods, principles and work of Samuel Rawson Gardiner, she knew how to exploit.⁹⁷

Pinart was an important early influence on Nuttall who furthered her interest in archaeology, linguistics, and other studies serving as components for the emerging discipline of anthropology.⁹⁸ Particularly, Nuttall’s interest in the complexities of the Aztec calendar can be linked to Pinart’s library and this interest further deepened in 1883, when Nuttall listened

⁹² See Lovell, “Writing Like a Woman” 119.

⁹³ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 7.

⁹⁴ See *ibid.* 92.

⁹⁵ Parmenter, “Zelia Magdalena Nuttall” 640.

⁹⁶ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 92.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 91.

⁹⁸ See *ibid.* 7.

to a lecture by E.J. Molera before the California Academy of Sciences and later in 1885, when she studied the Aztec Calendar Stone.⁹⁹ The library provided important stimuli for the development of Nuttall that she explored during their travels in the form of a diary. This pamphlet, or “flower diary,” was to be titled “Wild Flowers of Puerto Rico” and would not only provide her with a trajectory for a semi-scientific project, as Pinart was pursuing his linguistic and ethnographic work, but would also provide a worthy gift to present to her father when she returned to California.¹⁰⁰ This early work of Nuttall was the result of her interest in botany in her youth.

In her position as the wife of an internationally known traveler, Nuttall – unbeknownst to her at that time – was introduced to many of her future colleagues. However, whether these men like Nicolás León, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, Francisco de Borja Paso y Troncoso, Antonio Peñafiel, and others took much notice of her in 1881 when she was with Pinart in Mexico is not known. Even if she might have met most of them as Pinart’s wife, as a woman, she was a phenomenon they were not accustomed to in their field.¹⁰¹ Although Ross Parmenter is certain that Nuttall may “have charmed them with her command of languages, her intelligence, and her good looks, it was probably only after she began publishing that they began to sit up and take notice.”¹⁰²

Despite providing Nuttall with intellectual stimuli and traveling, her marriage to Alphonse Pinart was unhappy.¹⁰³ Already by the end of 1881, Nuttall and Alphonse Pinart were effectively separated. Their daughter Nadine Carmelita Louise was born on April 24, 1882,¹⁰⁴ but Nuttall did not receive a formalized deed of separation from Pinart until 1884.¹⁰⁵ The fact that Nuttall’s legal separation had been signed, sealed, and delivered by April 30, 1884, is evidenced by George Nuttall’s terse diary entry of that day: “Alphonse Pinart left.”¹⁰⁶ The official divorce was not granted until 1888.¹⁰⁷

Already before the divorce, Nuttall had decided to indicate the transition from being the wife of Alphonse Pinart to a scholar in her own right.¹⁰⁸ Nuttall tied the usage of her maiden name to her professional career with her article published in 1886, crediting herself

⁹⁹ See *ibid.* 249.

¹⁰⁰ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 94-5.

¹⁰¹ See *ibid.* 129.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ See Parmenter, “Zelia Magdalena Nuttall” 640.

¹⁰⁴ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 108.

¹⁰⁵ See Browman, “Frederic Ward Putnam” 228.

¹⁰⁶ Parmenter, “Recovery” 115.

¹⁰⁷ See Browman, “Frederic Ward Putnam” 228.

¹⁰⁸ Ross Parmenter remarks that although Nuttall legally was still Mrs. Pinart, it seems interesting to him that Frederick Putnam referred to her as Mrs. Zelia Nuttall (see Parmenter, “Recovery” 148).

as Zelia Nuttall.¹⁰⁹ Besides changing her name to her maiden name, Nuttall also maintained the address of “Mrs.”¹¹⁰ As Ross Parmenter writes, “the designation stuck”¹¹¹ and after she began publishing regularly under that name she was practically known to her colleagues simply as Mrs. Nuttall.

Effectively, Nuttall’s marriage was not a catalyst for her aspirations to go into archaeology. In contrast to the other protagonists Le Plongeon, Leslie, and Drummond-Hay, other traveling wives like Anne Carey Maudslay, Elizabeth Cabot Agassiz, Caecilie Selersachs, etc., Zelia Nuttall never engaged in a partnership, professional or otherwise, with her husband Aphonse Pinart. While Pinart may have introduced her to the general idea of anthropology, her archaeological contributions derive entirely from her own work.¹¹² Pinart was her only partner; she never married again or had a partner beyond a colleague or friend. Instead, she became married to her career.¹¹³

After separating from Pinart, no longer was Nuttall a young woman without a husband tagging along with her mother and brother, “with nothing much better to do than look after her child and paint wild flowers,” Nuttall became “a woman with a mission.”¹¹⁴ However, challenging the status quo proved not always an easy aspect of venturing into the public. As mentioned in the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum*, Nuttall had already amassed a collection of Teotihuacan terra-cotta heads by 1885. With her classification scheme and her theories as to their purpose, Nuttall impressed Putnam, who had already helped another woman anthropologist, Alice Fletcher. He urged Nuttall to publish the paper and ultimately used his influence to get it published in the *American Journal of Archaeology and of the History of the Fine Arts*.¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ The beginning of referring to her as Mrs. Zelia Nuttall in context to her work as professional researcher with her first article is reflected by the fact that in 1885 she is referred to as “Mrs. Zelia Nuttall-Pinart” in the *Eighteenth and Nineteenth Annual Report of the Peabody Museum* (“List of Additions to the Museum and Library for the Year 1885” 505), while the *Twentieth Annual Report* in 1886 lists her as “Mrs. Zelia Nuttall” (“Additions to the Museum and Library for the Year 1886” 573). Following Nuttall’s first publication from 1886, the double name was used publicly once by Batres as an insult during their contestation over the excavation of the Isla de Sacrificios in 1909/10.

¹¹⁰ This was respected by many historical sources, in spite of some exceptions, e.g. “Science and Progress” in the *Globe Republic* (1886), or “People of Prominence” in the *Pittsburg Dispatch* (1892). Parmenter sees Nuttall’s decision to call herself “Mrs.” Nuttall instead of “Miss” after her divorce from Alphonse Pinart as a bow to Lucy Stone, who, once she became Mrs. Henry Brown Blackwell, insisted on being known as *Mrs.* Stone (see Parmenter, “Recovery” 151). Ross Parmenter explains: Nuttall, “in thinking of her career, wanted to have it under her maiden name, but, for the sake of Nadine, she wanted to be known as a married woman” (see *ibid.* 148).

¹¹¹ Parmenter, “Recovery” 148.

¹¹² Browman, “Frederic Ward Putnam” 228.

¹¹³ Rather colorfully, Amanda Adams writes: “From a lifetime of letters, that Nuttall wrote to friends and colleagues, it’s clear that her Nadine was *the* love of her life” (Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 70).

¹¹⁴ Parmenter, “Recovery” 127.

¹¹⁵ See *ibid.* 139.

Despite this early success as well as her continuous traveling in the following years, Nuttall continued to struggle with the transgression of acquiring a public voice. Six years after her initial paper, when on September 12, 1892, the circus of the Americanists met in Madrid for the grand opening of the Columbian Historical Exposition, Nuttall prepared her speech on her recent findings on the Codex Magliabecchiano and her findings on the Mexican Calendar system. Typically, women speaking in public, particularly at international events such as these expositions, were well aware of the consequences of their public speaking – that they were challenging the norms of the established speech-giving community.¹¹⁶ It seems this aspect – at least in the first years of her career – was an issue for Nuttall. During the proceedings of the Exhibition, on October 11, Nuttall was to give her presentation. However, despite Nuttall having gained experience and self-confidence since her first paper on the heads of Teotihuacan, Nuttall must have still been suffering from the terror of speaking in public that she had confessed to Putnam six years before, for she did not read her paper on the calendar herself but it was read by her brother, George Nuttall.¹¹⁷ As Judith Bean finds, “an audience must grant a speaker some credibility in the speech-giving community if the speaker is to be effective,”¹¹⁸ Nuttall must have felt that there was a decisive lack of credibility given to her by the almost entirely male audience. Despite Nuttall’s reluctance to speak publicly, “her paper was one of the best, if not the best, read.”¹¹⁹

During these first years of her career, her activities could not include being a public speaker in anthropology or archaeology; a role that would have transcended semi-public spheres of women audiences. Judith Bean argued that “because a woman’s desire for self-expression or social influence had to be subordinated to family needs, financial circumstances appear as the major reason for women to take up public speaking professionally.”¹²⁰ As Nuttall had successfully detached herself from any of these necessities, she was able to move into her role as a public speaker. For example, Nuttall transitioned into a successful speaker, e.g. when she, at the International Congress in Stockholm a few years later, read a paper not only in front of her colleagues but also in the presence of King Oscar of Sweden.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ See Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 27.

¹¹⁷ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 236. Following these events, the Spanish queen María Christina mentioned Zelia by name during the closing remarks of the congress and declared her work as “foremost.” In the aftermath, Nuttall was summoned to be presented to the queen; “a brush with royalty she never forgot.” She also was awarded a silver medal for the paper (see *ibid.* 237).

¹¹⁸ Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 27.

¹¹⁹ Currier, “International Congress of Americanists” 476.

¹²⁰ Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 28.

¹²¹ See Currier, “International Congress of Americanists” 476.

Nuttall traveled extensively in various social roles: as a daughter, mother, and wife, developing professional roles as a female anthropologist and archaeologist, etc. Linking these to the contemporary notions of gender identity and suffrage, Nuttall's alignment with feminism is a challenging issue (see ch. 4.3). As Ross Parmenter commented: "many women supported her, even though she showed little zeal in supporting them."¹²² Similarly to Miriam Leslie, who managed to bypass the social norms, Zelia Nuttall was able to achieve a good deal of personal liberation by living her life as she wanted to, regardless of how women were supposed to act.¹²³ Although she might have stirred controversies and contestations with her colleagues (see ch. 4.2), Nuttall was viewed as a capable professional beyond the boundaries of her gender. More than that, despite achieving personal freedom, the limitations she had challenged were entirely academic or professional. In contrast to Jane Dieulafoy, Nuttall never explored the boundaries of gender-appropriate clothing, e.g. wearing trousers like Alice Le Plongeon. In that regard, she was similar to Miriam Leslie. Both exhibited a form of strategic alignment with specific social norms while rejecting others such as restrictive access to public education and involvement.

Lady Drummond-Hay: A Traveler-Journalist and Domestic Partner

From the very start of her career, Drummond-Hay had been adamant in pursuing a professional career as a serious journalist and not as a "tea-fighter." After her first successful news scoops, she began to embark on a career that was characterized by traveling abroad more intensively than any other protagonist in this study; she constantly traveled in order to write.

In the early twentieth century, in extending the range of journalism, popular women's magazines began to include topical issues such as divorce, social issues, birth control, parenting and women at work through the war years and beyond; in that regard, women's press was seen as entering something like its own golden age.¹²⁴ And although by World War II women journalists were established on both sides of the Atlantic, in both the United States and Britain, women journalists were expected to be "different" from male colleagues in both what they wrote and the way they wrote it.¹²⁵

To the world, Drummond-Hay was an internationally renowned personality who had successfully transgressed the limitations of her gender at the time, e.g. with her column on

¹²² Parmenter, "Recovery" 11.

¹²³ See *ibid.* 11.

¹²⁴ See Conboy, *Journalism* 144.

¹²⁵ See Chambers/Steiner/Fleming, *Women and Journalism* 33.

international politics in the *Sphere* that was “entirely out of the usual field of woman’s work,”¹²⁶ in Drummond-Hay’s own words. Yet, Drummond-Hay also displays a difference in the way she established herself as a professional public persona and its public reception, and as the private person she was when she was with her partner Karl von Wiegand. This private relationship is somewhat mirrored in her professional line of work that she connected to Karl von Wiegand. He was not only a mentor from the first hour and fosterer of her career; they also traveled and worked together, e.g. in the 1920s in Syria, as well as on their aerial adventures in 1928 and 1929 and during their trip through China in the 1930s.

This equal relationship between von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay is manifested in the publication of their joint travelogue *The Story of a Great Adventure: First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-Liner* (1928)¹²⁷ that described the eponymous trip of the *Graf Zeppelin* across the Atlantic. The publication, similar other jointly written travel accounts such like *A Glimpse at Guatemala* (1899) by Alfred Percival Maudslay and Anne Carey Maudslay, or Elizabeth and Louis Agassiz’s account *A Journey in Brazil* (1868), divides the book into two segments, with Karl von Wiegand writing “The Story of the Flight” and Drummond-Hay “A Passenger’s Story of the Flight.” These two texts show them writing along the lines of gender-coded writing. He writes about the voyage from a distant and objective, neutral point of view whereas Drummond-Hay describes the more intimate, private part from a subjective point of view, describing interpersonal relations, etc.

Von Wiegand relates the technical details of the tour, e.g. that the “Graf Zeppelin covered 5,978 miles from Thursday morning at 8 o’clock to 6 Monday afternoon,”¹²⁸ and cartographic details by relating the general flight path of the dirigible, etc. He also describes the founding of the Zeppelin Club of trans-ocean air voyages of which he was made president and Drummond-Hay secretary.¹²⁹ In contrast, Drummond-Hay assumed a greater literary position (that was associated with traditional feminine productions of knowledge and texts):

I love the giant airship, with a sincere and poignant emotion. For days and nights it has carried me and my fifty-nine companions in safety and comfort through the trackless way which, since the beginning of the world, jealous nature has denied to man. Over mountains, plains, hills, valleys, forests, seas and ocean, the airship appealingly beautiful in the

¹²⁶ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 03 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9.

¹²⁷ Reprint of: Wiegand, Karl H. and Lady Grace Drummond-Hay. *First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-Liner*. Chicago: Issued by the Circulation Department of the Chicago Herald and Examiner, 1928. The two articles in turn were reprints of cables that had been sent by von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay during the voyage and published by the *Chicago Examiner* and *Chicago Herald*.

¹²⁸ KHW, “Story of the Flight” 9, KHWP XXX/The First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-liner.

¹²⁹ See *ibid.* 12. The three vice-presidents were named Ernst Brandenburg, chief of the German civil air ministry, Lieutenant Commander C. E. Rosendahl and Col. Emilio Herrera. Also, Robert Reiner was made treasurer (see *ibid.*).

harmonious perfection of every detail, flew its proud way, sheltering in its mighty bosom sixty souls who had put their trust in its faithful service.¹³⁰

As typical for the more conventional feminine perspective, Drummond-Hay also focused on the passengers that “provided a wonderful study.”¹³¹ As this was their only joint publication, in her own journalistic work, Drummond-Hay utilized a speech pattern that was more coherent with a tone typically associated with the male voice – neutral, objective, and worldly.

Traveling had greatly influenced Drummond-Hay in her professional line of work, however it does not seem to have penetrated the threshold between the public and the private persona. In other words, in public, Drummond-Hay and von Wiegand appeared as equal partners in the international journalistic scene. In private, she conveyed more conservative persona. When it came to being the partner of a man, she wanted to organize a home for themselves, describing plans for interior designs, furniture, etc. In the private realm, Drummond-Hay still occupied the rather conservative ideal of a domestic housewife for her partner Karl von Wiegand. Despite this rift between her public and private personas, Drummond-Hay nevertheless profited from her transnational travels as an impetus for her career. Similar to the other protagonists, her travel experiences, i.e. the liberation from societal restrictions for women, translated her travel experiences (and gained freedoms from social confinement of Victorian age domestic ideal) into public avenues of engagement. Although Drummond-Hay was more active in the business of writing and publishing articles and dispatches from anywhere in the world, she broke into the public sphere by giving speeches and lectures throughout her career, e.g. during her aerial adventures aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* in 1928 and 1929 when she publicly spoke to crowds gathered at the landing sites.

In 1937, Drummond-Hay started on a lecture tour throughout the United States, organized by Harold Reginald Peat (1893-1960), who had been a soldier in Europe during WWI and published his memoirs of his experiences as *Private Peat* (1917), and later in his life became an institution on lecture tours. In her 1937 Peat lecture Drummond-Hay, after arriving on October 12 with the White Star liner *Aquitania*, would speak about the international personalities she had met during her career as international pundit, including figures such as Benito Mussolini, Primo de Rivera, then Reichskanzler Adolf Hitler, Kemal Atatürk, and the Emperor Haile Selassie.¹³² Her lecture, called “My Adventures With People:

¹³⁰ LDH, “A Passenger’s Story” 19, KHWP XXX/The First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-liner.

¹³¹ LDH, “A Passenger’s Story” 20, KHWP XXX/The First Trans-Oceanic Voyage of an Air-liner. Drummond-Hay found that: “Some grumbled because they did not find the luxuries which they expected, although every one knew that this must be an experiment” (ibid.).

¹³² “Lady Drummond-Hay Here: Writer and Aviator to Lecture on Personalities of Dictators” 2.

Dictators I Have Met,” was held alongside famous authors and writers such as Thomas Mann, Vicky Baum, etc. In these, she described to an American audience not only her recollections of her experiences with foreign people, but also her experiences with mostly (however not exclusively) European statesmen, politicians, and dictators she had interviewed over the years of her career. Later, Drummond-Hay was also a guest of the Woman’s Club of Sewickley Valley on November 15, 1937, with the article claiming that Drummond-Hay was “always to be found where there are riots or revolutions.”¹³³ She further spoke at the International Adventures’ Club¹³⁴ as well as participated in the Concert and Lecture Series at the Alabama College, State College for Women,¹³⁵ where Drummond-Hay held her lecture on the campus on December 2, 1938, observed by the local honorary journalism sorority.¹³⁶

Although Drummond-Hay presented a topic that was within her field of expertise, her long-time partner Karl-Henry von Wiegand was critical of the lecture tour: “I believe he is quite sincere in that and that he believes it will not be a real success.”¹³⁷ As Judith Bean finds, after the first pioneer orators in the nineteenth century even “[l]ater generations of women speakers, primarily white, middle-class women faced many of the same cultural attitudes as their early nineteenth century predecessors.”¹³⁸ These were problems Drummond-Hay would encounter, too. Von Wiegand warned Drummond-Hay even more about the consequences: “The reputation of having made a failure would greatly discount any future lecture tour. That is the point to consider.”¹³⁹ His cautious words were proven right. Despite exempting Drummond-Hay from his remarks, Dr. Russel Potter, director of the Columbia University Institute of Arts and Sciences, claimed that “the fact that a woman’s speaking voice is not as pleasing as that of a man – in the lecture hall at least.”¹⁴⁰ Potter then reasoned that this genderism was “due in part to the fact that most of our school teachers in this country are women [...] and by the time a person has gone through the grades in high school, he no longer

¹³³ “London Woman Journalist Sewickley Valley Speaker” 3.

¹³⁴ See LDH, “Letter to Harold Drummond-Hay,” 19 Jul 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/DEF.

¹³⁵ Today known as the University of Montevallo.

¹³⁶ See “Concerted Praise” 2.

¹³⁷ KHW, “Letter to LDH,” 29 Jan 1937, KWHP IX/1937. Moreover, von Wiegand was cautious about the loss of investment in this issue: “Obviously he will spend little money on advertising you if he feels that it is going to be a loss for him. If the lecture tours should be a failure, he would lose some money but YOU would lose even more - - the possibility of a future success” (ibid.). He advisedly cautioned Drummond-Hay: “I do not wish to influence you, dear, but as you ask my opinion which in this matter may not be worth much, I do not want to see you make such a lecture tour when the cards are going to be pretty well tacked against you. I mean, that Peat will not spend money for publicity. I do not want to have the term ‘failure’ attached to your name. It never has been. The sum that you might earn would not compensate. Cutting the tour in half, as he suggest, would scarcely justify your expenses” (ibid.).

¹³⁸ Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 37.

¹³⁹ KHW, “Letter to LDH,” 29 Jan 1937, KWHP IX/1937.

¹⁴⁰ “Women Lecturers Found Unpopular” 1.

wants to be lectures at – or to – by women.”¹⁴¹ In the same year as the Peat lecture of 1937, the BBC deemed women’s voices to be unsuitable for “serious or symbolic occasions,” though acceptable in more “frivolous” contexts.¹⁴² In turn, that meant that women were not seen as “true women, but that they were “unsexed” by engaging in public speaking.¹⁴³

After Drummond-Hay had recuperated from her illness, she was keen to return to giving lectures in 1940, when she believed Peat “will book me for some 50 lectures from coast to coast in 12 weeks,” but was cautious after the failure in 1937 that “this time, it will have to be arranged very solidly, [...] the last time I was ignorant”¹⁴⁴ of the potential problematic issues.

Despite her international acclaim and renown as a successful journalist, after her health problems and the outbreak of World War II, Drummond-Hay fled Europe. With this, Drummond-Hay’s private began to overshadow public persona in leaving her own journalistic work (for which travel was essential and she could not do anymore – at least not to the degree necessary for her columns) and becoming solely the quasi-spouse of von Wiegand as his private assistant from 1940 onwards. She put herself behind von Wiegand to be together with him – in other words, she subordinated herself to him for the sake of his career that seemed to be more promising.

4.2. Connections and Contestations

The protagonists were connected to benefactors and had important connections to other women with power and wealth who could help them in financial distress. As a result of being left out of the professionalization in terms of being able to achieve paid positions, for example, Phoebe Apperston Hearst was one of these women who used her mighty fortune in order to foster women in their research and work in multiple areas. Hearst was instrumental in funding projects for Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and Zelia Nuttall. Later, her son William Randolph Hearst was a supporter of Lady Drummond-Hay. Particularly as the professionalization of disciplines took place at a time of the rise of nationalism and thus followed nationalistic agendas, mainly transnationally working and living women were doubly marginalized.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

¹⁴² Cameron, “Theorising the Female Voice” 8.

¹⁴³ See Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 25.

¹⁴⁴ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 20 Jan 1940, KHWP X/1940. One of these issues was the size of possible venues; Drummond-Hay opposed Peat: “P. said most Lecturers disdain the small places, but I find them the most human” (LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 06 Feb 1940, KWHP X/1940).

As an example, Nellie Bly, nom de plume of Elizabeth Cochrane Seaman, not only published her travel account *Around the World in Seventy-Two Days* (1888) and her undercover story *Ten Days in a Mad-House* (1887), which were both highly successful as travel writing and investigative journalism. In 1885, Bly also traveled to Mexico, where she would observe the labor conditions in a mostly agrarian society in letters sent to and published in the American magazine *Dispatch*.¹⁴⁵ Later reprinted as *Six Months in Mexico* (1888), Bly relayed to the American audience the “stark contrasts between the lives of the rich and the poor, exposed political corruption.”¹⁴⁶ Bly found the laborers in Mexico to be working in devastating conditions: “Their condition is most touching. Homeless, poor, uncared for, untaught, they live and they die. They are worse off by thousands of times than were the slaves of the United States. Their lives are hopeless, and they know it.”¹⁴⁷ Although Bly carefully avoided writing about current political matters, she was faced with imprisonment in Mexico when she revealed that a local newspaper journalist had been arrested for criticizing the Mexican government.¹⁴⁸ Her startlingly negative observations were reprinted in other American papers and, as a result of the controversy, the Mexican government ordered her out of the country.¹⁴⁹ Back in the United States, Bly used her freedom from Mexican authorities to expose the corruption in Mexico, criticizing politics and the censorship of the media.¹⁵⁰ When relating the governing principles of the United States to those of Mexico, Bly found that “the constitution of Mexico is said to excel, in the way of freedom and liberty to its subjects, that of the United States; but it is only on paper.”¹⁵¹ Yet, she found Mexico’s government to be “in reality the worst monarchy in existence.”¹⁵²

As the protagonists traveled extensively and translated these experiences into topics for their professional work, consequentially their respective topics and engagements crossed national borders and public and political agendas. The transnational dimension of their work influenced their publications in such a manner that they attracted criticism from other countries. As Ulrike Brisson in *Not So Innocent Abroad* (2009) finds, it is imperative to address the political network in which travel and travel books are enmeshed, especially as travel and mobility lie at the heart of international relations.¹⁵³ Women who worked in such

¹⁴⁵ See Belford, *Brilliant Bylines* 119.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Bly, *Six Months in Mexico* 25.

¹⁴⁸ See Mahony, *Nellie Bly* 19-21.

¹⁴⁹ See Belford, *Brilliant Bylines* 119.

¹⁵⁰ See Mahony, *Nellie Bly* 21.

¹⁵¹ Bly, *Six Months in Mexico* 153.

¹⁵² Ibid.

¹⁵³ See Brisson, “Travel Writing” 1.

settings were caught up in the public and political pitfalls and controversies between different nations. This chapter explores the different connections with beneficiaries and professional institutions of the protagonists in combination with disputes the women engaged in with colleagues, rivals, and critics.

Miriam Leslie: The Virginia City Scandal (1877)

“I have seen her almost angelic in tenderness, and I have seen her as cruel as the iceberg.”¹⁵⁴ With these words, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, author and poet most notably known for her work *Poems of Passion* (1883), describes the paradoxical nature of Leslie as she must have appeared to women who were more complicit with the Victorian ideals. For Wilcox, Leslie was “surely a strange woman.”¹⁵⁵ However, as with other scandals, in the end, remarks such as these by Wilcox “quietly died,” as Jill Jepson finds.¹⁵⁶ Leslie was a public person blatantly violating the boundaries for feminine life and the basic tenets of feminine behavior.¹⁵⁷ At that time, violating these boundaries, i.e. moving beyond the private domestic realm, also entailed facing criticism and contestations. This is particularly true for a person like Miriam Leslie who, with her exuberant private life, challenged the boundaries of the feminine ideal in ways that should not have been possible while maintaining a successful professional career as a public person of interest.

One example is Virginia City and the subsequent scandal Leslie’s descriptions incited. Virginia City was founded as a byproduct of the discovery of the Comstock Lode, the first major silver deposit in the United States in 1859. The city quickly developed and attracted a peak population in the 1870s of about 25,000 citizens. More importantly, as the city was almost built overnight in the middle of the nineteenth century, it was also devoid of any European traditions or influences in culture, arts or architecture as for example the cities of the East coast could present. When something did not conform to the aesthetic of traditional European culture and tradition, it seemed to Leslie to be of lesser worth in comparison.

Although in 1877 Leslie had weathered many of “destiny’s caprices in the course of her forty-two years, [she] was about to face the most devastating attack that had yet been

¹⁵⁴ Wilcox, *The Worlds and I* 133. Wilcox remembers Leslie in her autobiography sardonically: “With Mrs. Leslie’s unquestionable business acumen, her fine intellectual qualities, and her large experience in the world, it seemed almost incredible that she should be so misled by her belief in her powers as an enchantress” (ibid. 131).

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Jepson, *Women’s Concerns* 199.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid. 192.

leveled against her,”¹⁵⁸ as, according to Karen Morin, Leslie’s travel account and description of Virginia City in *California* caused a “national scandal” that would inform many of her biographies: the Virginia City Scandal.¹⁵⁹ On their way back from the state of California, the Leslies stopped at several places, including Virginia City. There, as Nancy Stuart expressed, Leslie was “appalled by the depravity she observed in Virginia City, with its saloons, opium dens and prostitutes.”¹⁶⁰

In the words of Madeleine Stern, nothing Leslie wrote over the course of her career created more furor than did the record of her Western journey in 1877.¹⁶¹ That can be attributed to descriptions in *California* of the crass things she had witnessed, when she opened the chapter on “Virginia City and the Big Bonanza” with:

To call a place dreary, desolate, homeless, uncomfortable, and wicked is a good deal, but to call it God-forsaken is a good deal more, and in a tolerably large experience of this world’s wonders, we never found a place better deserving the title than Virginia City.¹⁶²

Leslie’s descriptions depicted a devastatingly run-down city. Painting “the dreary scene” that stretched out to the horizon, the “lawless little city” boasted “forty-nine gambling saloons and one church” – effectively “every other house was a drinking or gambling salon” – with funerals as “an event of frequent occurrence” and a “population largely masculine, very few women, except of the worst class.” Leslie described in meticulous detail the local architecture as “loosely and carelessly put together as a child’s card house”¹⁶³ and devoid of the romance and picturesqueness (see ch. 5.1) she had come to expect from her travels:

The streets are mere narrow terraces built along the face of this precipice, like the vineyards along the Rhine, or the steps of the Pyramids, whose arid and dusty desolation they also imitate, without the grandeur and mystery which make one forget the rest.

Leslie’s devastating prose describes the destitute and barren surroundings of Virginia City, its lack of mystery, calling it a God-forsaken city in which an evening stroll required a police escort: “the two policemen, who followed close at our heels, were by no means a guard of ceremony but a most necessary protection.”¹⁶⁴ Leslie’s account presents itself as devastating to the town from the beginning to the end. And so, leaving the city, Leslie waved goodbye “in the midst of a drenching rain,” looking back “upon the bare, brown hills and the city in

¹⁵⁸ Stern, *Purple Passage* 93.

¹⁵⁹ See Morin, “Mining Empire” 163.

¹⁶⁰ Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 46-7.

¹⁶¹ See Stern, “Mrs. Leslie Goes West” 80.

¹⁶² LES, *California* 277.

¹⁶³ See *ibid.* 277-80.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* 280.

the air through vertical sheets of drifting waters.”¹⁶⁵ Ultimately, remarks on Virginia City were too comprehensive and disdainful to be ignored by the locals

It was, in the words of Nancy Stuart, the editor of *Territorial Enterprise* Rollin M. Daggett who “vowed revenge”¹⁶⁶ in conjunction with Leslie’s ex-husband Ephraim Squier, who conspired with Dagget and provided the necessary information. Daggett was smart and cunning, even having “ruthless moments,” and experienced enough to know “where to find ammunition for his guns” against Leslie, as Madeleine Stern asserts: “There was only one man in New York who was eager to and able to supply it.”¹⁶⁷ Thus, on July 14, 1878, the *Territorial Enterprise* boasted its headline: “Our Female Slanderer. Mrs. Frank Leslie’s Book Scandalizing the Families of Virginia City.”

Fittingly, the article commenced with criticism on Leslie and her remarks on Virginia City, calling her travelogue a “dirty little volume” of her writing and detailing the incidents of her “ostentatious” trip across the continent.¹⁶⁸ However, it became clear from the very start that the piece was not intended as a critical review of Leslie’s book. The subheadings are of greater interest than the derogatory title itself and highlight the true nature of the piece, reading: “The History of the Authoress – A Life Drama of Crime and Licentiousness – Startling Developments.” In conjunction with the review, a 24-page pamphlet appeared, entitled *Territorial Enterprise Extra, Containing a Full Account of Frank Leslie and Wife* and exposing details of the couple’s \$15,000 trip and their unconventional personal lives.¹⁶⁹ The attack pieces found their way to Miriam Leslie in the ordinary mail addressed to Frank Leslie’s Publishing House, reaching the desk of the editor, who gave it to his chief, when ultimately Leslie had the pleasure of reading her biography in print.¹⁷⁰ It became apparent that it was not merely an attack on Leslie’s travelogue she had published upon her visit to Virginia City – it was an attack on Leslie’s private life.

Then, an incensed Frank Leslie utilized his full newsstand influence and bought up all copies of the *Extra* he could find.¹⁷¹ Frank Leslie also hired a detective, I.C. Nettleship, to uncover the source of the information. It is not known if Leslie ever received positive proof, but some of the details were so intimate and malicious that he concluded that Squier was

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 283.

¹⁶⁶ Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 47.

¹⁶⁷ Stern, *Purple Passage* 93.

¹⁶⁸ See ibid. 94.

¹⁶⁹ See Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 47.

¹⁷⁰ Stern, *Purple Passage* 94.

¹⁷¹ Stuart, “Empress of Journalism” 47.

responsible.¹⁷² The pieces were contrived with piquant details from Miriam Leslie's past that she had carefully manipulated in the public eye up until that moment. The article in the *Territorial Enterprise* not only resorted to publicly smearing the marriage between Miriam and Frank Leslie as having "set aside all the laws of God and man, and there is nothing in their lives which will indicate that they had any fear of either."¹⁷³ More suspicious were the subsequent remarks, as they focused on Miriam Leslie's past. Beginning with aspersions upon her parents and slurs on her legitimacy, the paper reviewed in detail the Peacock marriage, Leslie's former life as theatrical stage persona Minnie Montez, dilated upon the life of Mrs. "Squiers" – consequentially misspelling her name as an act of humiliation, aired sordid details of the Leslie and Squier divorce, and expostulated about Leslie's extravaganzas and failures.¹⁷⁴ Despite already citing a copious amount of private information, the following fourteen and a half pages of the paper were devoted to a complete transcript of the Peacock Judgment Roll that had been copied five years prior and were most likely supplied by Squier to Dagget. Authors often cited this as E.G. Squier's last revenge on Miriam Leslie for the public scandal he was subject to relating to their divorce.

As if in a premonition of the coming of events ensuing the publication of her travelogue *California*, Leslie made her authorial role clear by leaving an introductory remark for the critics in the preface in which she said: "[D]ear critic, remember that to competently judge a woman's letter or a woman's book, one must have learned to read between the lines and find there the pith and meaning of the whole."¹⁷⁵ However, this was to no avail as the retaliations by Dagget on Virginia City and on the women of that town were not concerned with these nuances. On the contrary, under the heading "A Strange Story," the newspaper was concerned with relishing in Leslie's biography as "it would read like a chapter of fiction" and that would "explain the cause of the heartless assault of Mrs. Leslie upon the ladies of this coast."¹⁷⁶

Leslie's remarks on Virginia City largely "rested on deploying her own 'moral authority' to speak on issues of temperance, gambling, and prostitution," and in this "she aligned herself with reform women who presented themselves as moral guardians of others."¹⁷⁷ Karen Morin points out that Leslie displayed an uneven alignment to feminist doctrines, as her descriptions in *California* drastically vary. Victorian women travel writers

¹⁷² See *ibid.*

¹⁷³ Stern, *Purple Passage* 94.

¹⁷⁴ See *ibid.* 95.

¹⁷⁵ LES, *California* 6.

¹⁷⁶ Beebe, *Comstock Commotion* 51.

¹⁷⁷ Morin, "Mining Empire" 164.

in particular were often dismissed as overly emotional and excessively given to rapturous, sentimental depictions of scenery, yet equally expected to retain a discrete and deferential femininity.¹⁷⁸ In her article on “Mining Empire: Journalists in the American West, ca. 1870” (2002), Morin finds Leslie to be readily speaking out against exploited, “enslaved” Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco; conversely, the prostitutes in Virginia City are simply “bad” women.¹⁷⁹ In that regard and other aspects, Leslie’s identification with feminism is a complicated matter (see ch. 4.3).

As Ishbell Ross acknowledges, Leslie’s approach to public affairs was professional.¹⁸⁰ During her life, she devoted enormous energy and amounts of time and effort to developing an image of herself – the years as Minnie Montez on the stages of New York had prepared her for this task of creating identities.¹⁸¹ Later, as the wife of the influential newspaper magnate Frank Leslie, she honed this talent of hers into a mastery of self-promotion and staging her public image.¹⁸² Accordingly, Leslie handled the public confrontations mostly by deciding to ignore criticism or even scandalous gossip about her public persona. When in 1890 Chicago reporters interviewed Leslie on the issue of the Haymarket affair of 1886 during her lecture tour, she announced: “Strikes must be suppressed by law.”¹⁸³ Subsequently, Leslie garnered criticism when she commented on the people involved: “Worthless discontented foreigners [...] sow the seeds of anarchy, and discontentment must be suppressed,” ending her comment on a high note, saying: “Shoot them down like dogs.”¹⁸⁴ The *Chicago Daily Inter-Ocean* headlined this comment on October 15, 1890, and Leslie was ostracized as “empty-headed doll, an animated fashion-plate.”¹⁸⁵ After that, Leslie did not comment on the public criticism. Only occasionally did Leslie weigh in when reports and accusations were getting out of hand, particularly when Leslie was subject of wild speculations. In 1893, after her stay in Europe, Leslie remarked on the scandalous gossip of being engaged to Senator David B. Hill while being in Paris, having reconciled with Wilde, being engaged to the husband of her own aunt, as well as her daughter Florence’s engagement, to which she

¹⁷⁸ See Morin/Guelke, “Strategies of Representation” 442.

¹⁷⁹ See Morin, “Mining Empire” 164. Allegedly, the women of Virginia were “beyond help”; however, they cannot be singled out when compared to other descriptions of women by Leslie, e.g. Chinese and Native American: “Now, too, we began to see the ‘Heathen Chinese’ in numbers, and ill as their odor may be in Caucasian nostrils, we must say that their cleanly, smooth, and cared-for appearance was very agreeable in contrast with the wild, unkempt and filthy red man” (LES, *California* 108).

¹⁸⁰ See Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 85.

¹⁸¹ See Jepson, *Women’s Concerns* 196.

¹⁸² See *ibid.*

¹⁸³ Brown, *Beyond the Lines* 204.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁵ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 84-5.

answered: ““There is as much truth in the tales as in the statement that I have a daughter, indeed any child, living or dead.””¹⁸⁶

In the end, critical remarks by Ella Wilcox, Rollin Dagget, and others were simply “drowned out” by Miriam Leslie’s “own skilled self-promotion and the devotion of her many admirers,” as Jill Jepson acknowledges.¹⁸⁷ While these incidents left marks on Leslie’s otherwise spotlessly clean career, according to Jill Jepson, “when Leslie did receive bad press, she managed to simply deflect, negate, or ignore it, and it never had a lasting effect on her image.”¹⁸⁸ By controlling her public media image in the face of scandals and her legal and financial problems that ensued after Leslie’s husband died in 1880, her print culture prowess remained ultimately undaunted – a remarkable feat that also shows an impressive ability.¹⁸⁹

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and an American Prince in Yucatán

Le Plongeon was not only well-connected in the feminist scene of New York and had good contacts with women of high renown and social standing as benefactors for her and her husband’s work; she was also well known as a researcher and scientist in her own right. For example, the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, Professor Spencer Baird, asserted he had read most of Le Plongeon’s publication on Yucatán and acknowledged her “important position in the ranks of original investigations in connection with the archaeology of Central America and Mexico.”¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, in a letter from July 23, 1881, Jose E. Maldonado refers to Le Plongeon as “heroine worthy of the highest praise.”¹⁹¹ He found Le Plongeon “in this camp of science which the illustrious travelers have established” to be “a grand figure, always busy, and her studies and investigations compensate her for the hardships endured, for she appears gay and contented.”¹⁹² Furthermore, Le Plongeon was associated with the Woman’s Professional League, e.g. when she spoke on “Mexico and its literature, touching on the national theater, schools of art, politics, etc., in a very interesting manner.”¹⁹³ In addition, Phoebe Apperston Hearst, benefactor and patron of many women in the nineteenth

¹⁸⁶ “Mrs. Frank Leslie Talks” 1.

¹⁸⁷ Jepson, *Women’s Concerns* 199.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ See Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity* 214.

¹⁹⁰ See ADLP, Yucatan 504, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁹¹ Ibid. 456.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ “Literary Day” 18.

and early twentieth centuries, was in contact with Le Plongeon and during times of financial distress provided the means for publication.

When Le Plongeon, together with her husband, went back to New York in 1884, they were “ready to supply any Museum with molds, photographs, and measurements, from which a Maya building could be erected complete even to part of its interior wall painting, for we had the fac-simile copy of those we had traced in the Memorial Hall.”¹⁹⁴ Spencer Baird was interested in the project but died before further communications could be established.¹⁹⁵ It therefore remains speculation as to whether the Le Plongeon would have been noted for being documenters and measurers rather than being recognized for their unorthodox archaeological theories.

Similar to Zelia Nuttall, who fostered the idea of institutionalization of archaeology and the study of pre-Columbian history in Mexico in the form of the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico City (1910-14) as well as her later unsuccessful plans to establish such a center at the premises of Casa Alvarado after her death (see 4.5.), Alice Le Plongeon readily supported the notion of institutionalizing research native to the Americas. As an example, she argues for a complete reconstruction of the temples of Central America, believing that she and her husband could “superintend the erection of Maya temple or palace, aided by our minute measurements, photographs and molds, and such a structure would constitute a unique attraction in any part of the world.”¹⁹⁶

The geographical location of the reconstruction was also of great importance to Le Plongeon. She argued for the study of Mayan culture to remain in America as the institute was concerned with speaking for the entirety of the American continent: “it is in America that we wish to see this monument of ancient American civilization raised; for to this continent it belongs.”¹⁹⁷ Le Plongeon believed that such a building could function as a “complete school of Maya architecture and art” because “[w]ithin such a sanctum, Maya inscriptions and Maya books could be studied by those persons interested in pre-historic America.”¹⁹⁸ It was Le Plongeon’s vision that by being “surrounded by these ancient records and the art of a remote period, students could discourse and discuss gradually unfolding page after page of a history

¹⁹⁴ ADLP, “Yucatan” 504, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁹⁵ Le Plongeon writes that if “this gentlemen [had] lived longer the project might have been carried to completion” (ADLP, “Yucatan” 504, ADPP VI/17-19) and that would have contributed to their scientific credibility.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. 504-5.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid. 505.

long sealed up but not lost.”¹⁹⁹ Despite Alice Le Plongeon being interested in fostering the study of ancient pre-Columbian cultures and languages across nations on the American continent, she and her husband were caught up in an incident involving themselves and a historic statue that caused a stir within Mexico and between Mexico and the United States.

During their excavations at Chichén Itzá, the Le Plongeon uncovered an important historical artefact. Ross Parmenter remarks that “as if by divination, deep in the mound subsequently known as the Platform of the Eagles and Jaguars” the Le Plongeon “discovered one of Mexico’s most impressive monoliths.”²⁰⁰ After eight days of excavating²⁰¹ and eventually with the aid of wooden hoists that utilized baskets with stones in them in order to haul the statue up²⁰² and that Ross Parmenter in a side-note described as “ingenious,”²⁰³ the Le Plongeon and their helpers unearthed the statue subsequently known as the Chacmool: an ancient pre-Columbian Mesoamerican sculpture depicting a figure in reclining posture and its head turned facing to the front, supporting itself on its elbows and supporting a bowl or a disk upon its stomach.

After having excavated and hoisted the heavy artefact out of the earth, Augustus Le Plongeon explains that he “built a rustic cart in which to bring the statue to the high road that leads from Dzitas to Mérida.”²⁰⁴ Following the discovery of the statue, the Le Plongeon had to evacuate due to armed conflicts in the area and they hid the statue on January 5, 1876, about a quarter of a mile from Piste, “far enough to put it out of the reach of mischief from the soldiers,” as Augustus Le Plongeon asserts.²⁰⁵

Alice Le Plongeon and her husband inquired directly with Lerdo de Tejada, President of Mexico, asking permission to exhibit the Chacmool at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.²⁰⁶ In a letter to the Mexican President from January 27, 1876, subsequently published by Stephen Salisbury, the long-time adversary of the Le Plongeon, in his book *The Mayas, the Sources of Their History* (1877), Augustus Le Plongeon argues that:

This statue, Mr. President, the only one of its kind in the world, shows positively that the ancient inhabitants of the Americas have made, in the arts of drawing and sculpture, advances equal at least to those made by the Assyrian, Chaldean, and Egyptian artists.²⁰⁷

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Parmenter, “Recovery” 100.

²⁰¹ See Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 91.

²⁰² See Desmond, *Yucatán* 123-4.

²⁰³ Parmenter, “Recovery” 100.

²⁰⁴ Salisbury, *The Mayas* 69.

²⁰⁵ See *ibid.* 81.

²⁰⁶ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 100.

²⁰⁷ Salisbury, *The Mayas* 69.

The letter, however, caused more damage than anticipated by Le Plongeon. Due to Augustus Le Plongeon's vivid descriptions and particularly his highlighting its significance, Tejeda realized that the statue represented more than a simple stone carving but a national treasure and refused to export it.²⁰⁸ Denying the transportation by President Tejeda formed legal precedence over standing federal law on Mexico's custodianship of culture, in particular because Tejeda cited an 1827 law that specifically prohibited the export of artifacts from the country – one of the earliest examples of post-Independence patrimony legislation.²⁰⁹ Thus, this discovery initiated the first publicly documented dispute over the custodianship or stewardship of archaeological heritage at Chichén Itzá.²¹⁰

As a consequence, as Christina Bueno in *The Pursuit of Ruins* (2016) writes, the statue was hauled away to the regional museum of Yucatán, a move that was initiated by the conspiracy of museum director Juan Peón Contreras, Governor Protasio Guerra, and Mexico's secretary of development, Riva Palacio.²¹¹ The operation took more than 150 Mayas who dragged the statue along an eighteen-mile path they had cut through the jungle with machetes – all while the military escorted them along the way as the peninsula's devastating Caste War raged on.²¹²

As the Le Plongeon's and their workers had previously hid the statue, logic dictated that there had to be someone who told the Yucatecan workers and the army where the artefact was stored away. Le Plongeon identifies their guide at Chichén, Martin Alejos, as the person who had given away the information where the statue was hid and who was bribed with \$10 to reveal the buried statue and according to Le Plongeon: "He hesitated, but was urged to have no consideration [sic] for 'those foreigners, because they were with the hostile Indians whom they intended to lead against the white people.'"²¹³ She continues that, although trustworthy, "Martin believed this lie, accepted the bribe, and betrayed our confidence."²¹⁴ In other words, this incident was not only a question of American excavation and appropriation of cultural artefacts by foreigners, but also a matter of intra-national conflict within Mexico between the dominating forces of the Spanish government of Mexico City and the indigenous population behind the front lines in the Caste War.

²⁰⁸ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 222.

²⁰⁹ See Breglia, *Monumental Ambivalence* 70-1.

²¹⁰ See Breglia, *Monumental Ambivalence* 70.

²¹¹ See Bueno, *Pursuit of Ruins* 172. Le Plongeon here clearly distinguishes between the act of seizing the statue "by the order of General Protasio Guerra, then Governor of Yucatan," and the instruction of sending the artefact to Mexico City that came from Augustin del Rio (see ADLP, "Yucatan" 433, ADPP VI/17-19).

²¹² See Bueno, *Pursuit of Ruins* 172.

²¹³ ADLP, "Yucatan" 434, ADPP VI/17-19.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

The arrival of the statue at Mérida, the local capital of the Yucatecan Mayan region, caused a lot of excitement. Being a “triumph of science,” as local newspapers touted the action, Riva Palacio found the “dangerous expedition” to be a foray into “enemy territory of rebel Indians.”²¹⁵ Alice Le Plongeon interpreted it differently. In her view, this incident was a “theft” that lamentably “was celebrated with general rejoicing.”²¹⁶

Upon learning about the transportation, Augustus Le Plongeon protested against the seizure of their property by writing John W. Foster, US Ambassador to Mexico under President Ulysses S. Grant, inquiring with Rivas Palacio, President of the Mexican Geographical Society, and writing to the American Consul at Progreso, Mr. A. J. Lespinasse, who on March 24, 1877, according to Alice Le Plongeon, answered that an intervention was “not in his power.”²¹⁷ More importantly, Lespinasse “did not want to become entangled in the affair” and in devaluating the contestation down from an international level responded to Le Plongeon that the incident was “a personal question between yourself and the parties who took possession of the statue.”²¹⁸

After being dragged to Mérida under great spectacle that was subsequently detailed by Le Plongeon in her manuscript “Yucatan,” the governor decided to donate the piece to the National Museum as a tribute to Porfirio Díaz’s victory in the Tuxtepec Revolt (1876), the uprising that brought Díaz to power.²¹⁹ The historical artefact was freighted on board the Mexican gunboat *Libertad*, then shipped to Vera Cruz and subsequently to Mexico City.²²⁰ There, as Le Plongeon describes in her pamphlet “An American Prince” (1890s),²²¹ “the city had ‘gone wild’ over the statue itself, making a national holiday of the day when it was brought into the capital escorted by high officials and military bands.”²²² As Christina Bueno argues, both the governor as well as Riva Palacio thought the statue would “shine with more dignity” in the nation’s capital, and a plaster copy was eventually set in its place in the regional museum.²²³

Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon questioned the authority of the Mexican government to take action in this incident, as the “statue was found beyond the military lines, on Indian

²¹⁵ Bueno, *Pursuit of Ruins* 172.

²¹⁶ ADLP, “Yucatan” 434, ADPP VI/17-19.

²¹⁷ See ADLP, “Yucatan” 433-4, ADPP VI/17-19.

²¹⁸ Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 50.

²¹⁹ See Bueno, *Pursuit of Ruins* 172.

²²⁰ See ADLP, “Yucatan” 434, ADPP VI/17-19.

²²¹ Dating according to Desmond, *Yucatán* 370.

²²² ADLP, “An American Prince” 1-2, ADPP VII/2.

²²³ See Bueno, *Pursuit of Ruins* 172.

territory.”²²⁴ Indeed, the Le Plongeon had found the artefact in disputed territory, since at the time Chichén Itzá was neither under Mexican nor Yucatecan governmental control but in rebel territory.²²⁵ More than that, Le Plongeon assumed that “even had it been unearthed from Mexican soil,”²²⁶ the law of the State of Yucatán applied, stating that “objects of value for the sciences and arts could be purchased at a just price from the finder, essentially acknowledging individual ownership of the object.”²²⁷ In her interpretation of the law, Le Plongeon writes: “the fact remains that Dr. Le Plongeon received [sic] not a penny of indemnity for the robbery of his find.”²²⁸ Not only denying the Mexican authority over the excavation and possession of the historical artefact, Le Plongeon also criticized the United States Government for “refus[ing] to take any action in our behalf; the President himself objected, arguing [sic] that it might bring about compliments with Mexico.”²²⁹ For Le Plongeon, this incident “was but one instance of the usual unwillingness of the United States Government to protect its citizens abroad.”²³⁰

In a letter to her friend Mrs. Gaylord from April 3, 1877, Le Plongeon confessed: “The best most beautiful fruit of our knowledge, labor, suffering, and heavy expenditure, stolen.”²³¹ The causa Chacmool ended in 1878. However, Le Plongeon again wrote to President Díaz directly in April 1878 and also asked Stephen Salisbury to intercede through his Washington connections in the form of Senator George Hoar of Massachusetts and present the claims to the United States Congress in 1878.²³² In the aforementioned manuscript “An American Prince,” Le Plongeon claims that even “a pamphlet having been printed for the purpose of showing how the object had been unlawfully stolen from those who had brought it to light”²³³ – but in the end, no action was taken.²³⁴ In other words, the statue was not only out of the Le Plongeon’s hands, it consequently meant a serious financial and psychological setback in their research.²³⁵

²²⁴ ADLP, “Yucatan” 441, ADPP VI/17-19.

²²⁵ See Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 50.

²²⁶ ADLP, “Yucatan” 441, ADPP VI/17-19.

²²⁷ Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 50. Le Plongeon in Yucatan cited the “Civil Code of the State of Yucatan – Chap. III. Art. 856. ‘When objects of interest to science and Art are discovered, the State may acquire these at their just price, which shall be distributed in accordance with the article 854 and 855’ that is ‘equally divided between the discoverer and the landowner’” (ADLP, “Yucatan” 441, ADPP VI/17-19).

²²⁸ Ibid. 439.

²²⁹ Ibid. 441.

²³⁰ Ibid. This interpretation rests on Le Plongeon’s view that Augustus Le Plongeon was an American citizen because he was “one of the founders of Marysville, Yuba County, CA” (ibid. 442).

²³¹ Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 51.

²³² See ibid.

²³³ ADLP, “An American Prince” 2, ADPP VII/2.

²³⁴ See Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 51.

²³⁵ See Desmond, *Yucatan* 222.

Eventually, Alice Le Plongeon, as well as her husband, missed (or deliberately ignored) a crucial point in her understanding of Yucatecan and American law: this incident was not about negotiating between individual ownership of the object but part of the agenda of the centralized government in Mexico City to assert national identity through this archaeological artefact, internally over the Yucatecans and externally against the United States and Europe. In Le Plongeon's own words, the successful excavation and subsequent possession of the statue was perceived as placing "face to face [...] American and European archeology" and she prophesized that "soon we shall know which is the old world."²³⁶ Therefore, on a national level, the position of the Mexican government achieved two things at the same time: firstly, it pitted Mexico against European and American dominance and by rejecting Le Plongeon's claim it questioned the legitimization of appropriating cultural artefacts to European or American researchers or travelers; secondly, it positioned Mexico against the hegemony of the United States over Mexican authority and over its lands. The ruins of ancient civilizations like the Aztecs, Mayans, and Incas threw a wrench into the notion of a geographic and temporal dichotomy of a New World cleanly divorced from the Old World.²³⁷

As Tripp Evans in *Romancing the Maya* (2005) explains about this finding during the Caste War, at no other point in their histories had Mexico been so vulnerable to cultural claim staking or the United States so invested in its own national mythology.²³⁸ In this phase, Mexico "posed ideological threats against which the USA defined itself as much as it did against Europe."²³⁹ Therefore, denying the Le Plongeon's the taking of the statue had surpassed the rights of an individual excavating on foreign soil and had developed into an international political situation. Essentially, the episode around the Chacmool statue became an international incident that not only positioned Mexico against Europe, but also the United States against Mexico, as the calls for "national independence in the southern nations challenged the imagined uniqueness of their northern neighbor as an avatar of freedom and republicanism."²⁴⁰ The notion of Mexico asserting national identity and political independence through archaeological artefacts and its pre-Columbian history as well as perceiving research by non-Mexicans, e.g. Americans, as an intrusion into national interests and thus interpreting these as political claim staking, would later involve Zelia Nuttall in a

²³⁶ ADLP, "Yucatan" 438, ADPP VI/17-19.

²³⁷ See Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires" 4.

²³⁸ Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 127.

²³⁹ Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires" 4.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

conflict between her as an American outsider in Mexico and the Mexican authorities during the late Porfiriato.²⁴¹

At the end of this causa, one thing was certain: “Mexican national interests trumped the rights of American discovery.”²⁴² This case highlights “a pivotal moment in a chain of events from the mid-nineteenth century through the twentieth that have shaped not only the specific ownership and custodianship arrangements of the site itself, but national cultural heritage policy more generally.”²⁴³ Ultimately, this incident marked a critical turn in the US-Mexican relations in the way that “American claims on the past – whether actual or ideological – could no longer be made without a challenge from Mexico.”²⁴⁴

Zelia Nuttall: Networks, Benefactors and Contestations

Throughout her career, Nuttall had influential contacts and friends, including her benefactors, like Phoebe Apperson Hearst, mother of newspaper tycoon Randolph Hearst, Ethel Crocker, and others.²⁴⁵ Nuttall kept an international network with her academic colleagues and was associated with many professional associations and societies covering academic disciplines like archaeology, history, ethnography, and even geography.

Before 1885, Nuttall had traveled to Philadelphia, where she met prominent Americanist Daniel Brinton, professor of American archaeology and linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and a friend of Frederick Putnam.²⁴⁶ According to Ross Parmenter, Brinton was impressed by Nuttall, whose grasp of Nahuatl gave him a high opinion of her competence in the language, for, as she reported with pride to Putnam, Brinton asked her to collaborate on translating some Aztec texts.²⁴⁷ Among Nuttall’s closest friends and esteemed colleagues was Frederick Putnam, indicated not only through their long-standing correspondence but also because of Frederick Putnam’s initiative and patronage of

²⁴¹ Already in the nineteenth century, the Mexican statesman Carlos María Bustamante, known for *Mananas de la Alameda de México* (1835), resurrected the Aztec past in order to invent an ancient Mexican nation that long preceded Spanish rule and therefore giving a sense of longevity and legitimacy to the new nation by rooting it in pre-colonial antiquity; in other words, generalizing a sense of Mexican-ness out of an ancient past (see Kaplan/Gerassi, Navarro, “Between Empires” 18). However, for William Prescott, in the preface of *Life in Mexico*, the past was evidence of the impossibility of Mexican modernity, as he argues that the past did not provide a source of the modern Mexican nation; on the contrary, it provided evidence of the present nation’s decline (see *ibid.* 19).

²⁴² Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 135.

²⁴³ Breglia, *Monumental Ambivalence* 71.

²⁴⁴ Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 135.

²⁴⁵ Often earning her the equivocal attribution of being a socialite and moving among the wealthy and fashionable as peer (see Parmenter, “Glimpses” 94).

²⁴⁶ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 140.

²⁴⁷ See *ibid.* 141.

Nuttall's early career. Shortly thereafter, Nuttall became acquainted with Franz Boas. Although Nuttall and Franz Boas had met in 1886 at the Buffalo meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS), the relationship between Boas and Nuttall only deepened after the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, a world fair in which both were deeply involved – Nuttall as exhibitor and Boas as a collector and arranger of exhibits.²⁴⁸ Other prestigious acquaintances and friendships include internationally renowned scholars like Alfred Kroeber, Joseph Loubat, and although not personally involved, acquaintances with German archaeologists like Eduard Seler and Max Uhle. Furthermore, Nuttall was also well connected among the intellectual elites in Mexico during the Porfiriato, e.g. Ezequiel A. Chavez, the Subsecretary of Public Education in 1910 and founder of the Universidad Nacional, who was also a very good friend of Franz Boas.²⁴⁹ In her late career, the young Mexican scholar Manuel Gamio became Nuttall's only student and protégé.

Throughout her career, Nuttall was made honorary member of many institutions and “received many honors from American and foreign scientific associations for her explorations and archaeological researches.”²⁵⁰ Undoubtedly, Nuttall's earliest membership to any institution was made possible by Frederic Putnam, who used his position as curator of the Peabody Museum of Harvard and named Nuttall the Museum's “Special Assistant in Mexican Archaeology,” subsequently also aiding her entrance to the Archaeological Institute of America.²⁵¹ Nuttall held her position as honorary member of the society for over 47 years. Federico Gomez de Orozco also recalls Nuttall as being granted honorary professorship by the Museo Nacional de México, as well as being a member of the Advisory Council of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California as well as a jury member both of the International Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and Louisiana 1904.²⁵²

A complete list of Nuttall's affiliations with academic and scholarly institutions would be too long to be include here. A selection includes the Academia Mexicana Antonio Alzate, the American Anthropological Association,²⁵³ the American Ethnological Society, the American Geographical Society, the American Association for the Advancement of Science,²⁵⁴ the Hispanic Society of America, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the

²⁴⁸ See Parmenter, “Glimpses of a Friendship” 87-8.

²⁴⁹ See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 207. Ruiz elaborates that despite the fact that there is no correspondence between Ezequiel. A Chávez and Zelia Nuttall, her friendship with Chávez was well known among other anthropologists (ibid.).

²⁵⁰ “About Women” 1106.

²⁵¹ See Parmenter, “Glimpses” 87.

²⁵² See Orozco, “Doña Zelia Nuttall” 119.

²⁵³ Kathryn Sklar claims that Nuttall was also a founding member of the American Anthropological Association (see Sklar, “American Female Historians” 179).

²⁵⁴ Nuttall was elected fellow of the AAAS in 1886 (see Browman, *Cultural Negotiations* 44).

American Philosophical Society, the American Asiatic Association, the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society, the Californian Academy of Sciences, the Société des Americanistes, Quivira Society;²⁵⁵ also in 1926, Nuttall was elected corresponding member of the Geographical Society of Lima headquartered in Peru.²⁵⁶ On April 18, 1933, the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, of which Nuttall had been a member for 27 years, celebrated its 100th anniversary.²⁵⁷ However, despite the long list of affiliations with professional and official institutions, during her entire career Nuttall had never been offered a paid position at any institute where she was already an honorary member. On only one occasion did Nuttall decline the only salaried position she had been offered, as curator of the archaeological section of Mexico's National Museum in 1907, and Genaro García turned to Eduard Seler, Nuttall's old rival, who then was brought to Mexico, where he reviewed its archaeological collection.²⁵⁸

One example of Nuttall's involvement in the process of anthropology becoming an academic discipline is the case of the International School for Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Franz Boas, F.W. Putnam, and Zelia Nuttall were involved in establishing this American archaeological school in Mexico. The International School served the purpose of conducting rigorous anthropological investigations in Mexico.²⁵⁹ Founded in 1910, the International School only existed for four years "before it received a death blow, when the United States forces invaded Veracruz in April 1914."²⁶⁰ Yet, despite the outbreak of the Revolution, the International School in Mexico City was not affected; even in 1914, Alfred Tozzer had been appointed the director of the school.²⁶¹ Boas, because he was "obsessed with professionalizing the discipline, [...] failed to take into account the turbulent political climate of Mexico when planning the school."²⁶² The design of the school was "devised so that many diverse talents could be brought to bear on archaeological and ethnological problems of the Americas at the same time as the science of archaeology could be fostered throughout the world."²⁶³ Although, according to Ross

²⁵⁵ See Orozco, "Doña Zelia Nuttall" 119.

²⁵⁶ "Anthropological Notes and News" 364.

²⁵⁷ Parmenter, "Recovery" 1529.

²⁵⁸ See *ibid.* 796.

²⁵⁹ See Godoy, "Franz Boas" 228.

²⁶⁰ Parmenter, "Recovery" 834.

²⁶¹ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 940.

²⁶² See Godoy, "Franz Boas" 228.

²⁶³ Parmenter, "Recovery" 834.

Parmenter, “Nuttall had initially been skeptic about the school project in Mexico,”²⁶⁴ she was actively involved in it.²⁶⁵

Despite being well connected with her network of benefactors and supportive colleagues, Nuttall provoked and withstood several public contestations of her work and her persona. As one of the few actual field projects,²⁶⁶ Nuttall was involved in a major contestation with Leopoldo Batres, the then Inspector of Monuments, one that Nuttall explicitly chose to debate in public and skillfully used the media to confront Batres’ accusations²⁶⁷ in a dispute that also challenged American and Mexican authorities.

Already in 1881, Nuttall had passed the Isla de Sacrificios on her way to Veracruz, and she returned to it in late 1909,²⁶⁸ when Nuttall investigated the island and explored possible foundations of an obvious archaeological site.²⁶⁹ In her words, she found “a wall of one of the temples described by Grijalva in 1518. The wall is covered with a mural painting of fine execution.”²⁷⁰ As Parmenter speculates, Nuttall uncovered findings “suggesting that the island may have been an Aztec settlement dedicated to the worship of Quetzalcoatl, the feathered serpent.”²⁷¹ Nuttall had again found something that could be of archaeological importance. She left the island with the decisive intention to return.²⁷²

Nuttall reported the discovery to the Mexican government and (allegedly) they offered her the chance to lead a scientific mission to the island.²⁷³ However, as Parmenter makes clear, the officials had merely agreed to let her undertake the expedition and provided their blessings in the form of a promise of \$250 toward expenses.²⁷⁴ Although the Mexican government granted Nuttall the rights to undertake investigations, because she was a woman they appointed Leopoldo Batres, son of Salvador Batres, to supervise her.²⁷⁵ The choice of chaperonage proved problematic as Batres, public Inspector of Monuments, was known for

²⁶⁴ Ibid. 821.

²⁶⁵ In his biography, Parmenter utilizes a double framework approach in order to link Nuttall’s professional career with the processes of institutionalization of anthropology. For example: “The two behind-the-scenes events – Zelia’s showing her early figurines and the foundation of the International School – were to be closely linked” (ibid. 834).

²⁶⁶ Chiñas alleged that the project on the Islas Sacrificios was the only thorough field project Nuttall attempted in her career (Chiñas, “Zelia Maria Magdalena Nuttall” 271).

²⁶⁷ See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 277.

²⁶⁸ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 804.

²⁶⁹ See Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 78.

²⁷⁰ Parmenter, “Glimpses” 122. Juan de Grijalva (ca. 1489-1527) was a Spanish conquistador who visited Hispaniola and was one of the earliest to explore the shores of Mexico during his voyage in 1518.

²⁷¹ Parmenter, “Zelia Magdalena Nuttall” 641.

²⁷² See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 296.

²⁷³ See Parmenter, “Glimpses” 122.

²⁷⁴ See ibid. 124.

²⁷⁵ See Adams, *Ladies* 82.

his abrupt behavior and his despicable actions to personally benefit himself, as Adams asserts: “Batres was notorious for smuggling artifacts from sites he was supposed to be protecting and selling them to foreigners.”²⁷⁶

Batres then snuck to the island secretly and tried to disown Nuttall of her discoveries, claiming the discovered ruins as the product of his own investigations,²⁷⁷ and published them in a Mexican government newspaper *El Imparcial*.²⁷⁸ Infuriated with Batres’ mischievous acts to compromise Nuttall, she published a detailed account titled “The Island of Sacrificios” (1910) in the renowned journal *American Anthropologist*, in which she challenged Batres’ alleged findings and, with a detailed description of her work she carried out on the island, vindicated herself from the accusations Batres had made.

In the article, Nuttall wrote about the island, highlighting its history, the discovery, etc. She assured the reader with her account of the discovery of the island of Sacrificios to “have long been familiar” with it.²⁷⁹ As for the dispute between Nuttall and Batres, she further corrected the timeline by highlighting her early expedition to the island in December 1909.²⁸⁰

In the course of the article, Nuttall highlighted the negotiations between her and the Mexican Ministry of Public Instruction who would grant her the sum of 500 pesos; a sum for which Nuttall purchased outfittings, photographic material, etc., only to later learn the granted sum was reduced to 200 Pesos.²⁸¹ Nuttall, in her article, publicly protested against his interference in her work²⁸² and reproduced the letter she had received by the Ministry of Public Instruction²⁸³ that ordered “Salvador Batres, Assistant of the Inspection of

²⁷⁶ See *ibid.*

²⁷⁷ This is recognized by several authors, e.g. Adams, *Ladies* 83; Levine, “Uncovering a Buried Past” 145; Chiñas, “Zelia Maria Magdalena Nuttall” 271; Parmenter, “Glimpses” 126.

²⁷⁸ See Parmenter, “Glimpses” 126.

²⁷⁹ See ZN, “Island” 262.

²⁸⁰ See *ibid.* 271-2.

²⁸¹ See *ibid.* 278. According to Beverly Chiñas, Batres was also responsible for a cut in expenses for the investigations Nuttall wanted to achieve (see Chiñas, “Zelia Maria Magdalena Nuttall” 271).

²⁸² See *ibid.*

²⁸³ The name of the ministry is sometimes blurred. The often referred-to Ministry, known by its current instantiation as Secretaría de Educación Pública (SEP, Engl. Secretariat of Public Education), came into existence as the Ministerio de Instrucción Pública e Industria in the Nineteenth Century and changed its name several times. By the time Nuttall clashed with Batres over the Isla de Sacrificios incident it was known as Secretaría de Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes (Engl. Secretariat of Public Instruction and Fine Arts). Ensuing the Mexican Revolution, the Secretariat of Public Instruction (or often referred to as Ministry of Public Instruction) was abolished by José Venustiano Carranza; to fill the institutional gap, after President Álvaro Obregón took office in 1920, he instituted the newly founded Secretariat of Public Education in 1921, appointing its first Secretary of Public Education José Vasconcelos Calderón (see Russell, *History of Mexico* 370).

Archaeological Monuments, so that he should supervise.”²⁸⁴ Outraged by the overall working conditions, Nuttall decided to return from the island.²⁸⁵

Nuttall, as an American in Mexico who was preoccupied with Mexican archaeology, occupied “an ambiguous location marked by her social class, nationality and gender, in an environment that was undoubtedly very masculine,”²⁸⁶ as Carmen Ruíz finds. Specifically, the aspect of nationality plays a role, as in the article Nuttall depicts a scene that complicated national interests – both American *and* Mexican – as well as highlighted the obfuscation of intra-national agendas of politics and public institutions. Although, according to Carmen Ruiz, Nuttall had “adopted Mexico as a homeland, and with her research she remained close to this nation,”²⁸⁷ she remained in close connection to American public institutions. Nuttall depicted the actions of the Ministry in the form that “their purpose was to discourage [her].”²⁸⁸ She subsequently pointed to a complication within a Mexican government clash when she recognized “the rights accredited scientific workers to some consideration and independence of action, such as are so generously accorded by the Mexican government to scientific workers in other fields.”²⁸⁹ The article attempts to pit Batres against “President Diaz and his son, Colonel Porfirio Diaz, who take a true interest in archaeology, kindly endeavored to adjust matters, but their plans were cleverly circumvented.”²⁹⁰ Nuttall then highlighted that Batres “went quietly down to Vera Cruz and explored the island by himself”²⁹¹ and claimed the priority of discovery of the ruins on the island in the newspaper *El Imparcial*.²⁹² Batres claiming priority of discovery falls into what Sheila Contreras explains that the Mexican state foregrounded indigenous origins as a further expression of its resistance to European dominance.²⁹³

As for the publication of the article in the *American Anthropologist*, Nuttall pictured the events as an international incident by citing the leading American newspaper of the American Colony in Mexico, the *Mexican Herald*, supporting her refutation of Batres’s claims that had “met with strong objection on the part of many.”²⁹⁴ Again, Nuttall remarked

²⁸⁴ ZN, “Island” 278.

²⁸⁵ Nuttall charged Batres with “arranging matters” to hinder her from making explorations (see *ibid.* 280).

²⁸⁶ Ruíz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 280.

²⁸⁷ Ruíz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 283.

²⁸⁸ ZN, “Island” 279.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.* For more information on Batres and the role of archaeology in Mexico during the Porfiriato, see Larissa Kelly’s dissertation “Waking the Gods: Archaeology and State Power in Porfirian Mexico” (2011).

²⁹¹ ZN, “Island” 279.

²⁹² See *ibid.*

²⁹³ Contreras, *Blood Lines* 44-5.

²⁹⁴ ZN, “Island” 280. The American Colony was a loose group of American investors, owners and operators who were key players during the leadership of Porfirio Díaz who wanted to attract foreign capital and foreigners to

on the unfair treatment – however, by implying that she stood *pars pro toto* “indirectly [for] all American archaeologists”²⁹⁵ she turned this incident into an international event that pitted the United States against Mexico. Nuttall further stressed the international complications between the United States and Mexico arising from this incident as being a result of the “Batres-Sierra coalition” that “successfully discouraged all scientific archaeological research.”²⁹⁶ She aligned herself with fellow researchers such as Duc de Loubat and Alfred P. Maudslay but also cited Mexican archaeologists Paso y Troncoso, Rancisco Rodriguez, Manuel Gamio, etc. as victims of the coalition.²⁹⁷

Nuttall continued the article by stating her resignation from her position as Honorary Professor at the Museo Nacional to show her outrage,²⁹⁸ as she wrote to Franz Boas in a letter from April 6, 1910: “I renounced the title of Hon. Prof. of the National Museum as a protest against the treatment I received in connection with my discovery & proposed exploration of the ruins on the island of Sacrificios.”²⁹⁹ Moreover, she, resigned from the Organizing Committee of the Seventeenth International Congress of Americanists to be held in Mexico City in September 1911.³⁰⁰ The final charge Nuttall led was against the Department of Archaeology in Mexico in calling it a “one-man-system” that “has led to such unheard of abuses.”³⁰¹ Ultimately, Nuttall’s paper has been referred to by scholars like Parmenter as “a marvelously detailed paper” that he claims to be “one of the finest of her essays.”³⁰²

After the publication of Nuttall’s article, Batres waited for only a short time before publishing a ten-page pamphlet entitled “La Isla de Sacrificios, la Señora Nuttall de Pinard y Leopoldo Batres” on November 17, 1910. It was part of Batres’ vindictiveness, according to Ross Parmenter, that he deliberately used Nuttall’s ex-husband’s name in the title,³⁰³ thus placing an attack already in the title of the paper. The attack on Nuttall’s name similar to the

Mexico in order to succeed at modernizing Mexico (see Croucher, *The Other Side of the Fence* 30). Founded in 1896 and leaning towards financial and business interests that “could make or break businesses and reputations,” the *Mexican Herald* became the most-read journal covering all aspects of the colony’s society and in turn created that society by its coverage (see Schell, *Integral Outsiders* 15-6).

²⁹⁵ ZN, “Island” 280.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ See ZN, “Island” 280.

²⁹⁸ See Levine, “Uncovering a Buried Past” 145.

²⁹⁹ Parmenter, “Glimpses” 125.

³⁰⁰ See ZN, “Island” 280. The Notes section in the *Science* journal reads: “Mrs. Zelia Nuttall has handed in her resignation as member of the Organizing Committee of the Seventeenth International Congress of Americanists, to be held in Mexico City next September, and has also renounced the title of honorary professor of Mexican Archeology at the National Museum, as a protest against the treatment she received from the ministry of public instruction and the inspector of monuments in connection with her recent discovery and proposed exploration of the ruin of an ancient temple on the island of Sacrificios, off Vera Cruz” (“Scientific Notes and News” 697).

³⁰¹ See ZN, “Island” 281.

³⁰² Parmenter, “Glimpses” 126.

³⁰³ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 844.

scandal ensuing Miriam Leslie's descriptions of it in *California* and whose name was also deliberately misspelled by the newspaper editor Rollin Dagget in the *Territorial Enterprise*.

Batres referred to Nuttall's article as slanderous,³⁰⁴ having interpreted it as a personal attack on him. Despite Batres's own outrage against the allegations, he resorted to an argumentum ad hominem, attacking Nuttall as a simple amateur with no scientific education.³⁰⁵ As Parmenter expressed, Nuttall's relationship to her colleagues and rivals, almost regardless of gender or nationality: Nuttall "was to rue that she did not have further formal schooling – especially when rival Mexicanists threw her lack of education in her face."³⁰⁶ It remained one of the very few attacks on her that she could not refute. However, Batres went even further in the article. Not only did Batres deny any truth in Nuttall's allegations toward him;³⁰⁷ in an outburst of biologicistic reasoning regarding female physique and brain development, he tried to dismiss Nuttall's serious claims as the result of the "female hysteria of a person who hated him gratuitously."³⁰⁸ Batres went further and disregarded Nuttall's allegations as being "inspired by the thirst for vengeance that was devouring her and marked by the excessive self-love which so much characterizes her."³⁰⁹

To protect her integrity as a scholar, Nuttall was forced to react to these deeply personal attacks. Batres had forced her to take a retaliatory step; she wrote a letter to Batres and ultimately decided to give it to the *Mexican Herald* for publication.³¹⁰ Despite the generally harsh undertone of the debate, Ruíz finds that in the subsequent articles Nuttall aimed to depersonalize the controversy and tried to give it a more scientific background.³¹¹ Nuttall opened the first of the three articles in the *Mexican Herald* with the exact Batres quote describing Nuttall when he had first met her: "her eyes were full of tears and her mouth showed a hysterical convulsion."³¹² Nuttall administered an effective comeback, indirectly addressing Batres by saying:

I may have struggled with a wayward sneeze but I was not beside myself, Señor Batres, not in that stage of hysteria bordering on dementia which could alone cause a private

³⁰⁴ The original quote call it "el calumnioso artículo" (Batres, *La Isla* 10).

³⁰⁵ Original quote: "una simple aficionada sin educación científica" (ibid. 4).

³⁰⁶ Parmenter, "Recovery" 52.

³⁰⁷ See Batres, *La Isla* 3.

³⁰⁸ Parmenter, "Recovery" 844. The original quotation: "el histerismo femenino de una persona que gratuitamente me odia" (Batres, *La Isla* 3).

³⁰⁹ Parmenter, "Recovery" 844.

³¹⁰ See ibid.

³¹¹ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 302.

³¹² Ibid. 303. The original quotation: "lágrimas en los ojos, y la boca presa de una convulsion histérica" (Batres, *Las Isla* 3).

individual of my years to disregard even for a moment Talleyrand's famous advice: "never bark if you can't bite."³¹³

She also provided testimonials by witnesses to support her perspective.³¹⁴ The article in the *Mexican Herald* had fostered greater interest in the subject matter, and, gaining momentum, was re-printed in the *New York Evening Post*, December 31, 1910, with the title "A Toltec Teapot Tempest."³¹⁵ Batres had previously angered foreign correspondents, which might have led to the opening paragraphs preceding Nuttall's letter:

[A]t San Juan Teotihuacan, a bearded man stood in a doorway near the museum and muttered angrily as he eyed the gringo correspondents batten[ing] upon sights and sounds of Toltec civilization, as indicated by the one uncovered mound and its sinister sworded one, and the clouded utterances of a regular infantryman of the Distrito Federal, grudgingly telling about the recent finds at one of the most interesting of ancient spots in the republic. That muttering man was Leopoldo Batres, in charge of the badly arranged Museo Nacional in the rear of the National Palace of the City of Mexico. Batres had objected to the gringo trippers paying a visit to the pyramids.³¹⁶

After Nuttall's final remarks in this controversy, "perhaps Batres felt that silence was the better part of valor."³¹⁷ As Parmenter remarks, while Nuttall was fully prepared to risk her scientific reputation in a public inquiry, Batres certainly wanted to avoid a full-dress investigation of his museum classification, since he was very well aware that a number of Mexican archaeologists positioned themselves against him.³¹⁸ Beyond attacking Nuttall on the basis of scholarly integrity, Batres questioned Nuttall's abilities on the grounds of being a woman. The issue of gender in this controversy leads Carmen Ruiz to pose the question: "Was [it] her fieldwork experience as a woman and as a foreigner that was intimidating for Mexico's pyramidal archaeological hierarchy?"³¹⁹ Ruiz finds that it was a combination of both and that, over the course of the controversy, Nuttall was able to contradict Batres because she was a foreigner in Mexico, while at the same time she was accused because she was a foreigner and a woman.³²⁰

This major contestation with Batres highlights the different levels of Nuttall's ability to tap into transnational networks of fellow Americanists. Her contestation with Batres

³¹³ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 304.

³¹⁴ For example, Nuttall included an account by the military attaché Captain Sturtevant, who had written in a letter to Batres himself: "While I was present there was nothing in her features that in any way suggested tears or hysterics, nothing, in fact, but the customary composure or a cultured gentlewoman" (Parmenter, "Recovery" 847).

³¹⁵ Although the newspaper article acquired a wider reading audience at the time than Nuttall's more scholarly *American Anthropologist* piece, it was not included by Tozzer in Nuttall's bibliography, as Parmenter argues (see *ibid.* 845).

³¹⁶ "Toltec Teapot Tempest" 2.

³¹⁷ Parmenter, "Recovery" 848.

³¹⁸ See *ibid.* 848.

³¹⁹ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 284.

³²⁰ See *ibid.* 277.

happened not merely on the grounds of academic standards, but also involved issues of genderism as well as the involvement of national interests between the American and Mexican scientific communities these two contenders were representing (and aligning themselves with).

Lady Drummond-Hay: Global Syndicate and Established Connections

For her distinguished journalistic work, Drummond-Hay was made a member of the Institute of Journalists. The institute, founded in 1889, grew out of the National Association of Journalists and vowed to secure the advancement of all branches of journalism, to obtain formal and definite professional standing for journalists and to promote and serve in every possible way the interests of the journalist profession.³²¹ The Institute picked up on the concept of professionalism in attempting to elevate their social status.³²²

Despite being member of the institute, Drummond-Hay lamented an overall omission of her achievements, particularly her aerial achievements, in the press, especially in the United Kingdom. Whereas her flights were picked up by foreign newspapers in Sweden, Germany, the USA, and France,³²³ Drummond-Hay remarks about the British press that

[i]t is only here where there is so much opposition. The *Standard*, as I told you, had a whole page of “exclusive” pictures which they ran last year, with Earhart as the middle-piece, and two pictures of the Zeppelin, but no mention of me at all. Miss W. commented upon it at once. You would think that Miss E[earhart] is the only woman who ever flew the Atlantic at all, and it does give that impression.³²⁴

Drummond-Hay, in this regard, felt a form of exclusion from the broad public due to the lack of coverage in the newspapers. Referring to her transatlantic flight in 1928 and the subsequently succinct coverage in *The Sphere*, Drummond-Hay remarks:

The Manchester Guardian had a whole article today about 1928 being a “Woman’s Year” citing the achievements of women in all lines of life, even ones I never heard of, and omitting me, of course. Lady Heath, Lady Bailey, Miss Earhart, and all those, and about a dozen more, but not me. The DE [*Daily Express*] had a similar one yesterday [27.12.1928] and they did mention me. But feeling is still quite high against me.³²⁵

³²¹ See Hampton, “The Professional Ideal” 186.

³²² See *ibid.* 184.

³²³ Drummond-Hay mentions to von Wiegand that the “Swedish paper has been playing me up very big, with a long article all about me – copied from Vallentin’s in the *Dame* – and a picture, separate from the Page. All the Swedish papers have quoted part of my *Sphere* Page written about the trip – the first one I did, and I have a lot of cuttings from USA, and the French Papers” (LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 01 Jan 1929, KHWP VIII/1929).

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 28 Dec 1928, KHWP VIII/1928.

Despite feeling being excluded by the media in terms of her flying achievements, in Great Britain Drummond-Hay acquired her flying license in the 1930s, about which she published several articles,³²⁶ as well as became an official member of the Royal Aero Club.³²⁷

Furthermore, the closest and most fruitful institutional connection during Drummond-Hay's life and career was with the Women's International Association of Aeronautics (WIAA), founded by Elizabeth Lippincott McQueen in 1929, who played an important role in the institutionalization of women in aeronautics.³²⁸ Monitoring their achievements, McQueen was aware of internationally well-known women pilots and thus convinced two of the most renowned female pilots to become the first presidents of the WIAA in the 1920s and 1930s: Lady Heath and Lady Drummond-Hay.³²⁹ A long course of correspondence ensued between Drummond-Hay and McQueen. Through the correspondence and inquisitions, McQueen had familiarized herself with the journalistic works of Drummond-Hay before submitting her as candidate for the post of president. Drummond-Hay was elected president of the WIAA in 1932³³⁰ and served for ten years until 1942, when she was succeeded by Mary Sinclair Crawford.³³¹ In recognition of Drummond-Hay's aerial achievements and her long dedication to the WIAA as president the Lady Drummond-Hay Trophy was instituted posthumously by the organization and awarded to intrepid women pilots (see ch. 4.5).

Despite being a British national, Drummond-Hay was also affiliated with the North-American Newspaper Alliance (NANA), an American newspaper syndicate that existed from 1922-1980 and was affiliated with sixty leading newspapers in the United States and Canada, as well as others around the world. It was founded by John N. Wheeler,³³² who also functioned as general manager. Her subsequent articles and news dispatches were published under the publication rights of the NANA in the *New York Times*, *Chicago Herald & Examiner*, and others. Many of Drummond-Hay's articles were being syndicated and distributed in the North American market by the network beginning in the early 1930s.

In 1927, when Lady Drummond-Hay secured a regular weekly column on international politics called "World Affairs" in the British newspaper *The Sphere*, "serious" journalism was, for the most part, an intensely male and discriminatory culture and remained

³²⁶ For example, "I Learn to Fly" in *Britannia and Eve* (1930); the German version "Ich lerne Fliegen" in *Die Dame*, also in (1930).

³²⁷ See LDH, "Letter to Secretary RAC," 18 Oct 1945, KHWP LVII/PQR.

³²⁸ For a detailed historical elaboration on McQueen and the WIAA see Linda McCann's dissertation "Feminine Wings: The Women's International Association of Aeronautics" (2012).

³²⁹ See McCann, "Feminine Wings" 57.

³³⁰ See *ibid.* 109. Drummond-Hay was reelected as president in 1934 (*ibid.* 125).

³³¹ See *ibid.* 133.

³³² See Reiss, "Christy Mathewson" 147.

so until the Second Wave of feminism in the 1970s and 1980s.³³³ Regarding the United States, Ishbell Ross remarked in 1936:

[T]he newspaper woman has had to fight her way for years. She is not yet accepted on a footing with the men. In New York there is only one woman on a paper to about fifty men. She rarely gets the front-page story, is never picked for an executive office, is not sent abroad to head a bureau or cover a war, and is paid much less than her colleagues.³³⁴

Similarly, in England Drummond-Hay, particularly in the beginning of her career in the 1920s, had to face anti-feminist sentiments in the newspaper industry regarding the issue of women being in charge in the newspaper business. She penetrated the gender barrier for “serious” journalism – articles about domestic and foreign politics, economics, etc. – at a time when the gender divide between “women’s sections” and front-page journalism was still very much intact. Drummond-Hay later confessed to Doris Stevens: “I suppose it is about the hardest work I could have tackled, because of the sex jealousy.”³³⁵ Despite being faced with ‘sex jealousy’ by her male colleagues as well as senior editors and newspaper associates, Drummond-Hay remained focused on achieving her ambition of becoming a serious journalist: “When I first went into journalism I went with a fixed idea of doing what the men call ‘a man’s job’ and not to be turned aside by any consideration.”³³⁶

Newspapers in the past concentrated on what men wanted to know and that meant page after page of tightly printed columns mostly about politics and business, according to Barbara Belford in her *Brilliant Bylines: A Biographical Anthology of Notable Newspaperwomen in America* (1986).³³⁷ For hard or “serious” journalism the “pattern in Britain, as in America, was one of a male-dominated profession, not just in terms of numbers – women were a very small minority, absent almost entirely from full-time newspaper jobs and editing.”³³⁸ In *World’s Press News*, Sir Philip Gibbs found in 1930 that “Your modern editor is a man of the world”³³⁹ – a newspaper professional not only ‘of the world’ but most importantly: not a woman.³⁴⁰ And while Drummond-Hay published articles in *World’s Press News* as well as in *Business News* about the nature of journalism, international politics and business, e.g. unemployment during the Great Depression in the United States after 1929, the

³³³ See Coward, *Speaking Personally* 73.

³³⁴ Ross, “Women in Journalism” 198.

³³⁵ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 23 Jul 1928, DSP LXX/13.

³³⁶ Ibid.

³³⁷ See Coward, *Speaking Personally* 71.

³³⁸ Ibid. 74.

³³⁹ Young, “Wanted” 3.

³⁴⁰ Jean-Marie Lutes explains that the New Woman, an icon of female independence and power, fascinated the press, which often used her as a symbol of modernity; and yet men retained most editorial and staff positions at mainstream journals, despite more and more women entered the profession and sometimes attaining highly visible roles (see Lutes, “Beyond the Bounds of the Book” 338).

fiscal policy of Japan, and economical potential for private investors in China in early 1930,³⁴¹ at the same time a number of male colleagues spoke out against women in the workplace – in the very same newspapers.

Despite or because of women gaining more independence and power, they were seen as an aggression against men and as a threat for economic success. They were even blamed for the rise in unemployment rates, as one author at the time in *Business News* remarked: “I suggest that one of the real roots of the evil of unemployment is woman’s invasion of commerce, industry and the professions.”³⁴² This was an antagonistic sentiment Drummond-Hay was very much aware of and confronted with in her career, as she notes “the obstacles and difficulties deliberately raised by men who seem to be afraid, or jealous, – I do not know which – of women encroaching upon their field.”³⁴³ Eventually, in the November 1930 issue of that newspaper, columnist A. F. Elliot went so far as to call for a ban on women in business in general,³⁴⁴ while in the same year Rosita Forbes, advocated for gender equity in the regard that women only want men to appreciate women as “their colleagues as well as their wives,”³⁴⁵ and activist Emilie Peacocke with her article “Lift the Ban on Woman Subs”³⁴⁶ publicly advocated for the exact opposite of Elliot’s position. Like Drummond-Hay, Peacocke worked for the *Daily Express*, but had been a sub-editor of the woman’s page of the *Sunday Express* since 1918.³⁴⁷

These men felt that a ban was necessary in order to protect them from change, because they felt threatened by women like Peacocke, Forbes, or Drummond-Hay.³⁴⁸ Concordantly, Rosalind Coward acknowledges that women, although great writers, were more often than not confined to domestic subjects; and those names that became well known were usually, whether in Great Britain or in the United States, writing lifestyle, domestic or advice columns, like Marge Proops, Jean Rook and Lynda Lee Potter.³⁴⁹ Often men ignored the economic

³⁴¹ For example, the articles “America’s ‘Dole-Less’ Unemployed” (1930) or “China: Greatest Potential Market in the World” (1930), both in *Business News*; or “Yellow, White and Black Journalism: Oldest Newspapers of Four Continents” in *World’s Press News* (1930).

³⁴² Blackley, “Women” 1.

³⁴³ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 03 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9.

³⁴⁴ See Elliot, “Ban Women From Business” 41.

³⁴⁵ Forbes, “Men Women Want” 170.

³⁴⁶ Published in *World’s Press News* 10 Apr 1930 [3.15]: 5.

³⁴⁷ See Gray, “Introduction” 4 and Coward, *Speaking Personally* 74.

³⁴⁸ As St. John Ervine in *World’s Press News* obviously felt that not only the status quo was threatened but also saw a reverse gender backlash in a “womanization” of the press, particularly by women entering the workplace, when he found that “that everything they do is lavishly announced and advertised, even when the same thing, though better done by men, is ignored or briefly mentioned, but that the tone of the paper is being set by women” (Ervine, “Our Womanised Press” 9).

³⁴⁹ See Coward, *Speaking Personally* 74.

power women (even then) possessed, as in the case of a seemingly gender-marginalized fashion journal and reinforced naturalizations on gender.³⁵⁰

Women were merely tolerated in the business as long as they kept to prototypical women's themes related to the private sphere, such as lifestyle, stitching, gardening, clothing, interior designs and furnishing.³⁵¹ In contrast to this, Drummond-Hay's column in *The Sphere* was "the only one of its kind in London – run by a woman," as she reports to Doris Stevens.³⁵² In her words, "it is entirely out of the usual field of woman's work, and that is where the trouble lies."³⁵³ Having entered a sphere that was 'out of the usual field' and used to be predominantly male, Drummond-Hay found herself in a position of aggression: "For years I encountered the meanest attacks, and I do not think that this page is regarded with too much masculine favour."³⁵⁴ Furthermore, Drummond-Hay had to withstand attempts by her male colleagues to push supposedly gender-appropriate topics and approaches, as "the attempts to push me in to what was termed a more feminine point of view, were endless, and for the sake of my own countrymen I do not want to detail the petty meanness to which they resorted in order to get me out."³⁵⁵

Despite Doris Stevens' certainty that Drummond-Hay had overcome the obstacles presented to her on the basis of being a woman,³⁵⁶ often by reverting to biologicistic arguments,³⁵⁷ women in general were denied any talent or ability in "serious" topics of newspapers, such as politics and economics, and were generally painted as unsuited for the profession due to their "nature" as a women. Authors like Blackley were even denying women their own agency to choose their existence for themselves: "They are unconscious victims of

³⁵⁰ As illustrated by Briggs, when he says: "Women don't buy fashion journals casually: they buy them because they cover very intimately and personally their chief interest, just the same as their golfing husbands buy the golfing journals. What is more, they keep them for reference, or for discussing them with their friends" (Briggs, "Why Women Read Fashion Journals" 37)

³⁵¹ In the words of A.F. Elliot: "There is a surplus of women over men. There is plenty of room for this surplus. Let them do the work which is essentially theirs. Let them make hats, shirts, let them cook; even in industry there is much room for them in work that does not call for physical exertion. I am not advocating their exclusion; I am not minimising their ability; I am objecting to a civilisation which allows them to do men's work" (Elliot, "Ban Women" 41).

³⁵² LDH, Letter to Doris Stevens, 03 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9. Doris Stevens concurred to Drummond-Hay's opinion, saying that the column "is indeed composed of notes of events which usually fall to men to report" (Doris Stevens, Letter to LDH, 14 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9).

³⁵³ LDH, "Letter to Doris Stevens," 03 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Stevens remarked to Drummond-Hay: "Whatever the difficulty you have encountered, and I am sure they are many, you have overcome them for the time being, at any rate" (Doris Stevens, Letter to LDH, 14 Apr 1928, DSP XXXI/9)

³⁵⁷ For example, as A.F. Elliot found women to be "capable, diligent, and as far as their own particular work is concerned quite intelligent," and further that "they seem constitutionally to lack initiative – but I thank the powers that be for that" (Elliot, "Ban Women" 41).

a moving force born of a new era of human progress.”³⁵⁸ In essence, the intellectual capacity that was needed for serious journalism work was still considered a male trait; even Drummond-Hay herself finds the “basic essentials of self-mastery, perspective, objectiveness and detachment are classically ‘unfeminine’ qualities,” as she reasons that women “fear to lose beauty, sex-appeal, the sweets of coquetry, forgetting that that personality is the supreme gift of the gods.”³⁵⁹

Thus, despite acknowledging the current socio-cultural perceptions of the status quo with regards to the seemingly polar opposites of male and female intellectual capacities, Drummond-Hay, from the start of her career, categorically denied the gender-specific positioning in the workforce as much as a hierarchically structured environment in the workplace. In that regard, Drummond-Hay followed a general development during that time. Despite animosities towards women in the journalism industry, “the story of modern journalism is that of the Woman’s Story,” as Emilie Peacocke declares in her book *Writing for Women* (1936), as there was a corresponding rise in the number of women working in journalism as a vocation at the time.³⁶⁰

Despite Drummond-Hay’s lack of female support and/or association with clubs, lyceums or movements, she nevertheless had influential benefactors that aided her in her career. One of these early supporters was the renowned American journalist Karl-Henry von Wiegand. He was, however, not only an early supporter of Drummond-Hay in exploring, fostering and developing her journalistic skills and success, he was also the key factor in landing Drummond-Hay her position as sole woman journalist for the 1928 Atlantic crossing of the *Graf Zeppelin*. In a conversation with Hugo Eckener, von Wiegand later recalled how he made the case for Drummond-Hay in a discussion with Randolph Hearst:

I argued that a woman on board would go farther to impress the public with the safety of Zeppelin ocean travel than all the fifty-odd crew and male passengers together. He admitted the soundness of that, but did not want an “hysterical female” on that flight. Impatiently, I pulled out the contract, which provided that we had the right to place three persons on board, one of them a cameraman. There was no provision that one of the three could not be a woman. Eckener yielded. New York had no woman in mind. Could I find one? I suggested Lady Drummond-Hay, a British writer and a brave person, for some time one of the leading foreign correspondents on the staff of the London *Daily Express*. Mr. Hearst

³⁵⁸ Blackley, “Women” 1.

³⁵⁹ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 154. In similar ways, women speakers were thought to be masculinized by entering the traditional public space of males, thus a central problem in the reception of women as public speakers was the inability of many contemporaries, men and women, to see women as having both female body and “masculine” intellect (see Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 26).

³⁶⁰ Carter/Branston/Allan, “Setting New(s) Agendas” 1.

offered her the place on the *Graf Zeppelin*. She accepted. Subsequent events revealed that my estimate of her courage and coolness in an emergency was indeed correct.³⁶¹

Subsequently, William Randolph Hearst fostered Drummond-Hay's career further by employing her abilities in documenting other transnational events such as the 1929 circumnavigation event aboard the *Graf Zeppelin*, during the test-flight of the Dornier Do.X, and other such events. Drummond-Hay communicated with a vast professional correspondence network in order to gather her information for her weekly column (1927-32). She corresponded with statesmen and their secretaries, as well as internationally renowned personalities such as Elizabeth Lippincott McQueen, and conversed with the most publicly known international politicians and personalities.

Over the course of her career, Drummond-Hay moreover encountered criticism and contestations with fellow journalists and scholars. In 1933, Lady Drummond-Hay conducted a series of interviews with Marshall Hermann Goering that was published in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. Soon after publication, the Goering interview caused a small stir in the Jewish community in the United States. In April 1933, Phineas Biron wrote in his column "Strictly Confidential" in the *Jewish Criterion* under the subheading "She's no Lady":

Lady Drummond Hay, a very energetic English newspaperwoman, who covered the inauguration of the Hebrew University some years ago and several times flew with the Zeppelin over the Atlantic Ocean, is now in Berlin. ... She interviewed the Nazi leaders and even had herself photographed with some of the most prominent progromchiks. [...] Of Captain Hermann Goering, Hitler's most rabid anti-Semite, the lady says: "And there is Goering the artist and sentimentalist, who keeps a shrine-room in his house to the memory of his dead wife. But nobody seems to know the Man Goering." *We beg your pardon, lady, we know quite well the man from his recent activities, and we don't like him. ... Nor do we find your trashy implied adulation in good taste* [emphasis added]. ... The Man Goering has blood on his hands, dear Lady Drummond Hay.³⁶²

Biron is selective about the points he picks out from the article. While it is accurate that Drummond-Hay seems to be impressed by the private person Goering – she even was invited to his wedding – Biron is too focused on the descriptions of the shrine which Goering devoted to his wife. Biron deliberately leaves out the haunting impressions Drummond-Hay attributes to the intimidating atmosphere of ubiquitous Nazi symbols, like swastikas, daggers, etc.

In the aforementioned Goering interview, Drummond-Hay actively opposes Goering's attitude towards Jews, remarking "we have Jews of finest character in England, as national

³⁶¹ KHW, "The Sky's the Limit" 56-7.

³⁶² Biron, "Strictly confidential" 5. The article was also reprinted in *The Sentinel: The American Jewish Weekly* 90.3 [21 Apr] (1933): 19.

and patriotic as any other Englishman, and some have risen the highest offices in the State.”³⁶³ Furthermore, she actively points to Goering’s one-dimensional anti-Semitic and frankly xenophobic reasoning when she makes her position explicitly clear, saying: “Strange as it may appear Hitler’s Minister of Prussian police just refuses to conceive of a national-thinking German Jew.”³⁶⁴

Drummond-Hay also made her position opposing anti-Semitism and dictatorships³⁶⁵ rather clear when she asserted about Göring that “he is to Hitler what the famous Minister of Police Joseph Fouché, Duke of Otranto, was to Napoleon.”³⁶⁶ Her position – linking Göring with Fouché (1759-1820), the so-called “Executioner of Lyon” – was subsequently picked up by a well-established, respected German newspaper, *Die Neue Weltbühne*, which held a decidedly strong position opposing the fascist Hitler regime. In the notes section, the editor not only agreed with Drummond-Hay’s comparison but further added: “considering the height differential between Hitler and Napoleon, the parallels between Goering and Fouché come very close to the facts. The original Fouché being despicable enough.”³⁶⁷

Biron implies that Lady Drummond-Hay would be at least negligent to the issue of anti-Semitism if not complicit with it.³⁶⁸ On the contrary, as a journalist who was at times caught between the lines,³⁶⁹ Drummond-Hay was active when it came to anti-Semitism,

³⁶³ LDH, “Goering, Hitler’s Chief Minister, Sees ‘Bloodless Revolution’ in Germany” 10. Already in 1926, in an article about the arrival of Magda Lupescu in the *Daily Express*, Lady Drummond-Hay, telegraphing from Milan in reaction to rumors about Prince Carol of Romania, writes about her: She is white skinned, and not pretty, but attractive. She is the daughter of a Jewish commission agent in Bucharest. Rumanian newspapers continue to emphasise the political aspect, but it becomes clearer that Madame Lupescu is the driving power of Prince Carol’s impetuous action” (“Prince Carol” 7).

³⁶⁴ LDH, “Goering, Hitler’s Chief Minister, Sees ‘Bloodless Revolution’ in Germany” 10.

³⁶⁵ In an interview with the *Washington Scroll* in 1937, Drummond-Hay warned about the ramifications of dictatorships, naturally from her position as a journalist: “the active newspaper woman remarked that the greatest threat to the free press is a dictator, where the supremacy of the state must be assured even if the paper must be censured to the last word and the pages filled with reports of the events related in a untruthful manner” (Schlaeger, “Stormy Petrel” 2)

³⁶⁶ LDH, “Goering, Hitler’s Chief Minister, Sees ‘Bloodless Revolution’ in Germany” 10.

³⁶⁷ The original German quotation: “Berücksichtigt man die Größenrelation Hitler-Napoleon, dann kommt die Parallele Göring-Fouché den Tatsachen sehr nahe. War ja der echte Fouché schon verächtlich genug” (“Bemerkungen” 498).

³⁶⁸ At the beginning of her career in 1925, she had written an article about the Zionist Movement in the Near East, expounding the implications to a larger audience. In the article, Drummond-Hay navigates through a political minefield as she contrived that “Zionism is a national movement, not a religion” and that “Judaism is a religion, not a national movement” (LDH, “Zionism Expounded” 7). She is critical of the movement itself, as “cannot be considered as a reparation of the Jewish race, but an occupation, a colonisation, and a superficial one at that – superficial, inasmuch as there is not, and never has been, any attempt to consolidate the position of the immigrants in the country” (ibid.). Her position is not a clear-cut anti-Semitism in as much as it is a complicity with British imperialism, in as much as the Zionist movement would, from her perspective, jeopardize the status quo of British rule over Mandatory Palestine.

³⁶⁹ For example, during the 14th World Zionist Congress 1925, held in Vienna, Drummond-Hay herself was one of the victims of the anti-Semitic and anti-government riots on the 17th and 18th of August that resulted in disturbances, and assumed these were organized by General von Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler: she states that

quickly calling out anti-Jewish resentments,³⁷⁰ particularly in her home country.³⁷¹ Although her apparent silence on the discrimination against Jews in could be interpreted as an act of anti-Semitism, it must be acknowledged that interviews with dictators followed their own logic; critical questions may have well lead to the end of an interview, putting the interviewer in a difficult position. In some cases, Drummond-Hay was required to hand in questions beforehand and the wording of the article needed to be proofread as well as approved by the interviewee (e.g. in the case of Italo Balbo).

However, part of the issue seems to be that Drummond-Hay's interest in great statesmen, men of power, dictators and critical figures, etc., was also ill-suited for the international political difficulties of the Near East. As she invited Jamal al-Husayni as guest of honor to a soiree, Pierre van Paasen in the *Canadian Jewish Chronicle* not only pointed out that his "nebulous argument was advanced to refute the Jewish claim that Palestine is the Jewish Homeland of antiquity" but that "the London Press during the next few days after Jamal's expose, revealed the effect of his argument."³⁷² Van Paasen criticized the "proverbial British fair play [that] would not demand an occasional soiree with a Jew, explaining the Jewish point of view."

Furthermore, Drummond-Hay's close association with the German airships and her interviews with dictators caused some friction among her peers and colleagues and might as well have influenced her historical evaluation. Already in 1928, just after the transatlantic crossing aboard the *Zeppelin* from Europe to America, Drummond-Hay reasoned in a letter

after "a careful investigation she found that the money for the organizing of the demonstrations came chiefly from Germany by couriers who were coming and going from Berlin to Vienna" ("Vienna Disturbances" 19).

³⁷⁰ In a letter to von Wiegand, Drummond-Hay made her position clear: "Hitler, however, defies the world on his anti-Semitic policy" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 27 Jul 1933, KHWP IX/1933). And even further: "I understand that Dr. Hans Luther, Ambassador at Washington, [...] also went to Hitler and explained to him the sentiment in America toward Germany because of the persecution of the Jews and how difficult it was for him to to [sic] accomplish anything there. To Luther, Hitler, I am informed, adopted the same uncompromising attitude" (ibid. 2). Prophetically, Drummond-Hay closed the letter to von Wiegand with the words: "So it looks like a long struggle and the German people will, in the end, pay the bill" (ibid.).

³⁷¹ As an example, Drummond-Hay reacts with bewilderment to renewed anti-Semitism in Britain after WWII: "The Conservatives are quite crazy. When I was up at J's, some megaphone propagandist came along and talked for the Conservative, Mr. Levi! Now, J says 'What am I to do? I will not vote Labour, but how can I vote for a Jew? We have too many here, and we all know them too well' She said she just would not vote at all! Round here, the Labour propaganda has been great, even though it is a safe Borough for Labour, and the Conservative futile and fiddling. There is a very decided anti-Semitic wave here, especially in the districts where the refugees have been for so long." (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 02 Oct 1945, p.2, KHWP X/1945). Even before that, Drummond-Hay seemed appreciative, or at least tolerant, of various forms of Jewish religiosity: "On Wednesday dinner with Emanuel the Lawyer and his artist brother. [...] They are real types, these two. Little fair, wizened Jew, the one, the other a heavy bearded Jew, kind and very orthodox. Both (1-2) inveterate collectors of all kinds of knick-knacks [...] Both are fine artists, spend their holidays walking in France, painting and sketching landscapes, and living on the memory for the rest of the year" (LDH, "Letter to KHW," 04 Feb 1929, KHWP VIII/1929).

³⁷² Paasen, "Passing my Window" 13.

to von Wiegand: “The Zep[elin] trip did good in one way, but it has confirmed my compatriots in their terrible suspicions about my relations with the German! That is no joke. There is what the French call a ‘froid’ – cold.”³⁷³ Ultimately, however, Drummond-Hay never sided with fascism in any form and in particular not with the Nazi regime.

In contrast to the aspect that the critique of Drummond-Hay relies heavily on the subject-oriented perspective of interpreting the media (see ‘gatekeeper’ in journalism) and gives all responsibility to her personal views, this interpretation lacks institutional liability of context: namely the editorial section. As Robert Desmond recognizes, particularly the *Daily Express* – a newspaper Drummond-Hay frequently worked with – with its “vigorous coverage of national and international affairs, took a strong conservative editorial position.”³⁷⁴ Notwithstanding Drummond-Hays’ own liability for content, the editors in charge of selecting wording and content had their share in making a conservative stance in the early twentieth-century news coverage.

As evident from these incidents with fellow journalists and critics contesting Drummond-Hay’s work, being an internationally active reporter naturally lead to complications and conflicts with others. Similar to Miriam Leslie, who in the face of criticism “reacted by not reacting,”³⁷⁵ Drummond-Hay, in all of these cases, abstained from refuting the allegations. These incursions to Drummond-Hay’s remarkably successful career remained incidental and had no greater ramifications on her work during her career. Like Miriam Leslie, Lady Drummond-Hay managed her public image so that these criticisms would not affect it. Yet, the close association with Germany might have contributed to her elimination from recuperating efforts in historiographical writing.

4.3 Transnational Feminism: Suffrage, Western Ideologies, Global Sisterhood

This dissertation analyzes a specific timeframe during which it is almost impossible to separate women’s careers and engagement in professional labor from notions of women’s rights, suffrage, sisterhood, etc. Thus, it is necessary to discuss the protagonists’ respective engagement in feminism and suffrage movements, whether this feminism was subliminally

³⁷³ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 14 Dec 1928, KHWP VIII/1928. In the letter, she continues that she had quarrels over these issues with even her family: “I had a real argument with Mamie and Arthur on the subject, even papa and mama, too, and finally got disgusted, and told them they did not know what they were talking about, and to Arthur I told him to shut up until he had learned sense. I asked Mamie if she ever read the Sphere, and she ‘I DO NOT read the Sphere’. So that was that” (ibid.).

³⁷⁴ Desmond, *Tides of War* 277.

³⁷⁵ Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 160.

uttered (e.g. in private conversations and diaries) or whether it was a key to their respective careers. In light of the transnational perspective of this study, particular focus is placed on the protagonists' association with women's rights and women's movements that transcended national affiliations of voting rights and issues of national concern.

An important category of analysis in a feminist transnational approach is the idea of affiliation with transnational networks, communities, conferences, etc. Particularly organizations, campaigns, and ideas travel principally in the bodies and minds of individual, particularly mobile women.³⁷⁶ The protagonists were mobile and possessed the necessary resources to travel to foreign countries, attend conferences, give public speeches, etc. and thereby engaged in shaping the dominant strains of transnational feminism.³⁷⁷ The protagonists are exemplary as main actors within these multidirectional processes, since regardless of the directions in which ideas and practices flowed, they generally funneled through individual cosmopolitan women who participated in international networks and conferences linking like-minded activists, most often from urban backgrounds.³⁷⁸

Particularly women travelers, migrants, missionaries, and writers – of books, newspaper articles, and letters sent off across the lines that divided nations – made contacts that prepared the way for more formalized interactions.³⁷⁹ The development of an international women's movement was a process that lurched slowly into motion in the late nineteenth century, gathered steam at the end of the First World War, and nearly screeched to a halt in 1949.³⁸⁰ This chapter seeks to incorporate the aspect of travel into the development of the suffrage movement and the protagonists' association with it and analyze the extent to which the protagonists were concerned with national feminist movements and related to a "global sisterhood" and international feminist movements, e.g. women's rights and the social status of women.

Miriam Leslie: Campaigning for Women's Rights and Social Equality

Miriam Leslie actively engaged in what she described as "a great deal of talk in the last few years of women's rights and a great deal of discussion as to what those rights consist in."³⁸¹

³⁷⁶ See Olcott, "A Happier Marriage" 246.

³⁷⁷ See *ibid.* 245.

³⁷⁸ See Olcott, "A Happier Marriage" 245.

³⁷⁹ See Rupp, "International First Wave" 241.

³⁸⁰ See *ibid.* 242.

³⁸¹ LES, *Social Mirage* 106.

Even more so, as Madeleine Stern asserts, Leslie “had lived woman’s rights.”³⁸² Leslie recognized herself as privileged in exercising women’s rights, “being one of those women whose hands have always been too full to allow her to grasp at any more rights than they held.”³⁸³ Although it is argued by some that Leslie, “never specifically endorsed suffrage,”³⁸⁴ others emphasize her “feminist pleas”³⁸⁵ such as her growing support at the end of the century, e.g. when Leslie had offered the use of her publishing house for a suffrage debate and spoke in favor of the movement in 1894,³⁸⁶ or her late publication *A Social Mirage* (1899).³⁸⁷ Overall, Leslie showed a life-long devotion to supporting women, as she remarked in her late publication *A Social Mirage* (1899): “I long and work for the advancement of women.”³⁸⁸ The support she showed, initially small, grew over time as Leslie became increasingly supportive of other women journalists and in believing that women made superior interviewers, she created jobs for women in journalism and also spoke out publicly in support of women journalists.³⁸⁹

Miriam Leslie’s feminism arose from the then “accepted idea of the world that courage is a masculine attribute almost exclusive and that all women are timid creatures, needing all sorts of protections and support.”³⁹⁰ It was her opinion, privately as well as professionally, that this was untrue. Rather, Leslie found “the courage of womanhood develops in grander ways and more useful forms.”³⁹¹ However, Leslie’s feminism was also deeply conflicted and

³⁸² Stern, *Purple Passage* 182.

³⁸³ LES, “Era of Woman” 46.

³⁸⁴ Beasley, “Pens, Petticoats, and Revolutionaries” 211.

³⁸⁵ Hart/Leininger, *Companion to American Literature* 368.

³⁸⁶ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 266.

³⁸⁷ Leslie also contributed to the Woman Suffrage party of New York City, was an associate of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and a life member of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (see Stern, *Purple Passage* 266). When in 1898 Leslie learned that the syndicate she had handed over in good condition was financially destabilized and the publication of the *Popular Monthly* in danger, she returned to Publisher’s Row and faced a similar situation as she had in 1880 when the *Frank Leslie Publishing House* was bankrupt. Leslie agreed to take half the stock, become president of the company and editor-in-chief of the *Popular Monthly* (see Stern, *Queen of Publisher’s Row* 174). She was able to launch the new *Frank Leslie’s Popular Monthly*, with a “powerful surge towards women’s rights and woman suffrage” (ibid. 175) to ensure a broad public and readership.

³⁸⁸ LES, *Social Mirage* 302.

³⁸⁹ See Okker, *Our Sister Editors* 30. For example, Ella Wilcox remembered the attention Leslie gave her as an expression of fostering public recognition/presence of women: “Mrs. Leslie, from the hour I met her, evinced a deep interest in me; and desired my presence at all her functions, which, during the first few years of my life in the East, were really brilliant affairs. And one met there, in her crowded drawing rooms, some very worth-while people” (Wilcox, *The Worlds and I* 132).

³⁹⁰ LES, *Social Mirage* 222. Leslie sees three different roles that women could occupy in the world: “Women in general are to men in general either ‘darlings,’ or mothers of children, or household and domestic machines. Within these limits woman receives admiration, protection and a certain amount of appreciation from every grade of men, but let her step outside these limits, let her try to meet man upon his own intellectual or authoritative platform, and her disadvantage is at once made apparent, and her helplessness to overcome it stares her in the face” (LES, *Social Mirage* 304-5)

³⁹¹ Ibid. 232.

sometimes crude: she could advocate for equality in ambition and ability for women, being equal to her contemporary men, champion women's rights and suffrage, yet also describe women as "charmingly helpless."³⁹²

Generally, Leslie was an outspoken feminist, particularly about a sense of commonality and community: "A woman cares for the love of her own sex, for the love of her employees, for the love of her friends, her circle, her society, be it a large or small body."³⁹³ Among her works centering on women's rights, issues and suffrage, Leslie's early column "Ladies' Conversazione" was in line with Margaret Beetham's statement that "most magazines for women, particularly from the 1850s onwards included a letters column or a space in which the community of readers was invited to share the journalistic space."³⁹⁴ The column addressed a wide female audience, bringing emotional attention to the issues the women's movement addressed more overtly and politically by personalizing the concerns dealt with by the promoters of women's rights and giving them deeper resonance via the correspondents' often moving accounts of their own experiences.³⁹⁵ These exhibit Leslie's interest in suffrage and women's rights as she "invited women readers to participate in a free exchange between the editor and themselves."³⁹⁶ Subsequently, readers sent letters questioning the validity and possibility of happiness for women, promoting the personal value of public work, reporting on domestic violence, and raising awareness for the implications of an American class-gender system that ideologically relegated women to a claustrophobically private sphere.³⁹⁷ More than that, these columns embodied what Beetham recognizes as "imagined communities" (in the sense of Benedict Anderson's conceptualization) in their depiction of what might become active political realities; some we might describe as "proto-feminists," as these authors were concerned with addressing the inequalities of power based on the gender difference which the press constantly recreated.³⁹⁸

In *A Social Mirage* (1899), Leslie recognized that "the world turns over every day,"³⁹⁹ thereby metaphorically indicating social progress and change, being discontented with the contemporary ideology of traditional separate spheres:

³⁹² Donald Jackson finds that Leslie's perspective on feminism was different from mainstream suffrage movement: "The feminism she professed seems quaint by today's standards – women should be credited for their brainpower, she argued, but also cherished, on occasion, as charmingly helpless" (Jackson, "Belle of the Boardroom" 152).

³⁹³ LES, *Social Mirage* 310-1.

³⁹⁴ Beetham, "Periodicals and the New Media" 235.

³⁹⁵ See Frost, "'Where Women May Speak For Themselves'" 60.

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

³⁹⁷ Ibid. 61.

³⁹⁸ See Beetham, "Periodicals and the New Media" 235.

³⁹⁹ LES, *Social Mirage* 173.

Woman's sphere! Why not talk of man's sphere, and be always worrying around and fussing and fretting to see that he does not get out of it? Man's sphere is the sphere of the world – nay, of the universe – so far as he has ability to grasp it. Then why isn't woman's sphere just the same? Her character and capacities are very much like those of man, although, like him, she as a sex ranges through many grades of capacity and intelligence.⁴⁰⁰

Not only were women equal to men for Leslie, but most importantly she found the woman's sphere equally to be the "sphere of the world." Here, 'the world' is metaphorical; it stands for the transgression of boundaries, epitomizing social freedom. This achievement articulates a changed perception of women's roles in contrast to men's roles. It acknowledges that remarkable progress along many lines had been made, particularly in the popular recognition of women's rights and the popular appreciation of her efforts for her deliverance from effete limitations⁴⁰¹ that Leslie sees that "women can no longer be set aside with a caress or pushed aside."⁴⁰² For Leslie, it is "man's estimate of woman is one of the things needing readjustment."⁴⁰³ "Men have learned to cultivate their brains and their pockets" and "women are no longer fools, nor babes, nor the helpless prey of her destroyer."⁴⁰⁴

Despite the measurable successes in the promotion of women's rights and the advances the feminist movement in the United States had achieved, Leslie cautions her readers that "there is much yet to do in this grand work of woman's protection against the prejudice and rapacity which still harbor in little minds."⁴⁰⁵ Leslie was convinced that the woman of her time was "still denied access to spheres of usefulness in which she might achieve new and grander triumphs"⁴⁰⁶ because "[no] man ever meets [a woman] and converses upon momentous subjects precisely as he does with another man, and until this is the case there are no true equal rights for the woman."⁴⁰⁷

Considering Leslie's geographical mobility, her remarks on women abroad must be seen in connection to her support of women's rights, as her understanding of the promotion of women's rights clearly transcended strict national boundaries.⁴⁰⁸ For example, in 1899, Leslie traveled to Europe once again and entertained American newspaperwomen in London where the International Council of Women was meeting.⁴⁰⁹ Additionally, Leslie envisioned

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid. 175.

⁴⁰¹ See LES, "Letter" 443.

⁴⁰² LES, *Social Mirage* 177.

⁴⁰³ LES, *Social Mirage* 176.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. 113.

⁴⁰⁵ LES, "Letter" 443.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ LES, *Social Mirage* 305.

⁴⁰⁸ Leslie was affiliated with the Woman's International Press Association when it changed its character "from National to International" in 1887 with a broadened international membership of 400 scattered over the United States, Mexico, and parts of Europe (see McBride, "Women in Journalism" 183-4).

⁴⁰⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 173.

an expansion of suffrage as a global movement: “Do the women of a few of our cities already feel the wave of progress that is slowly rolling around the world to this extend? If so, is it not a foreshadowing of what is to come?”⁴¹⁰ By evoking the image of a “wave of progress” for suffrage and with her conviction of the irreversibility of societal progress, Leslie predates the association between women’s movements as a cohesive tempo-spatial phenomenon centered around political agendas and ideological strands with the wave metaphor as it was conceptualized in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when feminists began to identify themselves as “the second wave” of the women’s movement while simultaneously designating the period between 1848 and 1920 as “the first wave.”⁴¹¹

Leslie can be seen as an example of one of the central aspects of writing transnational histories, namely the challenging of conventional periodizations; from the perspective of feminism questioning the periodization around “waves” of feminism that labels the suffrage movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as the First Wave and the feminist revival of the 1960s and 1970s as the Second.⁴¹² Conventional periodizations are to be questioned as much as the demarcation of historical time by wars of presidencies or phenomena (such as the Renaissance or the Industrial Revolution) that put men’s experiences at the center.⁴¹³ As already stated, this embodies transnational theory’s predicament towards generally accepted stable and solidified periodizations within feminism, particularly the First Wave feminist movement, as Pamela Nadell and Kate Haulmann state: “Questions raised by transnational feminist scholars about the marking of historical time prompted a rethinking of women’s and gender histories’ articulation of ‘waves’ of feminism and its emphasis on linear progression.”⁴¹⁴ Feminist history taught us to question conventional periodizations, as Gerda Lerner has remarked upon in *The Majority Finds Its Past*: “Women’s history presents a challenge to the periodization of traditional history.”⁴¹⁵ Concordantly, transnational feminist history has challenged feminism’s own conventions by showing the limitations of the wave model.⁴¹⁶ Miriam Leslie’s preceding acknowledgement of said wave metaphor is one element of these conventions.

⁴¹⁰ LES, *Social Mirage* 106.

⁴¹¹ See Henry, *Not My Mother’s Sister* 58. The term “second wave” is attributed to Marsha Weinman Lear, who used the term in an article of the *New York Times* from March 1968 to designate the then-burgeoning movement (see *ibid.*).

⁴¹² See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 239.

⁴¹³ See *ibid.*

⁴¹⁴ Nadell/Haulmann, “Writing Women’s History” 9.

⁴¹⁵ Lerner, *Majority Finds Its Past* 154.

⁴¹⁶ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 252.

Although Miriam Leslie in *A Social Mirage* (1899) claimed the importance of a sense of community of women in that a “woman cares for the love of her own sex,”⁴¹⁷ she remained a woman of a certain class and race.⁴¹⁸ Seemingly, at the intersections of race, gender and class, Leslie’s support for women’s rights and feminism ended. Leslie, more than occasionally, is partially blind towards class in her views on women’s rights or suffrage. For Leslie, the “American woman as the woman of the South” – that is “the woman of the upper classes, the wife and daughter of the wealthy planter or the city magnate of those days.”⁴¹⁹

When Leslie traveled across the American continent, she compiled her experiences in her travelogue *California*, in which she not only describes the awe-inspiring landscape but also reveals her views on the women she encountered. In the text, Leslie not only dehumanizes workers in opposition to their employers, but also readily asserts her views on race very openly, thereby linking race and labor. The combination of race and labor becomes clear when Leslie finds Chinese laborers in San Francisco “to be more intelligent than the negroes, and quite as industrious.”⁴²⁰ The Chinese women of San Francisco were “mostly without beauty or grace”⁴²¹ as were the women in Virginia City of “the worst class.”⁴²² Both examples display how Leslie’s sense of community for the cause of suffrage or women’s rights ended at the notion of class.

The difference between the Chinese women of San Francisco and the women of Virginia City is not due to unintentionally oscillating affiliations with feminist reform programs or complicity with American empire building, with the women of Virginia effectively remaining “largely un-integrated into that progressive model of empire.”⁴²³ It rather stems from a classist rationale in connection to contemporary history: “These poor creatures are most of them bred to evil from infancy by parents who make merchandise of them in early girlhood,”⁴²⁴ Leslie writes about the Chinese women of San Francisco. For Leslie, these women were morally corrupt, however with a distinction: unlike the “enslaved” Chinese prostitutes, their counterparts in Virginia City were “simply ‘bad’ women,”

⁴¹⁷ LES, *Social Mirage* 310-1.

⁴¹⁸ Leslie was a self-proclaimed feminist and at the forefront of her texts were a number of white middle-class women’s rights issues such as suffrage, equal pay, and clothing reform (see Morin, “Mining Empire” 159).

⁴¹⁹ LES, “The Southern Woman” 92.

⁴²⁰ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 425. She repeats her position in the article “The Ladies of Lima”: “The best servants are the Chinese, of which large numbers have been introduced within the last few years” (LES, “Ladies of Lima” 42).

⁴²¹ LES, *California* 165.

⁴²² Ibid. 278.

⁴²³ Morin, “Mining Empire” 166.

⁴²⁴ LES, *California* 165.

according to Morin.⁴²⁵ Leslie's empathy towards the Chinese laborers and women in *California* are the result of her abolitionist alignment, not out of an identification with women of a nationality and ethnicity different from her own: "the open and revolting traffic forming a terrible satire upon the hecatomb of the best lives of our own country sacrificed in the late war to abolish Negro Slavery!"⁴²⁶

More than Leslie's divergence from the pre-ascribed roles of society for women in her personal life, work and experience, as well as what she conveyed in her writing, and despite Leslie's interest in fostering women's careers as journalists and campaigning for women's rights, her own position as a woman of a certain class never wavered. This becomes particularly clear when seen in connection to her travels abroad. As Donald Jackson rather sensationally argues: "She was an unabashed snob with the prejudices of a plutocrat, but she could also argue for fairer treatment of the cruelly persecuted Chinese in California."⁴²⁷ This Janus-faced position of Leslie was less captious as it was compromisingly revealing. Particularly, her travelogue *California* from 1877 was "not [the product] of the hardworking pioneer woman settler but of the exalted woman visitor from the East."⁴²⁸

Despite her many travels, Leslie's classist view of the world remained intact. During their transcontinental journey in 1877, she and Frank Leslie routinely met powerful men, describing "numerous encounters with bankers, politicians, executives, industrialists, and especially railroad or mining officials who welcomed them into their homes and invited them on excursions, including into the mines."⁴²⁹ In *California*, "[t]hese men are portrayed as bold, manly, beneficent, paternalistic, and refined."⁴³⁰ Ultimately, despite achieving a great amount of liberation herself, traveling had not altered Leslie's own position towards women of other classes and ethnicities and shows the limitations of her engagement of feminism.

Considering Leslie as a geographically mobile person, her travel writing makes no mention of the support of women's rights abroad. Effectively influenced by her imperialist gaze (see ch. 5.1), Leslie's perception of women abroad in connection with suffrage and women's rights is almost schizophrenically non-existent. Leslie, as an American woman, remarks about the consequences of European influence on the society in Lima:

⁴²⁵ See Morin, "Mining Empire" 166.

⁴²⁶ LES, *California* 166.

⁴²⁷ Jackson, "Belle of the Boardroom" 152.

⁴²⁸ Stern, "Introduction" vii. In that, Leslie's account presented a study in sharp contrast to the earlier record of such a traveler as Eliza Farnham's account *California, In-Doors and Out* from 1856 (see *ibid.* vii-viii).

⁴²⁹ Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity* 205.

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

The old, frank, and provincial customs of the people, quaint, perhaps, but always genuine and pleasant, if only for their novelty, have mostly disappeared in an unsuccessful attempt at Europization (if I may coin a word), and the people of Lima, the women not excepted, have not the ease of fully-acquired habits, nor that which an ignorance of any except those that are indigenous always bestows.⁴³¹

In her descriptions, Leslie makes her position towards a European influence clear, that “European styles, in their exaggeration, are invading all parts of the earth, and must soon become fully domesticated in a city as opulent as Lima.”⁴³² In her article “The Era of Woman as a Power Has Commenced” (1893) Leslie nostalgically laments this loss of traditional attire: “Dress, formerly a species of trademark placed by the nations upon their population, is rapidly losing its individuality all over the world.”⁴³³ Examples for Leslie were the Turk who “has exchanged his turban for the silk hat” and even the Tyrolean woman who increasingly “wears a very far-off imitation of an old Parisian fashion.”⁴³⁴ Interestingly, against the European influences that Leslie speaks of, she also comments on the consequences of these influences as the woman of Lima, or Limaña, is in a transition state that fluctuates, causing identity forming processes similar to transculturation: “They have ceased to be Limañas, and they have not become French, English, German, or American” either.⁴³⁵ Despite Leslie’s remarks on the seemingly negative effects of the “Europization,” her perspective focuses on the picturesqueness of women in Lima, their clothing, yet remaining silent on their rights as individuals in their society. The “wave of progress” that Leslie invokes in *A Social Mirage* (1899) does not reach the women of Lima.

More than that, Leslie’s conflict of gender and class displayed in her domestic feminism is extended with a racial dimension abroad. Leslie’s understanding of women’s position in society, their rights, etc. is radically different its view of women domestically and abroad. During her trip to the sugar plantation on Cuba in 1878, Leslie’s descriptions of the wife of the owner, Doña Teresa, and the workers, particularly women workers, who are generally people of color are exemplary of racist and classist ideologies. Leslie recalls:

The little, half-naked, black wretches seemed happy enough, however, and tumbled pell-mell over each other to kiss the visitors’ hands, especially those of Doña Teresa, of whom perhaps they would have said, had they read Browning: “Little hand holds mickle gold.”⁴³⁶

⁴³¹ LES, “Ladies of Lima” 43.

⁴³² Ibid. 42.

⁴³³ LES, “Era of Woman” 45-6.

⁴³⁴ Ibid. 46.

⁴³⁵ LES, “Ladies of Lima” 43.

⁴³⁶ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 425.

Here, Leslie cites a short passage from the poem “Rhyme of the Duchess May” by Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-1861).⁴³⁷ The poem is generally understood to point to women’s emancipation by depicting a “courageous act of will [that] is misunderstood by audience and auditor.”⁴³⁸ In the poem, Browning constructs an ambivalence of female self-assertion that shows a woman having a strong woman’s will but is still remaining as hapless as a little girl.⁴³⁹ Leslie, however, uses the poem as a way of symbolizing the monetary wealth of Doña Teresa in combination with her feminine figure that Leslie constructs as standing in stark contrast to the workers:

It was pleasant to see how these poor creatures, more resembling beasts of burden than women, straightened their bowed backs, and pushed away their matted hair to look into the face of the young mistress, who, with her tiny figure and pure, pale face, moved among these Amazons like a fairy among gnomes.⁴⁴⁰

What becomes apparent here is that Leslie structures her view as a dualism between the workers, symbolized as “beasts of burden” and the “fairy among gnomes,” and thus as an opposition between the hegemonic authority and its symbolically dehumanized subjects, a topic that is also a factor in the picturesque aesthetic, as Jeffrey Auerbach acknowledges its relationship to labor as an issue that was often discussed in the picturesque texts even as it was frequently disavowed in picturesque images (see ch. 5.1).⁴⁴¹ Leslie is even more frank about servants during her trip to Lima when she writes:

In Lima the servants are of the laziest and worthless description, generally *cholos* (mixed Indian and white), or pure Indians. The negroes, formerly slaves, are relatively few and fast disappearing, in consequence of their vices, of which drunkenness is not the most fatal.⁴⁴²

Leslie continues that “no lady is without her *cholita* or *cholito*,” who she describes as “a little dependent, whose sole business is to attend to her personal requirements.”⁴⁴³ At times, her descriptions even stripped of any gender: “This little mortal, whatever its gender, does everything for her which a second person can possibly do.”⁴⁴⁴ In her texts, Leslie’s tone is at

⁴³⁷ The original being: “Little hands clasps muckle god; or it were not worth the hold” (Browning, *Poetical Works* 207).

⁴³⁸ See Lewis, *Spiritual Progress* 79.

⁴³⁹ See Mermin, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 93.

⁴⁴⁰ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 423.

⁴⁴¹ See Auerbach, “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire” 52.

⁴⁴² LES, “Ladies of Lima” 42.

⁴⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁴ Ibid.

times supplanted by derogatory and even racist utterances by acquaintances during her travels that Leslie relays without comment, thus purporting a form of complicity.⁴⁴⁵

In summary, Miriam Leslie was not merely a public supporter of women's rights through her various publications in books, journals, and magazines, but shared a sentiment towards the unity between women as a group in order to gain public influence. While Leslie was complicit with traditionally gender-coded attributes of men and women,⁴⁴⁶ her egalitarian position sees women as equally fit for working in the same positions men inhabited. Although Leslie was a great contributor to suffrage in the United States, she did not extend the notion of women's rights to women in other countries she visited, e.g. Peru, Cuba, Bahamas, etc. Leslie rendered laborers abroad, e.g. on the sugar plantations on Cuba, men and women equally, unapologetically as "beasts of burden" or "picturesque destitutes" (see ch. 5.1). Thus, Leslie's support of women and her sense of community for women is narrowed by strict perspectives on class and race. Consequentially, Leslie's feminism did transgress national boundaries, but was tied hegemonically to the Western Hemisphere across the northern Atlantic. However, when Leslie looked to the future, she found women's "advancement has been as solid and as irresistible."⁴⁴⁷ Leslie views the future with high hopes for the promotion of women's rights: "as I glance across the field of the Twentieth Century, I stand in awe of the possibilities of the reign of woman there displayed."⁴⁴⁸

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Women's Rights and Women's Lives Abroad

Le Plongeon was a prominent member of New York society and throughout her life was an outspoken supporter of women's rights. Just as Le Plongeon had held her first public lecture in 1878 for the benefit of The Catholic School in Belize, British Honduras (and that was transformed into her first article: "Notes on Yucatan"),⁴⁴⁹ later she, too, gave lectures for the benefit of social and educational institutions, e.g. in 1888, when Le Plongeon spoke at the Plymouth Church in Brooklyn in order to raise money for the Willow Place Free Kindergarten.⁴⁵⁰ In 1889, Le Plongeon met with 375 women for the inaugural dinner and

⁴⁴⁵ For example: "As we returned to the house, the bell above the slave quarters rang solemnly, and the Senorita at my side said, simply: 'It is the Angelus, Senora; but the poor black people do not know, more than the oxen, what it means'" (LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands II" 426).

⁴⁴⁶ For example, Leslie finds that "of course we all know that woman's reason differs from man's reason, just as heir light, agile figure differs from his breadth of brawn and muscle." (LES, *Social Mirage* 144).

⁴⁴⁷ LES, "Era of Woman" 46.

⁴⁴⁸ LES, "Era of Woman" 46.

⁴⁴⁹ ADLP, "Notes on Yucatan" 69.

⁴⁵⁰ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 264.

reception of the Seidl Society at the Hotel Brighton. Also, Le Plongeon held a lecture for Literary Day of the Woman's Professional League, speaking on Mexico and its literature and touching on the national theatre, schools of art, and politics "in a very interesting manner."⁴⁵¹ On many other occasions, Le Plongeon showed her association with the suffrage movement.

When Le Plongeon published an article in 1899 titled "A Thought on Government," she touched on the development of government and law, economics, and how the societal roles of men and women had evolved over millennia.⁴⁵² Le Plongeon recognized that "the united industry of the masses created wealth, not for themselves, but for the powerful few... [T]yrant and slave, conqueror and conquered, were the two great division of humanity. At present the struggle is between capital and labor."⁴⁵³ As feminism from its very inception was concerned with women and their socio-economic position in society, Le Plongeon's incorporation of Marxist terminology and economic theory foreshadowed feminism's occupation with class, gender, and race in the ensuing century.

Kristin Hoganson discusses Le Plongeon's article in the context of the events ensuing after 1898 and the Spanish-American War: "U.S. women's suffragists frequently cited militarism to explain their political defeats."⁴⁵⁴ In her article "'As badly off as the Filipinos': U.S. Women's Suffragists and the Imperial Issue at the Turn of the Twentieth Century," Hoganson discusses the reasons why turn-of-the-century American suffragists failed to build a coalition with anti-imperialists comparable to the anti-slavery-women's rights alliance of the antebellum period.⁴⁵⁵ Hoganson is certain that Le Plongeon blamed women's disenfranchisement on men's acceptance of "the rule of the more dominant," similarly to Alice Stone Blackwell, who maintained that the war had "'called out a fresh crop of assertions that women ought not to vote, because they cannot render military service."⁴⁵⁶ Kristin Hoganson thus concludes that Le Plongeon and Blackwell belonged to the group of feminists who believed that peace was a necessary precursor to women's equality and that these pacifist suffragists regarded American policies and foreign militarism, e.g. in the Philippines, as an evil in themselves and a threat to women's political aspirations.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵¹ See "Literary Day at the Woman's Professional League" 18.

⁴⁵² See Desmond, *Yucatán* 303.

⁴⁵³ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁴ Hoganson, "U.S. Women's Suffragists" 19.

⁴⁵⁵ See Hoganson, "U.S. Women's Suffragists" 19.

⁴⁵⁶ Desmond, *Yucatán* 303.

⁴⁵⁷ See Hoganson, "U.S. Women's Suffragists" 19. For a detailed perspective on the influence of gender politics and the American foreign conflicts, see also Hoganson's book *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (1998).

Ever since Alice Le Plongeon had encountered the women of Yucatán during her time abroad (1873-1884), she continuously expressed her affection towards the local women: “One of these women had small, beautifully shaped hands and feet, and delicate features, but a very dark skin.”⁴⁵⁸ Particularly throughout her unpublished manuscript, Le Plongeon repeatedly remarked that not only the “Maya woman was highly respected,”⁴⁵⁹ but even more so: “Of the Yucatecan women we cannot speak too highly; they are devoted and affectionate wives, little appreciated.”⁴⁶⁰

Le Plongeon continuously included stories centering on women from Yucatán in her writing, e.g. in her stories “A Maiden of Yucatan” (1900) and “A Yucatecan Girl” (1901). These stories have plots that revolve around family obstacles faced by rich young women seeking permission to marry working class men: “In each case, the father is opposed to the marriage, but as one might expect, the girls, by their unrelenting determination, convince their fathers of the match, and love, in the end, wins.”⁴⁶¹ In other words, these stories contained the element of transgressing social roles that Le Plongeon connected via her travel experiences (in that they were formative) to women in other countries. More importantly, like in her article “A Thought on Government,” Le Plongeon focuses on specific classes of society in Mexico in her explanations of wealthy women and poor men.

Conversely, according to Desmond, Le Plongeon continued to focus on the ancient Maya, “her heart [being] with the women and the poor she had come to know in Yucatan.”⁴⁶² In 1889, she published an article in *Harper's Bazar* titled “The Maidens of Yucatan” that was subsequently reprinted several times, e.g. in the *Eugene City Guard* (1891) and even in Australian newspapers like the *Balmain Observer and Western Suburbs Advertiser*.⁴⁶³ Setting the atmosphere of the article, Le Plongeon remarked that the “mestiza women of that most interesting country are famed for their beauty of form and features, abundant silky black tresses, large dark eyes, and easy, graceful manners.”⁴⁶⁴

It seems apparent that Le Plongeon connected on an emotional level with the women of Yucatán and was aware of their socio-economic status in their society, since they were not only “little appreciated,” yet also: “The men are somewhat love-proof, though they venerate

⁴⁵⁸ ADLP, “Yucatan” 86, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid. 207-8.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid. 128.

⁴⁶¹ Desmond, *Yucatán* 302.

⁴⁶² Desmond, *Yucatán* 265.

⁴⁶³ There, the article was reprinted twice, 01 Nov 1902: 8, and 10 Jun 1905: 6.

⁴⁶⁴ ADLP, “Maidens of Yucatan” n.p., ADPP VIII/3.

their parents and are fond of their children; they are not always kind to their patient wives.⁴⁶⁵ More than that, Le Plongeon recognized that “a large number of women depend entirely on their own exertions, and their field of labor is limited.”⁴⁶⁶ Further elaborating on the difficulties presented to women in Yucatán in economic terms, Le Plongeon remarked that they were “not employed in stores, such places being monopolized by white-handed youths who think coarser toil beneath them.”⁴⁶⁷ Le Plongeon rarely focused on race in her elaborations on the women of Yucatán; in her descriptions, the circumstances Le Plongeon encountered were not influenced by the colonial and commercial exploitation of these indigenous people.

Although Le Plongeon was not directly in contact with transnational feminist organizations as such, when criticized for her femininity, e.g. by the board of trustees of the Lowell Institute, Le Plongeon could reply while being aware of fellow women who were transgressing prescribed gender roles, e.g. Jane Dialeufoy. However, despite feeling connected to women abroad (even more so than Miriam Leslie and Zelia Nuttall), Le Plongeon did not publicly endorse a transnational alliance with these women in order to improve women’s rights abroad as well as domestically.

Zelia Nuttall: Between Equanimity and Silent Support

Next to her male colleagues, Nuttall was well-acquainted with her fellow women. When the *New York Tribune* published the article “Women in Science” on June 30, 1900, the author of the article had interviewed Nuttall, eliciting information about her career as well as her opinions about other women in her field.⁴⁶⁸ It showed that Nuttall was aware of Alice Dixon Le Plongeon and her activities in the Yucatán peninsula: “Mrs. Alice Le Plongeon, too, has done some good work in the study of Mexican antiquities, Mrs. Nuttall’s own chosen field.”⁴⁶⁹

Ross Parmenter finds Zelia Nuttall to be a “feminist at heart.”⁴⁷⁰ Nuttall never publicly uttered support for suffrage and women’s rights and was never an open feminist in the public sphere. While Nuttall did befriend fellow American women such as Marian Storm or Rosalie

⁴⁶⁵ ADLP, “Yucatan” 128-9, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁴⁶⁶ ADLP, “Maidens of Yucatan” n.p., ADPP VIII/3.

⁴⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁸ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 445.

⁴⁶⁹ “Women in Science” 5.

⁴⁷⁰ Parmenter, “Recovery” 702.

Evans, she did not establish friendships or scientific collaborations with Mexican women, nor was she active in female political struggles during the early twentieth century in Mexico.⁴⁷¹

Beverly Chiñas remarks about the relationship of Nuttall and feminism that she “was a friend of suffragist Mary Adelaide Nutting at Columbia University and was acquainted with Jane Addams of Hull House, whom Nuttall once invited to Casa Alvarado.”⁴⁷² Moreover, Nuttall was also a member of the Women’s Anthropological Society of America founded by Matilda Coxe Stevenson. However, although Chiñas’ opinion is that “Nuttall was an assertive woman, holding strong convictions,”⁴⁷³ it appears this was limited more to her research, theories, and convictions concerning anthropology and prehistory than to the cause of feminist movements like suffrage (or women’s rights in general) or fighting inequality in society.

Apart from Phoebe Hearst, who had assisted Nuttall financially for the acquisition of Casa Alvarado, Nuttall was acquainted with Anne Carey Maudslay, the wife of Alfred Percival Maudslay,⁴⁷⁴ as well as with Sara Yorke Stevenson, another pioneer woman in archaeology who was elected member of the AAAS in 1884 and was of similar class and social position to Nuttall.⁴⁷⁵ Also, Nuttall was acquainted with Alice Cunningham Fletcher, who was Special Assistant to the Department of Ethnology of the Peabody Museum in Cambridge.⁴⁷⁶ Mrs. Fletcher had a professional interest in the Omaha, the Ponca, and the Sioux, who she visited on her field trips, and, according to Ross Parmenter, her observations had impressed Putnam such that, besides enlisting her support for the museum, he coached her towards increased professionalism as an ethnologist.⁴⁷⁷ Fletcher had published her paper “A Study of Omaha Indian Music” as the fifth installment of the first volume of the *Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum* and is an early example of Putnam’s open-minded acceptance of women colleagues.⁴⁷⁸ After Nuttall and Fletcher first met in 1886, Nuttall wrote to Putnam: “Besides being an ethnologist, she is a philanthropist, she is a woman of head and heart and as such, commands my warmest admiration.”⁴⁷⁹

Marian Storm was one of the few close female friends of Nuttall, and with Frances Calderón de la Barca belongs to a group of independent women traveling and living in

⁴⁷¹ See Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 282-3.

⁴⁷² Chiñas, “Zelia Magdalena Nuttall” 272.

⁴⁷³ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁴ According to Ross Parmenter, the Maudslays were Nuttall’s closest friends in Oaxaca and despite being eleven years younger, Nuttall would have been drawn to Mrs. Maudslay as a fellow American and a woman of intellectual achievement, but there are signs they never liked each other (Parmenter, “Recovery” 553).

⁴⁷⁵ See *ibid.* 274.

⁴⁷⁶ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 109.

⁴⁷⁷ See *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ See *ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ ZN, Letter to Frederic Putnam, 31 Jan 1886, NZP II/1.

Mexico. Storm was an American journalist-turned-writer who had emigrated for Mexico who today is mostly known for her collected stories *Minstrel Weather* (1920) and *Prologue to Mexico* (1932).⁴⁸⁰ Furthermore, as remarked upon, Nuttall was also on friendly terms with fellow American Rosalie Evans, who had emigrated to Mexico with her husband. The connection between Nuttall and Evans is evidenced by the collected letters by Rosalie Evans.⁴⁸¹

Regarding social inequality, Parmenter compares Nuttall's apparent equanimity towards poverty and other issues of social inequality to the attitude of suffragist and Nobel Peace Laureate Jane Adams, who, merely three years younger than Nuttall, had also lived in Dresden and traveled extensively in Europe. Adams saw worse poverty than any she had known in the United States when traveling to Ireland, England, Germany, and Italy.⁴⁸² According to Parmenter, Adams – in contrast to Nuttall – was “fired” with the idea of living among and helping the poor; on returning to her native country, instead of soon leaving it again to buy a romantic old house in Mexico, she bought a run-down mansion among the impoverished immigrants of Chicago's near West Side.⁴⁸³ In the end, it surprises Parmenter that “two such American bluestockings, both feminists at heart, should have moved into such different dream houses.”⁴⁸⁴ Parmenter surmises that although Nuttall was a scientific investigator, her preoccupation with the past caused her to be indifferent to egalitarian ideas and other intellectual currents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁸⁵ Even in her articles that are more ethnographic in nature and in her description of the women of Tehuantepec in her paper “A Curious Survival” (1909), she never extends her elaborations on the fabric and coloration of the cloth to the woman who wears it.

In applying Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone to conferences, networks, organizations, and campaigns, Jocelyn Olcott finds that these served as important locales: individual activists arrived at conferences shaped by their own histories and experiences.⁴⁸⁶ At international conferences, they entered a entirely synthetic context in which diverse understandings and objectives bumped up against one another in various ways, offering

⁴⁸⁰ When Storm related to the history of Mexico's past, she relied on Bernadino de Sahagún's *History of New Spain* (1585) and made sure to include that: “in the Laurentian Library at Florence the distinguished American archaeologist, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, copied the original notes from which the Spanish scholar wrote his famous book” (Storm, *Prologue to Mexico* 20).

⁴⁸¹ Evans's letters were collected in *The Rosalie Evans Letters from Mexico* (1926).

⁴⁸² See Parmenter, “Recovery” 701.

⁴⁸³ See *ibid.* 702.

⁴⁸⁴ Parmenter, “Recovery” 702.

⁴⁸⁵ See *ibid.* 701.

⁴⁸⁶ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 243.

critical sites for developing solidarity through struggle.⁴⁸⁷ An event that related Nuttall to feminist movements was the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, a world fair exhibition in San Francisco that took place between February 20 and December 4, 1915. The exposition celebrated the completion Panama Canal and presented an opportunity for San Francisco to host an event of international renown after the devastating earthquake of 1906 that had destroyed large parts of the city.

The women's board of the Panama-Pacific Exposition chose to invite three "leading women of America": Zelia Nuttall, who was selected for her work in archaeology, Katharine B. Davis for social prison reform, and Jane Adams for social settlement work.⁴⁸⁸ Representing the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, on August 3, 1915, Nuttall "placed on exhibition her unique collection of type-specimen of spindle-whorls of clay, the work of the women of Ancient Mexico, who were the potters."⁴⁸⁹ Nuttall's collection provided an in-depth analysis to "follow the evolution of the whorl from a rough dish of clay into a thing of beauty, artistic in form, colour, and decoration," as it was recognized in the proceedings, published in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (1916).⁴⁹⁰ Before Nuttall's presentation on Ancient Mexican Spindle-whorls for the Archaeological Institute of America during the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, she had previously given a lecture at a luncheon in her honor on February 23, 1915, that was organized by the Woman's Board and addressed the topic of Sir Francis Drake;⁴⁹¹ in the lecture, Nuttall referred to her then recent publication *New Light on Drake* (1914), in which she compiled and translated original Spanish documents that had not been published before.

However, meeting in such an environment apparently did not sufficiently influence Nuttall to engage in a more public manner. Throughout her life and career, while living in Mexico and engaging publicly with institutions, Nuttall never communicated or established extensive relations with Mexican women, neither as students nor as colleagues.⁴⁹² Generally, while Nuttall's affiliations with scientific and academic societies was numerable, Nuttall "steered clear of women's clubs until her last years," according to Ross Parmenter.⁴⁹³ Therefore, the link between Nuttall and feminism, particularly her own personal and professional views on the subject matter, are still shaky today, since there is no direct evidence

⁴⁸⁷ Ibid. 243-4.

⁴⁸⁸ "In Woman's Realm: Guests at Exposition" 16.

⁴⁸⁹ "Special Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America" 86.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ See Simpson, *Problems Women Solved* 130.

⁴⁹² See Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 208.

⁴⁹³ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 151.

that Nuttall considered herself a feminist or that she sympathized with the cause of women's suffrage.⁴⁹⁴

Lady Drummond-Hay: International Women's Rights and Trickle-Down Feminism

Drummond-Hay wrote on many topics related to feminism and the role of women in history and society, as well as depicted the feminist struggle in countries abroad. In her own words, Drummond-Hay experienced an absence of women when she was growing up, yet acknowledges the presence and admiration of her fellow citizens who are struggling in the world:

The absence of women from my life-influences may be unusual. Apart from my mother and sister, there is no feminine influence of importance in my life, except whole-hearted admiration for my contemporaries who struggle and achieve in all and every walk of life. [...] Comrades rather than inspirations, co-workers, co-seekers, with an unexplored future before them.⁴⁹⁵

Even her circle of friends confirm her position consisting “entirely of men ‘self-made’ by ambition, inspiration, hard work, strength of character and purpose.”⁴⁹⁶ Drummond-Hay would later form successful friendships with women in even higher authoritative positions, e.g. Elizabeth Lippincott-McQueen or Doris Stevens; however, she kept closer contact to her male colleagues. Nevertheless, she took a feminist position towards women in the workforce and was a member of the Lyceum Club of London, but never held public speeches concerning suffrage or women's rights.

In articles such as “The Cult of Beauty since the World was Young,” published in *Britannia and Eve* (1929), Drummond-Hay historicizes beauty trends and standards as well as makeup trends from ancient times, from ancient Greek customs to Chinese foot-binding practices. Drummond-Hay sees “the art of being beautiful [as] far more subtle than the art of beauty; one is the instinctive instantaneous appreciation of harmony, the other an art of detail and painstaking cultivation.”⁴⁹⁷ Drummond-Hay was also concerned with gendered body issues. In her article “Women Must be Fat to be Famous” (1933), published in *The Passing Show*, Drummond-Hay remarks the historical dimension of female body types, saying: “Thin women never made history.”⁴⁹⁸ The article strings together a number of extraordinary historical women, many of them French, e.g. Anne Ninon de l'Enclos, the Pompadour,

⁴⁹⁴ See Chiñas, “Zelia Magdalena Nuttall” 272.

⁴⁹⁵ LDH, “I Am Glad That I Am Growing Older” 154.

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁹⁷ LDH, “The Cult of Beauty” 60.

⁴⁹⁸ LDH, “Women Must Be Fat” 25.

Madame de Monstespan, and Catherine of Russia, in order to convey her opinion that “rarely has it been a thin woman, nearly always a plump one, whose greater attraction inspired men to be great, or led great men into folly or wisdom.”⁴⁹⁹ In a different article, she links body type to intellectual capacity:

Women who stand out in history were women who indirectly directed the course of events by influencing men through their amiability and subtle charm rather than through the masculine intellectuality, and it is almost an axiom that while thin women are nervous, irritable, inclined to be sour, their plumper sisters are classically the possessors of sweet dispositions. Plump women certainly do smile more easily than thin ones, and radiate intense sex-attraction by their very animal magnetism of full, rounded figures. Venus, the goddess of love, and the personification of feminine charm, is undoubtedly the plumpest goddess in the mythical heavens.⁵⁰⁰

Essentially, Drummond-Hay advocated against promoting an idealized body type, i.e. that of a slim woman as fashion ideal. That article was well-received internationally, e.g. in South America. The article “...e Voce, leitora, o que diz de tudo isto?” of the *Folha da Manhã* also critiqued the thin ideal of Hollywood, calling for opposition to this trend, “contra a dictadura de Hollywood.”⁵⁰¹ Ultimately, Drummond-Hay finds it “strange thing that millions [of] independent modern women have less power in their capable hands than one Cleopatra, Dubarry or Lupescu has in her plump little finger.”⁵⁰²

Over the course of her career, Lady Drummond-Hay encountered many obstacles as a woman in her chosen field of activity. In a letter, she remarked to her friend Doris Stevens about how men are better connected.⁵⁰³ When it comes to Drummond-Hay’s personal affiliation with any feminist organization or women’s movement, she confessed to Doris Stevens that she had “never belonged to any women’s association [sic] or feminist’s organisation simply because it has not come my way.”⁵⁰⁴ Despite her lack of affiliations with women’s organizations, Drummond-Hay was nevertheless “a very ardent feminist when it comes to equal rights, and to equal treatment.”⁵⁰⁵ In her eponymously titled article, Drummond-Hay argues that “women must have a new code of honor”, since “the old code is

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid. 25.

⁵⁰⁰ LDH, “Thin Women Never Made History” 206.

⁵⁰¹ “...e Voce, leitora, o que diz de tudo isto” 1.

⁵⁰² LDH, “Women Must Be Fat” 25. Drummond-Hay’s position towards women’s bodies and their appearances varies. Her private view differs from her public defense of the female body type: although Drummond-Hay writes in her article that women should not be thin and should be more “voluptuous,” (ibid.), at the same time, she privately confessed to her partner Karl-Henry von Wiegand: “if only I can lose a bit and not be such a ‘Chubby Cubbie’ you will like me better”(LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 09 Dec 1928, KHWP VIII/1928).

⁵⁰³ Drummond-Hay asserts: “I will say one thing for it, that men stand by each other. They have a trade union, a freemasonry, whatever you like to call it, so much stronger and more organized, even though it may be an unwritten organisation, than we women know anything about” (LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 23 Jul 1928, DSP LXX/13).

⁵⁰⁴ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 23 Jul 1928, p.2-3, DSP LXX/13.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid.

as out of date as Queen Anne's petticoats."⁵⁰⁶ She acknowledges that at the time, in "Europe at least, women still have to fight desperately to hold what they have gained."⁵⁰⁷ For Drummond-Hay, the sentiment of the woman as intruder into the foray of the workforce was an important issue because "many jobs, not a few fields of labour now occupied and well-exploited by women, are still regarded as 'man's work' – and woman the usurper."⁵⁰⁸ Nevertheless, Drummond-Hay is certain that since "women have put their hands to the plough, [...] there is no turning back. We cannot afford to turn back. We dare not fail."⁵⁰⁹

Particularly in this article, Drummond-Hay highlights the aspect of feminism as a movement of all women that "collectively, [...] owe[s] an inescapable debt to the younger generation of girls whose feet we have set in the path of emancipation, disillusionment and self-determination."⁵¹⁰ Here, Drummond-Hay comments on British feminist and suffrage at the beginning of the century:

Women are all in the same boat to-day. We need not be aggressive, but we must remain tenacious. We need not love one another, but we must be able to trust one another. Loyalty to the sex, to the common cause, unity in the ranks, support of chosen or arisen representatives, are the only factors to guarantee women collectively the development and possession of power as a world element, politically, economically and socially, equal with men.⁵¹¹

Drummond-Hay's notion of all women being in "the same boat" as well as sensing "loyalty to the sex" and the idea of a collective women's force as a "world element" equal to men in political, economic and social matters, echo the idea of a global movement, at least in the sense of women uniting for a common cause, e.g. suffrage and the championing of women's rights. Her idea of collective feminism is one that emphasizes unity within a movement in order to push forward new agendas. In opposition, Drummond-Hay claims that "women are still too strongly individualistic to represent Power as a sex. The political power that has come to women through suffrage is crystallizing very slowly."⁵¹² Further emphasizing the collective character and necessity in order to accomplish a goal, she argues that women in Europe had previously been pioneering alone, yet women of the twentieth century have the chance to "rally under the glamour of glorious tradition for the march to mass power as a sex of allied

⁵⁰⁶ LDH, "Code of Honour" 29.

⁵⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰⁹ Ibid.

⁵¹⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹¹ Ibid.

⁵¹² LDH, "Code of Honour" 148.

individuals.”⁵¹³ As an example of progressiveness for the feminist movement transcending national borders in the twentieth century, Drummond-Hay often cites American women.

When the Conferences of American States, commonly referred to as the Pan-American Conferences, took place in 1928, Drummond-Hay visited the venues and reported it to be a “largely American affair” in her article “Pan-Americanism: The Significance of the Recent Congress at Havana” (1928).⁵¹⁴ Following the events, Drummond-Hay corresponded with Doris Stevens, who was named chairman of the Inter-American Commission of Women.⁵¹⁵ The correspondence showcases Drummond-Hay’s perspective on the differences relating to women’s movements and women’s rights on either side of the Atlantic Ocean. On the one hand, she argues that “in spite of all the alleged privileges enjoyed by women of Britain, that a woman honestly struggling to work on the same basis as a man, can have a very cruel time of it.”⁵¹⁶ On the other hand, Drummond-Hay admires “the women of America [being] the freest, and most emancipated women in the World.”⁵¹⁷ To Drummond-Hay, this success in emancipation was due to the fact that “the American woman employs a direct method,” that is “if she wants a thing, she goes and takes it, and does not rely on her femininity, or its appeal, for things.”⁵¹⁸ This enabled American women to succeed in emancipation in terms of unity, strength, and outreach more than any other group of women in the world, as Drummond-Hay states:

American women collectively are a power in their land. Concentrating and organizing the force of their opinions, the weight of their wishes, through the medium of hundreds of Women’s Clubs and kindred institutions, co-operating in ideas and ideals, holding together in business and industry, supporting feminine achievements, demanding recognition, using and exploiting the opportunities they force to their command, modern American womanhood has welded itself into the greatest ‘feminine nation’ that history has ever chronicled.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹³ See *ibid.*

⁵¹⁴ LDH, “Pan-Americanism” 258. By that, Drummond-Hay specifically means the US-centrism. Her follow-up article “Politics in Havana: At the Pan-American Congress” (1928), despite its title, was focused on Drummond-Hay’s tourist experience of the city.

⁵¹⁵ See Stevens, “Letter to LDH,” 14 Apr 1928, p.2-3, DSP XXXI/9.

⁵¹⁶ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 23 Jul 1928, p.3, DSP LXX/13.

⁵¹⁷ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” p.4, 23 Jul 1928, p.4, DSP LXX/13.

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ LDH, “Code of Honour” 148. In the same way as Drummond-Hay found the emancipation of American women to beacon the feminist cause, she realized that Latin American countries were lacking behind. In 1932, when Bertha Lutz together with her supporters held a Feminist Congress in Rio de Janeiro, being “eager to fight for the rights of Modern Woman in Old Brazil,” Drummond-Hay found Brazilian women to be “politically repressed and socially reserved as most of their sisters in Latin countries where feminine emancipation is not favoured by Church and tradition” (LDH, “Brazilian Womanhood” 6). For Drummond-Hay, this meant that this ideal new woman of the South American Latin world “must take an interest in education, cooperate with other parents and teachers in all movements of schools and school life; she must interest herself in all extra-domestic activities that have a bearing upon the home” (*ibid.*). Listing the many duties a woman had to comply with in the home as set out by the congress, Drummond-Hay laconically adds: “Any woman of all the qualities and

However, not only did Drummond-Hay write about women's rights in the Western Hemisphere, but she also was a keen observer of feminist movements abroad, particularly in China, Japan, or the Near East and Africa. When Drummond-Hay visited North Africa in 1930, she recorded the events in her article "Land of the Quaker Sheikhs," writing about her explorations of the lands and cultures of the Middle East, particularly of the Mozabite people in Algeria,⁵²⁰ whom she visited presumably at the end of 1929 until the beginning of 1930.⁵²¹ As part of her observations, Drummond-Hay described the local women as an example of "Mozabite femininity":

I saw absolutely no young women on the streets all the time I was in the district [...]. From the time she is veiled and begins to pray, a girl may not leave the house. By 'leave the house' it is actually meant that she may not go outside the front door. A girl remains in her parents' house until she is married, when she is transferred to her husband's house as a life-prisoner.⁵²²

The strict societal separation into private and public spheres along gender roles is apparent to Drummond-Hay and her choice of words, i.e. "life-prisoner," makes her position towards the lack of women's rights quite obvious: "The idea of women's emancipation in any guise does not seem to have entered the Mozabite head yet."⁵²³ Upon questioning one of the Mozabite men, Drummond-Hay records him being "surprised that I should imagine the women might be unhappy," as he adds: "'Why should they be? They are not alone. There are generally other wives in the house.'"⁵²⁴

Furthermore, when Drummond-Hay explored China once more in 1933, including contested territory and fractured regions, she surmised: "in the ears of a China asleep for centuries the clock of progress ticks louder – and louder."⁵²⁵ By drawing from the metaphor of China as sleeping and slowly awaking, Drummond-Hay focuses on the progress of a country that had been shielded from outside influence for a long time but was beginning to open itself.⁵²⁶ When referring to the evolution of women's rights and the role of women in

qualifications [...] tabulated by the congress is surely efficient enough to get herself elected President of the nation" (ibid.).

⁵²⁰ The Mozabite people are a Berber ethnic group, inhabiting the so-called M'zab, a region in the northern Sahara of Algeria.

⁵²¹ This assumption is based on her flight around the world in late 1929 aboard the *Graf Zeppelin*, which started in September (almost Black Friday) and took well into October. That effectively leaves a time window of approximately three to four months during which Drummond-Hay could have traveled and written the article.

⁵²² LDH, "Land of Quaker Sheikhs" 60.

⁵²³ Ibid.

⁵²⁴ LDH, "Land of Quaker Sheikhs" 60.

⁵²⁵ LDH, "The Awakening of the Great Dragon" 16.

⁵²⁶ The metaphorical image of "sleeping" China was a well-established symbol, as the transition into global modernity was rhetorically framed within the somatic logic of sleeping, dreaming, and awakening (see Chan, *The Edge of Knowing* 11). One of the earliest examples stems from an 1872 sketch from the Shanghai journal *Puck, or the Shanghai Charivari*: in the past, China was asleep and mired in tradition; in the present it is just

society, Drummond-Hay sees developments “against a background of frozen tradition which had settled the woman question once and for all by labelling her ‘Nei Jeun’ – ‘The One in the House.’”⁵²⁷ Particularly in her article “I meet the Yellow Amazons” published in *The Passing Show*, Drummond-Hay sees “the Feminist movement in China [...] in full swing” in that “women occupy posts of public responsibility,” practicing as lawyers, doctors, surgeons and dentists, as a “modern girl” playing golf, tennis, driving cars and even flying.⁵²⁸ For Drummond-Hay, societal progress also asserted itself through “revolution and civil wars [that] have brought progress and emancipation to legions of Chinese women, unbound their feet, ended their slavery.”⁵²⁹ She adds that only through near-revolt and bloodshed in India have the suffocating veils of Purdah and crushing bars of the Zenana been torn away for woman’s good.⁵³⁰ Interestingly, Drummond-Hay sees feminism as a tool in order to emancipate women from being complimentary to their respective men; when discussing the evolution of women’s emancipation in China, she sees Chinese women, by “epoch-making escape from fetters of tradition” to be “fitting herself to be the companion of, and co-worker with, the modern young man.”⁵³¹

In addition, concerning the feminist movement in China, Drummond-Hay acknowledges the social freedom for these young women that had been achieved. Drummond-Hay, in an article published in a German newspaper entitled “The ‘Little Peach Blossom’ Amuses Herself. The Emancipated Woman in China,”⁵³² reflected on the issue of women’s rights in a similar manner to her article in the *Sphere*.⁵³³ She argued that the emancipated Chinese woman only included Western-educated daughters from well-established families with modern, progressive-minded parents,⁵³⁴ a statement that was harshly criticized by the German sexual reformist Paul Krichke in his article “The Woman in the Patriarchal Orient” (1929).⁵³⁵ Krichke criticized Drummond-Hay’s observations from the article in the *Sphere* as a form of “trickle-down feminism”⁵³⁶ for elitist, upper class, wealthy women that would not alleviate the harsh conditions for the majority of women, particularly those who lived outside

waking up; ultimately in the future, reading *Puck* will give China a fresh perspective (see Wagner, “China Asleep and Awakening” 52).

⁵²⁷ LDH, “I meet the Yellow Amazons” 13.

⁵²⁸ Ibid.

⁵²⁹ LDH, “Delusions” 24.

⁵³⁰ Ibid.

⁵³¹ LDH, “I meet the Yellow Amazons” 13.

⁵³² LDH, “Die ‘kleine Pfirsichblüte’ amüsiert sich” 1.

⁵³³ See LDH, “The Slavery of Chinese Womanhood” 261.

⁵³⁴ See LDH, “Pfirsichblüte” 1.

⁵³⁵ The original German title: “Die Frau im vaterrechtlichen Orient. Part II: The Far East.”

⁵³⁶ According to Kari Cameron, trickle-down feminism is a notion that rights and privileges enjoyed by an elite group of women will trickle down and benefit the majority of women, but it is wholly ineffective in promoting positive social change (see Cameron, “Trickle-Down Feminism” 21).

the metropolitan areas.⁵³⁷ However, Drummond-Hay had made this firmly clear in her article “The Awakening of the Great Dragon” published in *Britannia & Eve* (1933).⁵³⁸ Drummond-Hay’s personal objections to oppressive patriarchal societies, particularly abroad, are much stronger than acknowledged by Krische. In a letter to Doris Stevens, Drummond-Hay explicitly asserts that “the treatment of women in India, China and Japan makes one’s blood boil.”⁵³⁹ Drummond-Hay also criticizes Katherine Mayo’s then-recent controversial book *Mother India* (1927), as being highly complicit with British imperialism, writing that Mayo “would have been better advised, and really far cleverer if she had succeeded in making a more impartial exposé.”⁵⁴⁰

In summary, despite Drummond-Hay’s clearly noticeable transgressive feminist positions towards women’s rights and the equal status of women and men, her transnational championing for equality seems to have been rather trans-hemispheric (and in that similar to Miriam Leslie), as her position towards Western feminism versus Eastern feminism shows. She finds the latter to be in the same stages as Western feminism had been before. In other words, she represents a sentiment towards understanding societal progress following a universalist succession, i.e. that of Western societies,⁵⁴¹ a notion that would later be deconstructed by the idea of multiple feminist traditions and trajectories connected to their respective cultural and national backgrounds.

4.4. More Lives Than One: Disappearing and Disintegrating Careers

Derived from a slight variation of a quote by Oscar Wilde in *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (1896), this section can be described by the phrase: *she* who lives more lives than one, more

⁵³⁷ This falls directly in line with what Kari Cameron criticizes about this form of feminism: “The expectation that feminism will trickle down to benefit all women is unrealistic, and excludes those of lower socioeconomic status. It belies that feminism is not integrated in the lives of most women and must flow downward from the privileged top” (Cameron, “Trickle-Down Feminism” 21).

⁵³⁸ In this article, Drummond-Hay reports from her trip through the fractured regions of China: “As the age-old system of plurality of wives, and as many concubines as man can afford, is still the rule in most parts of the country, and large families almost a matter of religion, the annual increase of Chinese must be very large, despite the devastation of famines, ravages of epidemics and brutal slaughter of the civil wars” (LDH, “The Awakening of the Great Dragon” 94).

⁵³⁹ LDH, “Letter to Doris Stevens,” 23 Jul 1928, p.3, DSP LXX/13.

⁵⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁵⁴¹ For example, Drummond-Hay finishes one article by stating: “Today, China is going through the same stage as England and America during the first years of women’s emancipation. Over time, things will become more consistent” (LDH, “Pfirsichblüte 1). The original German quotation being: “China macht heute dasselbe Stadium wie England und Amerika während der ersten Jahre der Frauenemanzipation durch. Mit der Zeit werden die Dinge an Beständigkeit gewinnen” (ibid.).

deaths than one *she* must die.⁵⁴² This chapter explores the differences in the respective careers of the protagonists and the multiplicity of social and professional roles and different identities they inhabited and the relation this had in context to their production of knowledge. Following the quote, all four protagonists are unified in the fact that they inhabited more than one realms. Women lived and worked as wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters in upper and middle class settings. Yet they also inhabited more realms with to regard to their professional activities. This chapter addresses the interconnection between these realms. As linear career corridors were virtually non-existent for women towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, particularly in a professional sense, transgressing not only social but also emerging disciplinary boundaries in the production of texts became a central key feature for women in order to secure a career and income.

The Victorian painter Louisa Starr Canziani, speaking at the International Congress of Women in 1899,⁵⁴³ aptly describes the reality regarding the Janus-faced nature of female professionalism at the *fin de siècle*: “We women are heavily handicapped [...] by the fact of our womanhood and its duties. I hold that when a woman has a profession it means in most cases that she has two professions.”⁵⁴⁴ In that regard, issues of womanhood, gender roles, and consequentially female professionalism are interlinked and cannot be regarded separately. When Allison Hannegan analyzed the life and work of the novelist Elizabeth von Arnim (1866-1941), a woman known for her various transgressions, she surmised that a woman who seeks to inhabit so many different worlds must expect to get caught in the cross-fire.⁵⁴⁵

The four protagonists all had internationally working careers; moreover, all of them worked in various disciplines and fields of interest. The worlds the protagonists occupied were diverse in a social as well as a geographical dimension, i.e. travel. The ability to travel meant for them a way of working and living as well as intellectual input. The ability to travel runs like a common thread through the various roles women occupied in this period; as already mentioned, Michel Butor claims that agents of the modernist era traveled in order to write as well as while writing, equating mobility and professionalism: for them, travel *was* writing.⁵⁴⁶ As Helen Carr expresses in her article about modernism and travel, many women like the protagonists lived much of their lives as expatriates and most of them moved residencies with

⁵⁴² The original quotation being: “For he who lives more lives than one, more deaths than one must die” (Wilde, *De Profundis* 130).

⁵⁴³ See Hadjiafxendi/Zakreski, “Introduction” 2.

⁵⁴⁴ Canziani, “The Spirit of Purity in Art” 86. Quoted slightly differently by Hadjiafxendi/Zakreski, “Introduction” 2 and Cherry, *Painting Women* 33.

⁵⁴⁵ Hennegan, “In a Class of Her Own: Elizabeth von Arnim” 101.

⁵⁴⁶ See Butor, “Travel and Writing” 67.

some frequency.⁵⁴⁷ To varying degrees, the protagonists' professional line of work and engagements in various matters were held together not only by social but also by geographical mobility, or the opportunity and ability to travel. The lack of mobility as a determinant for the women's professional engagement caused a confinement of locales as well as a correlating social and intellectual immobility that ended their respective careers.

“Tout ou Rien”: The Re-Inventions of Miriam Leslie

According to biographer Madeleine Stern, Miriam Leslie's motto had always been *tout ou rien*: in all the lives she had lived, it had been all or nothing, and for the most part, it had been all.⁵⁴⁸ Leslie “had played many parts in her time, and the time was long.”⁵⁴⁹ In addition, once Leslie assumed a new role in her life, the previous one was not to be spoken of – a strategy of silence that Leslie deliberately utilized in order to safeguard the image of her public persona (see ch. 4.2.). However, as Leslie “was born many times” by reinventing her public persona, often being intriguingly vague about events in her biography,⁵⁵⁰ her many lives as a woman of society, entrepreneur, and businesswoman were bound to take a toll. About Leslie's multiplicity of different lives, Donald Jackson in his article “Belle of the Boardroom” (1997) rather colorfully summarizes:

She was a writer who produced one very good travel book and truckloads of essays on life and love; a reporter with the moxie to debate polygamy with Brigham Young on his home turf; an editor with enough talent and drive to rescue a failing publishing empire and turn it around – twice; an accomplished linguist and translator; an early feminist who championed women's rights and bequeathed the bulk of her \$2 million estate to the cause; and, finally, but by no means incidentally, a much-married, oft-entangled, ever-beguiling and flirtatious convention-flouter and social rule breaker, a woman whom small minds might call a home wrecker.⁵⁵¹

However, managing these different lives, public and domestic, was a major task for a woman in the nineteenth century. In Leslie's life it became more and more apparent that her many lives were pushing her abilities to the maximum, as Madeleine Stern acknowledges: in the beginning of 1889, “even the energetic and ambitious Mrs. Leslie [...] was beginning to falter before the combined tasks of playing Empress of Journalism, salon leader, society writer, and queen of duels.”⁵⁵² It was in this year that Leslie was forced out of the business she had

⁵⁴⁷ See Carr, “Modernism and Travel” 74.

⁵⁴⁸ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 175.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid. 174.

⁵⁵⁰ See ibid. 5.

⁵⁵¹ Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 151.

⁵⁵² See Stern, *Purple Passage* 136.

singlehandedly saved from ruin when she took over the Leslie Publishing House from her husband in 1880. As Leslie had invented herself several times throughout her life and career, she, too, disappeared more than once.

Traveling was an important factor in all of Miriam Leslie's different lives, as it tied them together in many ways. Seemingly, Leslie's major career achievement – that of being the successful editor of the Leslie Publishing House – was not dependent on travel. However, Leslie's career was not only locally confined by her duties as editor of the Leslie Publishing House, but also dependent on travel in order to compile her domestic and foreign travel writing, as well as dependent on securing business partnerships in the Americas and across the Atlantic. As the young spouse of E.G. Squier, Leslie's ability and willingness to travel was essential not only for being a successful and effective partner for her husband but also a translator and travel writer (see her early travel writing articles, and translations). Furthermore, it was this traveling that provided input for and essentially triggered her publications and travel writing. The Squiers' honeymoon in Europe, the extended trip to the Exhibition in Paris in 1867, and her 1877 trip across the United States to San Francisco (a trip she repeated in 1892) all served as important influences for her work, whether as editor or writer, lecturer, or socialite.

In 1895, Leslie, only shortly before her fifty-ninth birthday, leased her interest in the Leslie publications for five years to a syndicate managed by Frederic L. Colver.⁵⁵³ More than that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, the various social occupations as socialite, editor, etc., traveling across the Atlantic and reporting from it, proved too many for Leslie. By 1889, Leslie's "responsibilities weighed heavily on her,"⁵⁵⁴ so she gave up her business and focused on traveling through the United States on her lecture tour in 1890. In other words, even "in retirement she continued to write and travel."⁵⁵⁵ After Leslie gave half her stock in the company in order to settle, once again, the debt, she left the house as editor in chief.⁵⁵⁶ Then, as Jill Jepson expresses it, Leslie spent her remaining years as an anachronism, still wearing dazzling gowns and glittering jewels, traveling, and entertaining, but without the adoration she had once received.⁵⁵⁷ Although Leslie was cut off from her business which effectively ended her career as editor, she nevertheless continued to travel, as it had been an essential part of her entire life.

⁵⁵³ See *ibid.* 170.

⁵⁵⁴ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 84.

⁵⁵⁵ See Jackson, "Belle of the Boardroom" 162.

⁵⁵⁶ See Jepson, *Women's Concerns* 182.

⁵⁵⁷ See *ibid.* 182-3.

Leslie's frequent trips across the Atlantic, her transcultural background, and her interest in history coalesced in her lecture series about the "Royal Leaders of Society," as it grew out of her interest in the question: "Who was the originator of society as it now exists?"⁵⁵⁸ Leslie felt that American society was still too new and nebulous to form the basis of a lecture; New York society being merely a society of wealth, she rather looked for something else: "For royal leaders one had to go to royalty, and for royalty one had to go to Europe."⁵⁵⁹ Again, her upbringing and her many transatlantic travels proved a potent source for Leslie's career. Scheduled for mid-October to mid-November in late 1890, the four-week lecture tour would lead Leslie to twenty different cities in the East and Middle West, starting in Hillsdale, Michigan and going as far west as Des Moines in Iowa, then back through Missouri and Indiana to Boston.⁵⁶⁰ For each of these twenty lectures, Leslie would receive the amount of \$200 – more money than had ever been paid to a woman lecturer before.⁵⁶¹

When traveling through the United States, Leslie fused her authority together from her fashionable life, her literary reputation, and her business expertise as a publisher and introduced herself to the audiences as Frank Leslie. She again manipulated her public image against the grain of social conventions. With that decision, Leslie cultivated a new edge to her public persona: this name simultaneously represented Leslie's accomplishments within the publishing industry as well as created a seemingly stark contrast to her public persona, for she continued to appear publicly in the context of fashionable life and semi-scandalous marriages.⁵⁶²

Judith Bean acknowledges many different speech communities with public speaking traditions in the nineteenth century: religious groups, governing bodies, laborers, social reform groups, etc.⁵⁶³ Although there was nothing intrinsically masculine about the public sphere itself, it nevertheless seemed to be indirectly gender-indexed – that is, the styles of speech prevalent within the public sphere were indirectly associated with speech styles associated with masculinity.⁵⁶⁴ The European royalty being the general topic, Leslie accompanied her lecture with exquisite dresses; as Madeleine Stern argues: "Whatever she might say in the course of her hour's lecture, no one would question the fact that Mrs. Frank Leslie looked the part."⁵⁶⁵ When the curtains lifted in theaters across the West, the audience

⁵⁵⁸ Stern, *Purple Passage* 141.

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid. 140-1.

⁵⁶⁰ See ibid. 140.

⁵⁶¹ See ibid. 140.

⁵⁶² See Okker, *Our Sister Editors* 30.

⁵⁶³ Bean, "Gaining a Public Voice" 22.

⁵⁶⁴ See Mills, "Gender and Performance Anxiety" 63.

⁵⁶⁵ Stern, *Purple Passage* 141.

could gaze at Mrs. Leslie: “A flash of brocade, a blinding gaze of diamonds.”⁵⁶⁶ With her outfits, she highlighted her conservative feminine side against the controversial public role of a woman lecturer.

Although topics were initially quite limited for women,⁵⁶⁷ women publicly speaking challenged the notion of a single woman’s speaking style; most significantly, these women contributed to a redefinition of women’s possibilities through transformation of public discourse conventions.⁵⁶⁸ Despite a shift towards gender-mixed audiences, women speakers – as women were previously thought to be silent, self-effacing, and publicly invisible – were seen as being on display, exhibiting the private self for public pleasure. Thus, early women speakers felt that the audience was there primarily out of curiosity to witness the strange anomaly of a woman speaking.⁵⁶⁹ In this way, Leslie opened her evening lectures with the sentence: “Ladies and gentleman, if you please, I am Frank Leslie.”⁵⁷⁰ She represented the embodiment of assumptions on women lecturers. Leslie contradicted the masculinity of women in the public sphere by a feminine spectacle paired with the discrepancy of a woman claiming to be a man. Despite entering the public realm as editor of the Leslie Publishing House and becoming a successful lecturer and public speaker with a gender-mixed audience, she limited her themes and lectures to topics generally associated with the private or domestic realm and stayed in touch with her gender role in the nineteenth century. Still, she managed to utilize her travel experiences in order to achieve professional success.

Like Zelia Nuttall, not only did Leslie’s longevity highlight her disappearing; like Drummond-Hay, health issues hindered Miriam Leslie’s mobility that was necessary for her professional engagement. Having already suffered from a severe form of influenza in 1892, Leslie encountered health issues when in 1901 she had a stroke⁵⁷¹ as well as suffering the effects of chronic nephritis.⁵⁷² Although she was able to travel soon afterwards, as Ishbell Ross acknowledges: “life narrowed for her after that.”⁵⁷³ Although Leslie herself would never concede the fact that her eventual decline had begun,⁵⁷⁴ this time marked the beginning of a trend in Leslie’s career and life: moving from the public persona to the private person. For

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid. 144.

⁵⁶⁷ Conversely, subjects considered inappropriate for women were health and physiology of women (see Bean, “Gaining a Public Voice” 29).

⁵⁶⁸ See *ibid.* 38.

⁵⁶⁹ See *ibid.* 25.

⁵⁷⁰ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 145.

⁵⁷¹ See Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 87.

⁵⁷² See Stern, *Purple Passage* 175.

⁵⁷³ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 87. Ross describes Leslie after her health problems: “She maintained a ghostly echo of her Thursday evenings, but celebrities no longer clustered around her” (*ibid.*).

⁵⁷⁴ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 175.

some time, “her private life [had] kept pace with her public career, as the ‘Empress of Journalism’ enacted the role *femme fatale*.”⁵⁷⁵ Leslie’s shedding of her many social roles and reinventions at the end of her life meant she became what Ishbell Ross describes as being “a memory rather than a living presence.”⁵⁷⁶ In other words, the years and the many lives of Leslie took their toll and caused her to decrease her public appearances, thus limiting her public persona that had overshadowed so many of her contemporaries and leading to a withdrawal from the public scene into the private realm. Leslie “had been both Miriam and Minnie over the years,”⁵⁷⁷ she was the wife and professional partner of anthropologist E.G. Squier as well as newspaper tycoon Frank Leslie, and eventually widow and sole heir of a journalism empire, effectively becoming Frank Leslie herself. After retiring from even her suffragist engagement at the turn of the century, in 1901 Leslie announced on her return from one of her frequent voyages to Europe that she had discovered she was a baroness by virtue of her descent from Philippe Picot, the first Baron de Bazus, whose family had emigrated to Louisiana.⁵⁷⁸

Being retired once more in the new twentieth century and on the verge of a fifth marriage,⁵⁷⁹ the Baroness still traveled across the Atlantic. As with the influenza in 1892 and the stroke in 1901, again, health issues had found her, and her severe heart attack necessitated that a nurse accompany her.⁵⁸⁰ This time, however, her trip to Europe was only short-lived, as the First World War forced her to cross the Atlantic for a last time, dying shortly after her return on September 18, 1914.⁵⁸¹

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Transition from the Field to Symbolic Travel

In her study *Invasores, Exploradores y Viajeros: La Vida Cotidiana En Yucatán Desde La Óptica del Otro, 1834-1906* (2016), Lorena Carega Viliesid describes the multiple roles that Alice Dixon Le Plongeon occupied: independent woman, rebellious suffragist, intrepid

⁵⁷⁵ Stern, “Introduction” xxii.

⁵⁷⁶ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 87

⁵⁷⁷ Ibid..

⁵⁷⁸ See Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 162. The date of Leslie assuming her title is quoted differently: Madeleine Stern cites both 1901 (Stern, *Purple Passage* 174) as well as 1910 (Stern, “Introduction” xxii), possibly a printing error; Ishbell Ross cited 1903 (see Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 87).

⁵⁷⁹ See Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 88.

⁵⁸⁰ See Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 88. Ishbell Ross remarks that “those who had known her in the 1880s could scarcely believe that this was Mrs. Leslie” (ibid.).

⁵⁸¹ See ibid.

traveler, professional photographer, diligent observer of her surroundings, published writer, and the first woman explorer of the nineteenth century.⁵⁸²

Despite occupying these various social roles, the aspect of mobility was more restrictive for Le Plongeon than for the other protagonists in this study. For no other protagonist in this study, however, was the ability to travel more clearly cut than for Alice Le Plongeon. Her roles succinctly changed over the course of her life – in contrast to Leslie, Nuttall, or Drummond-Hay, whose constant travel held their various roles together. Miriam Leslie, throughout her career and life, occupied roles as editor, socialite, feminist, etc. and traveling was a key factor for her full expression of her various roles (and to a certain degree necessary in order to explore them). In contrast, Le Plongeon experienced a decade of traveling and living abroad from 1873 to 1884 in Mexico that influenced her career as a photographer, writer, lecturer, and suffragist.

Alice Le Plongeon's writing covered a wider range of topics than just archaeology. Le Plongeon also wrote accounts from an ethnographical perspective, e.g. her account *Here and There in Yucatan* (1886); her accounts include the pieces on customs and fables of the Maya as well as her remarks on archaeological excavations. Apart from this ethnographical perspective, her writing also includes articles on the nature of photography. Le Plongeon's writing also includes literary works, such as the short stories "Our Feathered Foundling" (1896) and "Muffins and Ragamuffins" (1896), several unpublished poems like "To An Antiquary" (1880), "A Battle Prayer" (1900) or "Immortality" (1900-10), and, most importantly, her two major publications: the epic poems *Queen Mío's Talisman: The Fall of the Maya Empire* (1902) and "A Dream of Atlantis" (1910-11). Analyzing the multiplicity of structural form and plurality of genres, the aspect of travel becomes a key factor. While her texts concerned with ethnographical writing were closely associated with her travels through Yucatán, her literary writing gained more importance the longer she resided in the United States and became a symbolic expression of Le Plongeon's mobility.

Le Plongeon's most popular and widely known publications fall under the category of ethnographical studies on the Yucatecans and the peninsula, e.g. her travel diary from which stemmed her article "Notes on Yucatan" (1879), published in the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* as well as the collection *Here and There in Yucatan* (1886) that derive from the expeditions on the peninsula. In the preface, Le Plongeon acknowledges that during her time in Yucatán she had the ability to "mingle with the natives" and more importantly

⁵⁸² See Careaga Viliesid, *Invasores, Exploradores y Viajeros* 344-5.

“became acquainted with their mode of life, religion, sacred rites, superstitions, fables and traditions” as well as “learning something of their philosophy.”⁵⁸³ The ethnographic focus of Le Plongeon’s work is repeated by her in the introduction of her manuscript “Yucatán: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities,” in which she explains: “The study of antiquities did not prevent us from giving attention to the natives.”⁵⁸⁴ These publications and manuscript illuminate the impact of Le Plongeon’s travel. In the introduction of her manuscript, she specifically notes that “the pages of this book are culled from a diary written in situ.”⁵⁸⁵

Despite suffering from severe illness in her late life (as well as developing fever in Yucatán), in contrast to the other protagonists, Le Plongeon’s ability to travel was not seriously impeded during her active years (1873-1884) and most of her writing had only been made possible by her decade of travel and living abroad; this served as impetus for her subsequent writing. However, in contrast to the other protagonists whose careers had been continuously invigorated by the experience of travel, like Miriam Leslie, for whom traveling served as constant input for new works, or Lady Drummond-Hay, whose career was almost only enabled by the ability to travel, Le Plongeon’s career displays a clear rift in her experiences as a traveler and as professional writer, lecturer, suffragist, etc. Despite Michel Butor’s claim, Le Plongeon did not entirely suffer from this geographical immobility from the second half of the 1880s onwards.

Le Plongeon managed to functionalize her primary travelistic experience (and works) and transform them. This development is paralleled by another shift; with her lived experience as a traveler and inspirations gained from her time abroad, the aspect of traveling gradually became symbolic in her literary work. In the foreword to the Spanish translation of Le Plongeon’s *Here and There in Yucatan* as *Aquí Allá en Yucatán* (2001), Desmond and King comment on this shift in Alice Le Plongeon’s work. Towards the end of the 1890s and until her death in 1910, the focus of her writings changed slowly from ethnographic and historical accounts of the ancient and modern Maya to a poetic expression of what she believed to be her personal link to the ancient Maya and how she understood the meaning and history of that civilization.⁵⁸⁶

While the other protagonists continuously traveled throughout their respective careers, Le Plongeon’s work gradually exhausted the diaries, field notes, etc. she had compiled during

⁵⁸³ ADLP, *Here and There* i.

⁵⁸⁴ ADLP, “Yucatán” 2, ADPP VI/17-19.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid. 1.

⁵⁸⁶ See Desmond/King, “Prólogo” 10-11.

her years abroad and, consequently, Le Plongeon transitioned from a professional and ethnographic writer and speaker⁵⁸⁷ to a literary writer. Having returned to the United States in 1896, Le Plongeon published a set of three articles about a bird in front of her window in Brooklyn titled “Our Feathered Foundling” in the outdoor magazine *Forest and Stream*, with their later sequels “Muffins and Ragamuffins” (1898) and “That Famous Foundling” (1900). These stories about the two sparrows Dick and Loulou seem to have captured the imaginations of her readers, as the successful sequels indicate.⁵⁸⁸ By 1900, Le Plongeon had published seven articles on divergent subjects, including two sparrows, celebrations of Christmas in Yucatán, a romantic story about a Yucatecan girl, Le Plongeon’s “Thought on Government” (1899), an article on tropical ecology inspired by her years in Yucatán, as well as an article on the “Splendors of Kinsay: A Chinese Metropolis of the Middle Ages” (1900).⁵⁸⁹

Ever after the turn of the century, Le Plongeon’s career was in a steep decline. With her three 1901 articles on “Chan Santa Cruz’s Fall,” “Mexico’s Mayan War,” commenting on the end of the Caste War of Yucatán, and “A Yucatecan Girl,” Le Plongeon’s role as ethnographical, historical and archaeological researcher, lecturer and writer ended abruptly.⁵⁹⁰ Le Plongeon made a succinct transition to the role of literary writer with her epic poems *Queen Móo’s Talisman* (1902) and “A Dream of Atlantis” (1910-11). *Queen Móo’s Talisman* is a quasi-historical epic poem set in ancient pre-Columbian Chichen Itza and about the pseudo-historical Can family, including the brothers Cay, Aac and Coh and daughters Móo and Nichte. The plot revolves around succession, love, reincarnation, betrayal and catastrophe in the Mayan empire. In the epic poem, Le Plongeon transforms her years and experiences abroad in Yucatán into literary writing informed by her scientific writing. To summarize, Le Plongeon’s texts were marked by the aspect of mobility and travel in the sense that she was

⁵⁸⁷ At the end of 1896, on December 22, Le Plongeon held her most prestigious lecture at the Albany Institute of History and Art, titled *The Monuments of Mayach and Their Historical Teachings* (1896). The lecture had drawn a large attendance and received a warm reception, the members of the institute giving a cordial vote of thank to her – however, it remains uncertain if she convinced many in the audience of her and her husband’s diffusionist theories on the origins of Mayan culture (see Desmond, *Yucatán* 299-300). In order to broaden her topics of publicly speaking, Le Plongeon not only gave talks about archaeology and Yucatecan history, ethnography, etc. – she, too, presented information on various cities of the world. Her topics included lectures on Paris, London, Kinsay. On top of these city lectures (or texts), archives show that Le Plongeon broadened her scope to include “Hawaii Long Ago” and was even willing to at least consider covering Ireland as well. About extending Le Plongeon’s work from Central American to Europe, Verplanck Colvin (1847-1920) suggested her in a letter: “I think your proposed work in regard to Ireland may indeed prove more profitable than your Central American researches. It certainly will be so, if you can make it as interesting as you have made your books about the Mayas” (Colvin, “Letter to ADLP,” 20 Dec 1897, ADPP VI/4).

⁵⁸⁸ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 301.

⁵⁸⁹ See *ibid.* 300.

⁵⁹⁰ Although Le Plongeon continued to give occasional lectures on Yucatán. On Thursday, 14, 1909, she lectured on “Famous Ruins of Yucatan” at the Public School S2, Seventieth Street and First Avenue (see “This Week’s Free Lectures” 8).

able to utilize her experiences in photography in the field to publish in photographic journals as well as publish her ethnographical writing of the experiences abroad. The literary turn in her work also embodies a shift from relaying her observations during her actual travel experiences to favoring symbolic mobility in the fictional worlds like *Queen Mío*.

Another factor that fostered the disintegration of Le Plongeon's career was the deteriorating health of her husband Augustus. During 1904-8, Le Plongeon's husband was practically bedridden and she had to take on a role as his caretaker, during which Le Plongeon no longer had time to write for newspapers and magazines.⁵⁹¹ Whenever time permitted, Le Plongeon continued her literary path and focused on her epic poem "A Dream of Atlantis." Caring for her husband increasingly exhausted Le Plongeon and severely affected her work.⁵⁹²

Following her husband's death in 1908, Le Plongeon took the advice of her friends and left New York for London in order to visit her family and relieve her emotional stress.⁵⁹³ Augustus and his research on the ancient pre-Columbian Maya were major influences on Le Plongeon's work. As her work related to Augustus Le Plongeon's work to a great degree, much of it was so closely related to his work that, with his theories being outside of the accepted community, the reception of her work declined too with respect of the community.

By 1909, Le Plongeon had realized the gravity of her own illness and summoned Maude Blackwell in order to settle her as well as Augustus's notes, correspondence, unpublished manuscripts, photos, and even typed manuscripts so that they would be ready for publication, effectively leaving Blackwell in charge of all of their professional materials and their legacy.⁵⁹⁴ After Le Plongeon's visit to London, she returned aboard the SS *Celtic* to New York, bedridden and gravely ill, requiring the attendance of the ship's doctor for the entire voyage.⁵⁹⁵ Only shortly later, Le Plongeon died of breast cancer on June 8, 1910.⁵⁹⁶

Zelia Nuttall: Domestic Reclusion

The disintegration of Nuttall's career can be attributed to various reasons. During her active career and despite her fortuitous connections to American and international researchers of high renown, Nuttall had engaged in several academic feuds and harsh public debates with

⁵⁹¹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 315.

⁵⁹² See *ibid.* 319.

⁵⁹³ See *ibid.* 321.

⁵⁹⁴ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 325.

⁵⁹⁵ See *ibid.* 328.

⁵⁹⁶ See *ibid.* 329.

recognized researchers as well as with government officials such as Leopoldo Batres, etc. (see ch. 4.2). These debates, however, fostered an unappealing public image of Nuttall. For example, in summarizing the entire contestation, Carmen Ruiz finds that the public confrontation Nuttall had with Leopoldo Batres conveys an image of her as a strong and assertive woman.⁵⁹⁷ But Mary Ann Levine asserts that given the restrictions places on women's entrance into higher education and the scientific professions, it is likely that Nuttall's image as a strong and assertive woman played at least some role in producing negative sentiments among her male peers.⁵⁹⁸

Most importantly, however, with her emigration as an American citizen to Mexico and declining institutional affiliations, as well as the acquisition of her house in Coyoacan, Nuttall not only geographically detached herself from the scientific discourses in the United States but consequently disconnected from it community-wise. This geographical disconnection in turn is related to Nuttall's longevity: her very long career, spanning four decades, led in the end to the situation that many of her former colleagues and beneficiaries eventually died, which ultimately isolated her from the current academic scene.⁵⁹⁹

Her decision to live in Mexico also enforced her image of being mainly a "stay at home archaeologist" who did not partake in excavations that would ultimately prove to be the more important source for archaeological information; Nuttall's work mostly relied on codices and within libraries. For example, following the public contestation with Leopoldo Batres over the ruins on the Isla de Sacrificios, Nuttall wrote Franz Boas: "I have retired into 'private life' & am working at researches which require no authorization of the Ministry."⁶⁰⁰ This serves as an example of how Nuttall evaded conflicts with authorities and valued research in private environments, i.e. at home, in libraries or archives, much more than working in the field where she would partake in excavations (as it was becoming more and more important for archaeologists).

More importantly, Nuttall's achievements transgressed disciplinary boundaries, for she changed her field of interest multiple times throughout her career and life. Nuttall's life and career, as Ross Parmenter argues, "overflowed the frame."⁶⁰¹ She was active in diverse fields such as archaeology, archaeoastronomy, history, and biology, among others. Beverly

⁵⁹⁷ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 277.

⁵⁹⁸ See Levine, "Uncovering a Buried Past" 145.

⁵⁹⁹ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 1509.

⁶⁰⁰ Parmenter, "Glimpses" 126.

⁶⁰¹ Parmenter, "Recovery" 10.

Chiñas defines Nuttall as an “archaeologist-ethnohistorian,”⁶⁰² and Contreras even refers to Nuttall as a “scholar of comparative mythology.”⁶⁰³ In her 1975 article “American Female Historians In Context,” Kathryn Sklar listed Nuttall as a historian among women historians born after 1850 whose lives were distinct to their predecessors due to the opening of American universities in the 1880s and the shift in the study of history from humanist profession to an academic discipline.⁶⁰⁴

Nuttall’s multidisciplinary approach to the production of knowledge is also mirrored by her geographical mobility. Nuttall’s variety of publications are a direct result of her ability to travel. In contrast to Nuttall’s work on Old and New World civilizations, the largest parts of Nuttall’s career were dedicated to localizing previously unsearched manuscripts and the translation, editing, and publishing of these documents. Following her career path, Nuttall often followed the lines of colonial looting in her efforts to retrieve documents presumed lost to the scientific community (see ch. 3.2). That is how Nuttall also encountered new documents that did not easily fit her research paradigm of a chosen discipline like archaeology, but transcended the disciplinary boundaries and necessitated Nuttall’s engagement in a different discipline, e.g. history, ethnohistory, astronomy, etc.

As mentioned, Nuttall’s interdisciplinary writing was not only influenced by her travels and work in libraries and archives in various countries but also by her local boundedness, i.e. immediate surroundings. However, Nuttall’s late career in particular – after the Mexican Revolution ended in 1920 – is characterized by a sharp decline in her geographical mobility and an increased influence by local factors. For most of her career, Nuttall’s geographical mobility allowed her to conduct research on long-forgotten manuscripts in archives of Europe and America; this mobility enabled her career in terms of publishing manuscripts and codices. With the decline in her ability to travel, her work and disciplinary affiliation in terms of the production of knowledge changed directions to a greater local focus on plant life, botany, and gardening in Yucatán as well as other issues such as the shadowless moment. This decline in travel triggered a shift in her writing, i.e. her botanical and gardening writing is marked by the absence of mobility; topically, her later articles deal with the vicinity of her surroundings in Mexico. This is evident for the articles Nuttall wrote

⁶⁰² Chiñas, “Zelia Maria Magdalena Nuttall” 269.

⁶⁰³ Contreras, *Blood Lines* 43.

⁶⁰⁴ See Sklar, “American Female Historians” 179. However, Sklar positions Nuttall along with Ida Tarbell (1857-1944) and Constance Skinner (1877-1939) as exceptions to this era, as none of these women gained university training (see *ibid.*). Sklar attributes this to the fact that these women – although well integrated into professional life – were not well integrated into the academic marketplace: female historians found only two sources of academic employment – in women’s colleges, and in institutions on the margins of academic life (see *ibid.*).

about Casa Alvarado and its history, e.g. “Datos Históricos Relativos a la llamada Casa de Cortés o casa Municipal de Coyoacan” (1922), as well as her historical elaborations on gardening in pre-Columbian Central America, e.g. “Ancient Mexican Gardeners and Flower Lovers” (1918).⁶⁰⁵ Nuttall’s later works on botany include her pieces on Mexican maize, e.g. “Wilder Mais in Mexiko” (1929) and the plant that was eventually named after her.⁶⁰⁶ In her paper “Ancient Mexican Gardeners and Flower Lovers” she explores the various ways gardens were planted and used in ancient Mexican cultures. Parmenter remarks on Nuttall’s shifts in her fields of interest:

It was in postulating the Archaic Horizon – later designated as the Lower Preclassic – that Mrs. Nuttall played her most important part, but she had a hand in the other developments too. The larger story of pre-Columbian recovery, therefore, remains a useful framework for the last years of her career, as well as for the first. But Zelia overflowed the frame. She did significant work as a Spanish Colonial historian; helped widen knowledge of Elizabethan seamen, and she contributed to the study of Mexican botany. Within the larger story, too, besides her contributions which remain unchallenged, there are her theories about the various Mexican calendars, and her reconstruction of the religious beliefs of the Mesoamerican people which are so seriously open to question that many anthropologists dismiss them as nonsense.⁶⁰⁷

Parmenter, besides acknowledging her work as historian, also points to another achievement of Nuttall:

[N]ot only was Zelia an historian, but she had begun work in an area of history in which as yet very little work had been done; indeed, it was still unrecognized as one of history’s distinctive provinces, certainly by historians writing in English. Hispanic-American history, and perhaps more commonly, Latin American history, are now its accepted designations. This is another scholastic area in which Zelia was a front runner, and to which she was to make notable contributions.⁶⁰⁸

As is mentioned in the previous quotes, the focus of Nuttall’s work changed over the course of her life and she engaged in vastly different academic disciplines. Anthropology, having a complicated history⁶⁰⁹ as Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall formulate, in its beginning moment “was particularly concerned to discount the contributions of any possible precursors who were non-professionals in the formal sense of not holding paid positions as anthropologists.”⁶¹⁰ Although Nuttall was a member of the most prestigious scientific organizations in Mexico and the United States, she had never been a salaried employee for an

⁶⁰⁵ Published in the *Journal of the International Garden Club* 3.3 (1918).

⁶⁰⁶ William Edward Safford of the Bureau of Plant Industry in the U.S. Department of Agriculture took *huauhtzontli* samples Nuttall had cultivated and sent them to the U.S. National Herbarium, where he found them unrepresented, and subsequently realized that it had been a specimen unknown to science; thereafter he published these findings in his article “*Chenopodium Nuttalliae*, A Food Plant of the Aztecs,” crediting Nuttall in naming the new plant *chenopodium nuttalliae* (see Parmenter, “Recovery” 1058-9).

⁶⁰⁷ Ibid. 10.

⁶⁰⁸ Parmenter, “Recovery” 857.

⁶⁰⁹ Hulme/McDougall, “In the Margins of Anthropology” 1.

⁶¹⁰ See *ibid.* 3.

institution; Nuttall's research was mainly funded by private patrons or institutions (e.g. the Museum of Pennsylvania and Phoebe Hearst).⁶¹¹ It is in this regard that Apen Ruiz embarks on an analysis based on the knowledge that "historians of other disciplines have examined better the connections between gender, science and the place of work to rethink the notion of separate spheres that colors our understanding of scientific work and professionalization of science."⁶¹² Regarding Nuttall's complicated position, Ruiz's approach defies prior attempts in her rejection of operating within a single framework that only focuses on one aspect in favor of an integrated, intersectional approach including aspects of professionalization, gender and nationality.⁶¹³ Navigating through these various aspects, Ruiz finds:

For Zelia Nuttall to be an "obligatory amateur"⁶¹⁴ was a personal option. It was a professional choice. That is, not only she was not in a need of a salary, but she also took advantages (traveling, moving and settling as she wished) from her condition of an amateur. Zelia Nuttall was an enthusiast archaeologist, for her archaeology was more of a vocation than a livelihood. But she was also a member of scientific organizations in Mexico and the United States, possessing all of the characteristics, which constituted a professional except a paid employment.⁶¹⁵

Nuttall was a foreigner in Mexico who had interacted with the institutionalization of strong national scientific tradition, yet remained outside official histories of Mexican archaeology, neither was she included in the history of North American archaeology.⁶¹⁶ Therefore, Ruiz sees Nuttall "as both an insider and an outsider."⁶¹⁷

Ultimately, Nuttall's longevity in outliving most of her fellow Americanists and researchers on America's past was part of her disintegrating career as well as her decision to leave the United States. Furthermore, her own decision to retire into a more private setting caused her slow but progressive disappearance from the international scene of American historical research. At the end of her life, Nuttall was mostly isolated in her house in Coyoacan, and while obituaries and memorials after her death in 1933 were plentiful in

⁶¹¹ See Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 217-8.

⁶¹² Ibid. 17.

⁶¹³ In the section "Rethinking Marginality" Ruiz specifically addresses the intersectionality of nation, class, gender, domesticity, history, etc., in particular in the intersections of her identities as a woman archaeologist, as a foreigner who moved to Mexico to live close to where her intellectual interests laid, as a collector and exhibitor, as a traveler, and as a mother (see *ibid.* 240-241).

⁶¹⁴ Here, Ruiz utilizes a term introduced by Marilyn Bailey Ogilvie. Ogilvie suggests that the only category of scientific practice open to most women was that of an "amateur." These women would have become professionals if the opportunity had been present. However, mostly barred from professional status, they used their skills to promote the usefulness of amateur science. Ogilvie proposes the term 'obligatory amateur' for these women who, unlike men, were unable to choose amateur or professional status (see Ogilvie, "Obligatory Amateurs" 68).

⁶¹⁵ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 222.

⁶¹⁶ Ruiz, "Insiders and Outsiders" 243.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid. 207. Martinez's position here is somewhat compatible with William Schell's remarks on "integral outsiders" in the American Colony in Mexico City.

newspapers and journals, from leading publications like the *American Anthropologist* to regional newspapers,⁶¹⁸ her disappearance had begun years before that. Furthermore, Nuttall's shifts in academic focus, her lack of salaried positions throughout her career, and her sometimes harsh public debates with fellow researchers led to her scholarly alienation at the end of her life and eventually caused her to be excluded from the disciplinary historiography of science since her scholarship transgressed the then accepted limitations and would have necessitated an academic-epistemological structure with a more interdisciplinary outreach.⁶¹⁹

Lady Drummond-Hay: No Travel – No Career

Drummond-Hay's career can be divided into different "lives" or occupational roles that mostly shaped her career at the time: her early career beginning with her international expansion (1924-1927), followed by her adventures as an aerial pioneer (1928-30) and her concordant zenith in publication diversity and output (1929-1936). The early 1930s were the pinnacle of Drummond-Hay's career as a professional journalist; she published articles in numerous newspapers, journals, and magazines in many countries; she was interviewed as an expert on interviews with statesman, dictators and high ranking officials. Drummond-Hay herself precisely pinpointed her successful career to one singularly important feature: "Travel is background and that background and meeting and learning to know men and women doing things, is the asset or capital of a writer."⁶²⁰ In turn, this meant that the absence of geographical mobility – i.e. the inability to travel – posed a serious threat to her writing and career.

Despite her success, throughout her life, Drummond-Hay's health had always been fragile; however, the cost of her transnational life became apparent when serious health problems occurred that cut her entire career short. The disappearance from the public eye and the disintegration of Drummond-Hay's internationally active career as a journalist can be visualized as a downward spiral set in motion by a single most crucial factor: a medical incident that happened in 1937 (see ch. 3.3), which effectively rendered an active, traveling career impossible. She still continued her work, although to a smaller extent. Following the events of September 1939, when Great Britain, alongside its independent Dominions of the British Commonwealth, and France entered World War II against Nazi Germany, Drummond-Hay still continued her journalism in Europe; she went to work in Italy but was

⁶¹⁸ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 1528.

⁶¹⁹ See Diderich, "Assessing" 13.

⁶²⁰ LDH, "Letter to KHW," 10 Jan 32, p.3, KHWP IX/LDH-1932.

detained by Italian authorities when Britain declared war on Italy on June 10, 1940.⁶²¹ She eventually repatriated with the Diplomatic Corps back to England via Lisbon.

Due to this incident, Drummond-Hay could not travel as intensively as was needed for her career and was more or less sentenced to a modest life with a lot of rest. Because of that, she could no longer hold on to her international career that required a highly flexible and mobile lifestyle in order to gain the necessary information for her articles. The removal of her most important asset – the ability to move freely to various geographical areas – also influenced her journalistic career to a great extent. Effectively, the end of her high-frequency traveling caused a cessation of her journalistic output. This means that one of the pillars her professional work was reliant on was broken off. Her multinational news syndicate subsequently broke down. Drummond-Hay then fled Europe to rest in warmer climates in an effort to improve her health, further prolonging her absence from most prominent publishing houses and the journalism industry. In essence, the specific incident affecting her health, forced Drummond-Hay to leave her journalistic work, for which travel was so immensely important.

Following her repatriation and on the advice of her physician, at the end of 1940 Drummond-Hay left Europe for the United States and subsequently a warmer climate in Hawaii⁶²² and, shortly thereafter, Japan.⁶²³ Having stayed in the southern hemisphere in order to stay as far away as possible from the cold climate and the war in Europe, Drummond-Hay went to Shanghai to meet von Wiegand, American chief correspondent, where they would spend the year.⁶²⁴ This decision proved to be another cornerstone in Drummond-Hay's vanishing from the international journalism scene, as it was a deeply personal decision to stay with her companion Karl von Wiegand, take a step back in her professional career, and become his private assistant in 1941, accredited by General MacArthur's headquarters in the Pacific,⁶²⁵ rather than going back to being a journalist herself.⁶²⁶

Furthermore, it proved to be a most unfortunate decision to do so, because while they resided in Shanghai, they were drawn into the Sino-Japanese conflict that had merged with

⁶²¹ See LDH, "Letter to Mrs. Philipps," 15 Jul 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶²² See LDH, "Letter to Lolo Baroness Palmstierna," 08 Aug 1945, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶²³ She spent some time there and subsequently left for Japan later in 1941 (see LDH, "Letter to KHW," 03 Dec 1940, p.6, KHWP X/1940).

⁶²⁴ See LDH, Letter to "Lucile", 03 July 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General.

⁶²⁵ LDH, "Letter to 'Brownie,'" 12 Dec 1945, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General.

⁶²⁶ She writes in spring of 1941: "Karl H. von Wiegand, veteran American Foreign Correspondent, has offered me the position of assistant correspondent" (LDH, "Diary 1941" 1, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941).

World War II due to the Pearl Harbor attacks in December 1941. Leaving Shanghai too late,⁶²⁷ both arrived in Manila on December 7, 1941,⁶²⁸ the day the Japanese Empire attacked the American base in Pearl Harbor. Only ten hours later, an offensive was launched on Manila on December 8 in the early hours of the morning that continued until January 2, 1942,⁶²⁹ when the Japanese occupied the city.⁶³⁰ After heavy bombardment, Japanese troops invaded Manila; Drummond-Hay and von Wiegand tried to flee the troops to no avail. On January 8, 1942, among many American citizens living in Manila at the time, Drummond-Hay and von Wiegand were placed in the Santo Tomas Internment Camp.⁶³¹

Before the Japanese invasion, the campus of the University of Santo Tomas had already been selected by the American Emergency Committee (then American Coordinating Committee), a civilian organization that championed the interests of Americans.⁶³² In the camp, men and women had separate dormitories but lived communally during the day.⁶³³ Von Wiegand, influenced by his experiences of German internment camps during World War I in 1917, as well as Drummond-Hay initially perceived it as a “model camp.”⁶³⁴ Drummond-Hay’s diary from the internment presents a valuable insight into the circumstances at the internment camp, as it is one of the very few written by a woman.⁶³⁵ Generally, Drummond-Hay records good circumstances, but they were released within just a couple of weeks and did not see the deterioration and worsening in later times. Despite their short internment, Drummond-Hay already found on January 12, 1942, that:

[The] members of the Central Committee have no illusion about possible difficulties, on the one hand with the Japanese and on the other with the internees. They do not expect [sic] the “picnic atmosphere” of adventure and romance to last long. Boredom and monotony will come and discontent grow out of that.⁶³⁶

⁶²⁷ Von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay had previously been advised by Admiral Glassford to leave Shanghai as quickly as possible (see *ibid.* 15).

⁶²⁸ See Weintraub, *Long Day’s Journey* 170.

⁶²⁹ As Drummond-Hay recalls in a letter to Mrs. Phillips: “The Pacific situation was looming darkly, and we went to Manila, arriving December 7th 1941. The Japanese began bombing that city the very next morning, and continued until January 2nd, when they entered and took the city” (LDH, “Letter to Mrs. Philipps,” 15 Jul 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/PQR).

⁶³⁰ Archer, *Internment of Western Civilians* 32.

⁶³¹ LDH, “Diary 1941” 52, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941. Surprisingly, Rupert Wilkinson fails to mention both Drummond-Hay as well as von Wiegand as internees in his highly regarded book *Surviving a Japanese Internment Camp: Life and Liberation at Santo Tomas, Manila, in World War II* (2014).

⁶³² See Archer, *Internment of Western Civilians* 52.

⁶³³ See *ibid.* 117.

⁶³⁴ LDH, “Diary 1941” 60, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941.

⁶³⁵ Other accounts, however, include *The Santo Tomas Internment Camp Diary of Albert E. Holland, 1944-1945* (Trinity College Digital Repository), the *John Osborn Santo Tomas Internment Transcriptions* (William L. Clemens Library, University of Michigan), the *Papers of Fay C. Baily and Family – Santo Tomas Internment Camp* (MacArthur Memorial, Norfolk VA), Alice Bryant’s account *The Sun Was Darkened* (Boston: Chapman & Grimes, 1947) and others.

⁶³⁶ LDH, “Diary 1941” 61, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941.

Soon after the internees were moved into camp, the condition of the overcrowded university campus deteriorated, constantly requiring medical staff and ultimately leading to the decision to allow the internees to build shanties within the campus grounds.⁶³⁷ Appealing to the authorities to move von Wiegand to better-equipped facilities due his deteriorating health, particularly his eyesight, authorities gave permission for Drummond-Hay to assist von Wiegand. Both left the internment camp on June 15, 1942, aboard the SS *Takoaka Maru* heading to Shanghai,⁶³⁸ where they arrived on June 25, 1942.⁶³⁹ They were housed in a Shanghai hotel with access to medical services that helped get von Wiegand care so that he regained eyesight on September 10, 1942.⁶⁴⁰ Both were placed under house arrest, enjoying “reasonable freedom.”⁶⁴¹

The internment had limited Drummond-Hay’s ability to work and thereby communicate with the public. Although freed from the internment camp after a short time, von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay remained under house arrest and were thus incapable of traveling (one of the major prerequisites for their work) as they remained in Japanese custody until 1943. In September of that year, Drummond-Hay and von Wiegand were put on a Japanese exchange ship that met the SS *Gripsholm* in West India, which brought them and 1,502 other repatriates to New York.⁶⁴² Both spent the remaining time of World War II in several places in the United States, including Los Angeles and Hearst Castle during the winter of 1943-44.⁶⁴³

By her eventual release and return to the United States, her syndicate had completely broken down. Although Drummond-Hay had hoped to restart her newspaper syndicate after the war and once again excel in her journalism – particularly in the United States, where she had the most success and enjoyed great celebrity status – the effects of World War II showed the difficulties:

So I am anxious to being writing again, but do not see how I can yet begin to rebuild my syndicate of magazine articles etc, as there is such a paper shortage everywhere, and will be for some time, I am afraid. Also the many foreign fields I had before the war, will not

⁶³⁷ See Archer, *Internment of Western Civilians* 128-138. Already at the time of interment, Drummond-Hay estimated the amount of internees at Santo Tomas at approximately 4,500 (see LDH, “Letter to ‘Lucile,’” 03 July 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General).

⁶³⁸ See LDH, “Diary 1941” 180, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941.

⁶³⁹ See *ibid.* 187.

⁶⁴⁰ See *ibid.* 191.

⁶⁴¹ “Lady Drummond-Hay” 6.

⁶⁴² See LDH, “Letter to ‘Lucile,’” 03 July 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General. The MS *Gripsholm* was an ocean liner built in 1924 that was chartered by the US government between 1942 and 1946 as an exchange and repatriation ship. The exchanges took place in neutral ports. Drummond-Hay here most likely alludes to Mormugao in Portuguese India.

⁶⁴³ See LDH, “Letter to Fouad Pacha Abaza,” 20 Jul 1944, KHWP LVII/ABC; and also LDH, “Letter to Dorothy Tomlinson,” 27 Jan 1944, KHWP LVII/STU.

be opened again for years, I suppose. So I am turning over and over in my mind what I must do. The answer would be "Write books" – but I don't seem to be able to write fiction, and war-books, and books of personal experiences are already things of the past. They may be alright again in ten years or so, but after the war, people will want something quite new and fresh, so what is it to be?⁶⁴⁴

Having been forced to give up her offices in London in 1940, in 1945 Drummond-Hay was hopeful that she could return to the premises and seamlessly begin working again.⁶⁴⁵ The years of war had changed the face of the world and she was anxious about going back to work because "during the six years of war, a new generation has arisen, been trained, assumed responsibilities and many, family life and will hang onto their jobs desperately."⁶⁴⁶ But, for Drummond-Hay, the notion of traveling was so ingrained in her identity that she still felt the urge to travel: "I still am as avid for travel and seeing new places as I was thirty years ago. In fact MORE SO. I adore traveling under any conditions."⁶⁴⁷

Surmising the events at the end of the 1930s, the Asian-Pacific War, and the internment in Manila – her departure from the international scene of journalism and her status as celebrity – Drummond-Hay confided in a letter: "You see, I was quite cut off from everything from 1940 until the end of 1943, and you know how slowly everything moves in war-time."⁶⁴⁸ She laconically explains to her mother: "I just disappeared off the scene."⁶⁴⁹

The close connection between the ability to gain new information and the production of journalistic pieces sets Drummond-Hay apart from Miriam Leslie, Alice Le Plongeon or Zelia Nuttall. Analyzing the disciplinarity of Drummond-Hay's texts in relation to her travels exhibits the problematic relationship between journalistic texts focusing on international politics and foreign relations as well as pieces on travel writing with the ability to travel and the effects due to the lack thereof.

Information used for her columns reflecting on international events, news, and travels necessitated not only constant travel and but also new input. News or information pertaining to journalism, however, lost their actuality and relevance too quickly in order for Drummond-Hay to transform her past experiences into knowledge production. With a diminished capacity to tap into her international networks of correspondence and informants as well as her inability

⁶⁴⁴ LDH, "Letter to Gerald Cooke," 05 Nov 1944, KHWP LVII/ABC.

⁶⁴⁵ As Drummond-Hay explains in a letter to one of her acquaintances: "I gave up my Office at 76 Strand in 1940 because I saw that it would be useless to keep it on all during the war, and luckily I did, too! I had not then bargained for the years in the Far East. But when things are settled down again, and I can begin my work there again, I am hoping that I can return to the same place, as my files, and book-cases etc. were made to fit, they are not in store" (LDH, "Letter to [Gibbie] Mrs. A.H. Dyke," 28 Feb 1945, KHWP LVII/DEF).

⁶⁴⁶ LDH, "Letter to Humphrey Drummond-Hay," 10 Apr 1945, KHWP LVII/DEF.

⁶⁴⁷ LDH, "Letter to A.E. & Mrs. Ellis," 19 Apr 1945, KHWP LVII/DEF.

⁶⁴⁸ LDH, "Letter to Mr. Putnam," 19 Jul 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶⁴⁹ LDH, "Letter to Mamie Poole," 31 Oct 1944, p.2, KHWP LVII/PQR.

to travel frequently after her physical decline in the latter half of the 1930s as well as her internment in 1942, Drummond-Hay was not able to convert her travelistic experiences in the same way that Alice Le Plongeon could. Despite her few preserved attempts at writing fiction,⁶⁵⁰ Drummond-Hay remained critical of her abilities therein: “IF I could write fiction, it would be easy enough, but as I can’t, it is not worth thinking about.”⁶⁵¹ In contrast to Le Plongeon, who transformed her experiences abroad into fictionalized accounts such as *Queen Moo’s Talisman* (1902), or Miriam Leslie, who could utilize her transatlantic travels in her lecture series on European royalty (1890), Drummond-Hay was not able to convert her previous travel experiences into publishable texts.

As early as 1944, Drummond-Hay was aware of the problems and future changes regarding journalism and the newspaper industry after World War II, as she realized that “at the moment it is not the time to offer articles to magazines or weeklies, they have’nt [sic] space on the paper.” After the war, the situation was dim for Drummond-Hay, and she again took the position as assistant to von Wiegand, although she made clear by saying “at the moment” that she was eager to “rebuilding up my own connexions and my work.”⁶⁵² Even further, Drummond-Hay wrote in 1944 that she was hopeful “to resume my writing work very soon.”⁶⁵³ She was, however, again limited by her health as she “must remain out of the winter climates for this coming year.”⁶⁵⁴

After the end of World War II, Drummond-Hay traveled back to the United Kingdom in order to restart her journalistic career. This, however, proved complicated. Due to her long-abandoned news syndicate (more than six years since her last published article in 1940), post-war paper shortages and the combination of other factors, Drummond-Hay’s attempt to get back into journalism failed. Instead, she chose to remain Karl von Wiegand’s assistant. In early 1945, von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay were assigned to Spain by the Hearst Press in

⁶⁵⁰ The Karl-Henry von Wiegand Papers at the Hoover Institution Archives contain two manuscripts for short stories by Drummond-Hay. One untitled story follows the protagonist John Murray, who is referred in the story as “the one flyer in the office” in his way out of London to the Aerodrome, where he flies his recently bought own airplane and while flying proposes to his girlfriend Betty (see LDH, “Untitled Short Story” 1-18, KHWP LVI/Miscellaneous). The other story titled “The Death Mate” differs in style and topic greatly. Set in a not further specified region of “tropical vegetation, gorged on the slimy fecundity of the marshland, entwined the trees in a hideous embrace” in which the “marshland produced other things as well, ferns of fearie delicacy, orchids as beautiful as Death, iridescent dragonflies, dazzling humming-birds, repulsive creeping creatures,” the story centers on a short scene between a woman Lorys and her verbally as well as physically abusive, heavy-drinking husband Peter Kerr (see LDH, “The Death Mate” 1, KHWP LVI/Miscellaneous).

⁶⁵¹ LDH, “Letter to Mrs. Lethbridge,” 27 May 1945, p. 3, KHWP LVII/JKL.

⁶⁵² LDH, “Letter to Herbert Quick,” 03 Nov 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶⁵³ LDH, “Letter to Mr. Putnam,” 19 Jul 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR.

⁶⁵⁴ LDH, “Letter to Herbert Quick,” 03 Nov 1944, KHWP LVII/PQR.

order to report on the aftermath of the war and the new constellations of power within post-war Europe, particularly with respect to Francoist or Nationalist Spain.

Further plans never come to fruition as Drummond-Hay unexpectedly had to follow von Wiegand as his permanent assistant back to the United States at the end of 1945,⁶⁵⁵ cutting short her hopes of emerging from the oblivion her health, internment, war, and minor position had imposed on her. Unfortunately, already late in 1945, Drummond-Hay's health had begun to deteriorate. By the beginning of 1946, Drummond-Hay and von Wiegand had settled in New York, where they resided in the Lexington Hotel. On February 8, von Wiegand corresponded with Drummond-Hay's physician, stating her refusal to go to a hospital in New York and her desire to go to California because of the climate.⁶⁵⁶ Only a few days later, Drummond-Hay's life ended on February 12, 1946 due to coronary thrombosis, in her hotel room of the Lexington Hotel on 12th February 1946, aged only 50 years.⁶⁵⁷ Von Wiegand transported her ashes back to England,⁶⁵⁸ this marking the last time Drummond-Hay crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

4.5. On the Tangibility of Absence: Legacies, Heritages, and Transnational Archives

Being mobile and sometimes even constantly traveling weighed heavily on the historiographic appraisal of traveling women who were transgressing geographical and social realms. In the context of mobility and historical record, Helen Barolini parallels the poet Emily Dickinson with author and constant traveler Constance Fenimore Woolson (1840-1894). Barolini registers the paradox that Woolson, in contrast to Dickinson in her own lifetime, was a successful and well-known author only to be relatively unknown today.⁶⁵⁹

In the words of Natalie Zemon Davis that "at one time they were flesh and blood; then, what was left were memories, portraits, their writings, and their art,"⁶⁶⁰ women's legacies and heritages have been subject to various elaborations and analyses. This dichotomous situation between women's corporeal existence and their real (as well as symbolic) heritage is further elaborated on by Virginia Woolf, who found that the answer to this lies "locked in old diaries,

⁶⁵⁵ Drummond-Hay writes: "I had to catch this ship from Spain for New York. I did not have time for anything I wanted to do" (LDH, "Letter to 'Brownie,'" 12 Dec 1945, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General).

⁶⁵⁶ KHW, "Letter to Dr. Lawrence Washburne," 08 Feb 1945, KHWP, LVI/Biographical.

⁶⁵⁷ "Lady Drummond-Hay, Writer, Traveler, Dies" 3.

⁶⁵⁸ See KHW, "Letter to H.R. Drummond-Hay," 04 Mar 1946, KHWP /Drummond-Hay, H.R.

⁶⁵⁹ See Barolini, *Their Other Side* 81.

⁶⁶⁰ Davis, *Women on the Margins* 212.

stuffed away in old drawers, half-obliterated in the memories of the aged.”⁶⁶¹ In the words of Mary Ritter Beard: “Without knowledge of women in history as actual history, dead women are sheer ghosts to living women – and to men.”⁶⁶² Investigating women’s archival preservation – or Beard’s “ghosts” – is what Patricia Fara means with the expression of the “ghostly presence” in her book *Pandora’s Boxes*:

Breaking away from conventional history to give women more prominence reveals the activities, opinions and aspirations of other individuals about whom we have little specific information. For all the women who left behind tangible traces, there must have been many more who have disappeared from the archives. Evidence about women’s lives is hard to retrieve, but their ghostly presence in the surviving records yield tantalizing hints of their very substantial real-life existence.⁶⁶³

The lack of tangible traces or broadly speaking archival material is a symptom. While men had the advantage of leaving behind a vast heritage of their work which, subsequently, has been archived and stored in many different ways, women on the other hand were denied an autonomous and active professional status relevant to the archival preservation of their legacies. Nina Zimmermann refers to Angelika Schaser, who explores the role of archival material in women biographical studies in the humanities and who claims that the reason for the lack of women’s biographies lies, besides a male-dominated tradition in the respective disciplines, in bad source material; until today, only few bequests by women would be incorporated into archives.⁶⁶⁴ The focal point of this chapter is the assumption that the aspect of geographical mobility was another limiting factor in the preservation of women’s materials as well. It will also be shown that the preservation and the functionality of a transnational archive for the purpose of preserving women’s heritages and legacies can be a complicated and difficult subject.

Miriam Leslie: A Fortune for a Movement and an International Archive

At the time of her death, Leslie was one of the most influential and widely known people in America and Europe. However, Leslie’s death was “minor news in 1914, when a world, grown indifferent to the erstwhile Empress of Journalism, was turning with avidity to reports of the European war.”⁶⁶⁵ Despite a lack of widespread public interest, Leslie’s legacy in the form of her enormous monetary heritage would be a testament to her continuing battle for

⁶⁶¹ Woolf, “Women and Fiction” 179.

⁶⁶² Voss-Hubbard, “Mary Ritter Beard and the Early History of Women’s Archives” 17.

⁶⁶³ Fara, *Pandora’s Breeches* 31.

⁶⁶⁴ See Zimmermann, “Zu den Wegen der Frauenbiographikforschung” 28-9.

⁶⁶⁵ Stern, *Purple Passage* 181. Only few obituaries appeared in major newspapers.

women's rights and the suffrage movement, for Leslie's fortune was, at the time of her death in 1914, estimated to be worth about \$2,000,000.⁶⁶⁶ In her will, Leslie bequeathed her money to:

All the rest, residue and remainder of my estate, [...] I do give, devise and bequeath unto my friend MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT of the City of New York. It is my expectation and wish that she turn all of my said residuary estate into cash, and apply the whole thereof as she shall think most advisable to the furtherance of the cause of Woman's Suffrage to which she has so worthily devoted so many years of her life.⁶⁶⁷

As Madeleine Stern recounts, people at the time smirked that her many marriages must have resulted in a passion for woman suffrage;⁶⁶⁸ nevertheless, the money she had left to the cause of woman suffrage doubled the momentum of the movement and carried it to certain victory.⁶⁶⁹

Immediately following her death and due to Leslie's tendency to shroud herself in mystery – often leaving misunderstandings about her own life unanswered, whether they were about her descent, living circumstances, or particularly her age – her life, biography, and authenticity of her statements made in her will were questioned by the public, including even far-flung allegations about Leslie being a descendant of a black slave.⁶⁷⁰ In the end, more than \$1,000,000 was spent to probate the will, until it was, lastly, decided that the charges were without foundation.⁶⁷¹

Although Leslie had given Catt checks for a hundred dollars to the suffrage movement before,⁶⁷² Goldstein in *The Constitutional Rights of Women* (1989) specifically identifies Leslie's legacy and Carrie Chapman Catt, who was elected president of the NAWSA in 1915,⁶⁷³ to be the most important and influential changes in the suffrage moment in the United States.⁶⁷⁴ The money from her estate (after some deductions) amounted in the end to just

⁶⁶⁶ Jackson, "Belle of the Boardroom" 162. At the time, her estate was estimated to be valued at \$ 1.748.550 (see "Alleged Mrs. Frank Leslie" 10).

⁶⁶⁷ Young, *Leslie Suffrage Commission* 28.

⁶⁶⁸ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 182.

⁶⁶⁹ See Stern, *Queen of Publisher's Row* 186.

⁶⁷⁰ These allegations specifically included Leslie to be an illegitimate daughter of a black slave, her supposed mother being the keeper of a house of ill fame in New York (see "Alleged Mrs. Frank Leslie" 10). The rumors were so far-reaching, even James Weldon Johnson remarked about these allegations: "If Mrs. Leslie was a colored woman, and there is reason to believe the allegations to be true – a large sum was spent by those who make the allegation in an investigation of Mrs. Leslie's history and pedigree, and in "Who's Who" no mention is made of Mrs. Leslie's mother – we say, if she was a colored woman, her case is stranger than any fiction" (Johnson, "Stranger than Fiction" 259).

⁶⁷¹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 183. According to the numbers presented by Rose Young exactly \$1,108,484.60 (see Young, *Leslie Suffrage Commission* 7).

⁶⁷² Van Voris, *A Public Life* 144. Interestingly, Van Voris states that Leslie had not been active before in the suffrage movement (see *ibid.*).

⁶⁷³ Goldstein, *Rights of Women* 85.

⁶⁷⁴ See *ibid.*

under \$1,000,000⁶⁷⁵ and was left specifically for Catt personally, who founded with it the Leslie Suffrage Commission, which was in turn charged with spending the money. Most of it went toward financing the Leslie Bureau of Suffrage Education, whose director was Rose Young.⁶⁷⁶ After the many legal hurdles of the estate of Leslie, in 1917 Catt finally received the first installment of the money.⁶⁷⁷ Now, with enough money from the Leslie Estate as well as \$800,000 pledged by the NAWSA delegated at Atlantic City⁶⁷⁸ backing the cause, the suffragists with the NAWSA in the United States had in Carrie Chapmann Catt a leader who had both a plan for winning suffrage and the financial means to wage the campaign.⁶⁷⁹ The Leslie Bureau immediately became an effective propaganda machine, using brochures, billboards, ads, daily news services, features services, and research.⁶⁸⁰

In 1929, Rose Young published a detailed analysis of the Leslie Suffrage Commission's work between 1917 and 1929. She had been active in the Leslie Suffrage Commission as not only director but also as editor of its political magazine, the *Woman Citizen*, from 1917 to 1922.⁶⁸¹ Young stated that the *Woman Citizen* sought to "prove a self-perpetuating memorial to Mrs. Frank Leslie's generosity toward the cause of woman suffrage and her faith in woman's progress."⁶⁸² It was a well-written magazine, full of news and graphically appealing; it was transnational in outreach and attempted to deal with the many aspects of the "modern" woman's life, featuring stories that covered everything from woman suffrage in Mexico to an approval of the measure by the House of Commons in England, from the militarism and moral depravity of Germany to women voting in Russia, from Maud Wood Park, chair of the NAWSA congressional committee, reporting on new developments in Congress to accounts of how an American suffragist helped immigrants, and from fashions for garden work to graphics illustrating how suffrage was organized.⁶⁸³

Ultimately, the Leslie estate gave Catt the power and financial independence that no NAWSA leader had enjoyed before,⁶⁸⁴ a backbone to the suffrage movement "of inestimable aid."⁶⁸⁵ As Linda Frost finds: "It is difficult to imagine a more fitting continuation of the

⁶⁷⁵ Rose Young cites the exact amount of \$977,875.02 (see Young, *Leslie Suffrage Commission* 7).

⁶⁷⁶ Van Voris, *A Public Life* 145.

⁶⁷⁷ See *ibid.* 144. At this point, Catt had spent half of the estate in lawyers' fees and court costs (*ibid.*).

⁶⁷⁸ See Fuller, *Woman's Rights Movement* 146.

⁶⁷⁹ See *ibid.*

⁶⁸⁰ See Van Voris, *A Public Life* 145.

⁶⁸¹ Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer* 369. The *Woman Citizen* was the 1917 product of a merger of the *Woman's Journal*, the *Woman Voter*, and the *National Suffrage News* (see Endres, "The Woman Citizen" 249).

⁶⁸² Young, *Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission* 74.

⁶⁸³ See Endres, "The Woman Citizen" 249. After many changes, including to the new title *The Woman's Journal*, the magazine was discontinued with its last June issue of 1931 (see *ibid.*).

⁶⁸⁴ See Fuller, *Woman's Rights Movement* 146.

⁶⁸⁵ Flexner/Fitzpatrick, *Century of Struggle* 265.

legacy – both financial *and* political – left by Miriam Leslie.”⁶⁸⁶ In the end, Leslie “helped carry the cause to certain victory after her death.”⁶⁸⁷ In other words, what Leslie had promoted in different ways all her life, i.e. the advancement of women in professional disciplines, their successful movement in the public sphere, and greater awareness of the difficulties encountered by women attempting this movement, continued to be promoted even more overtly and more clearly with the help of her legacy.⁶⁸⁸

As Leslie’s involvement with the suffrage movement in the United States happened during a time of national conscience and nationally-oriented writing of history, her heritage in the form of the Leslie Suffrage Commission is well documented. However, although mainly elite women loom in particular over in the historiography since they tend to leave their papers to well-catalogued college archives and personal names offer researchers leads to follow in databases and search engines,⁶⁸⁹ Leslie did not leave behind such a collection and her heritage was not institutionalized and preserved. Today, there is no archival preservation of any notebooks, articles, books, correspondences, etc. at a central facility.⁶⁹⁰ There was also no international effort to institute an archive to keep her work after her death.

In one of the earliest attempts to conquer the precarious situation of preservation of women’s material like Miriam Leslie’s legacy that would have compensated for historical agents that transcended national borders, Mary Beard and Rosika Schwimmer attempted the creation of an archive specifically for women on an international scale. In 1935, Mary Beard initiated coherent plans to establish a center for the preservation and study of primary source material about women.⁶⁹¹ Beard was approached by Hungarian émigré and pacifist feminist Rosika Schwimmer with the idea of establishing the World Center for Women’s Archives (WCWA).⁶⁹² Schwimmer had already begun conceptualizing a plan in 1934 for an international Feminist-Pacifist Archive Center and started discussing it with various figures in the women’s movement.⁶⁹³ Perturbed by her stateless status after her lost naturalization case in 1929,⁶⁹⁴ Schwimmer, who was one of the most transnational and transatlantic

⁶⁸⁶ Frost, ““Women May Speak for Themselves”” 71.

⁶⁸⁷ Stern, “Introduction” xxii.

⁶⁸⁸ See Frost, ““Women May Speak for Themselves”” 71.

⁶⁸⁹ See Olcott, “A Happier Marriage” 246.

⁶⁹⁰ Most of the material that was considered by Madeleine Stern, Ishbell Ross, and others had collected, were publications, scattered correspondences, and information by acquaintances of Leslie.

⁶⁹¹ See Voss-Hubbard, “Mary Ritter Beard” 18.

⁶⁹² See *ibid.* 19.

⁶⁹³ See Miller/Moon/Voss, “International Women’s Collecting” 506:4.

⁶⁹⁴ In a complicated reasoning the Supreme Court of the US handed down, on May 27, 1929, a decision denying citizenship to Schwimmer solely on the basis of her refusal to bear arms in defense of the country (see ACLU, *The Case of Rosika Schwimmer* 3).

feminist-suffragists before and during the First World War,⁶⁹⁵ drafted a concept of global citizenship, for only a world government seemed to be a solution to prevent war and foster transnational, non-military approaches to conflicts.⁶⁹⁶

It was also Beard who broadened Schwimmer's approach to documenting the role of women in the peace movement to the entirety of women's historical experience.⁶⁹⁷ It was a first step in the direction of establishing a cross-national center for the study of women in history, an idea of a transnational feminist archive. For Beard and Schwimmer, the central point of the archives was a dual purpose: first, to serve as a repository of women's individual and organizational struggles, inspiration, and achievement, and second, to form a vital educational plant in which the culture represented by the archives will receive the attention at present given in the "seats of higher learning" to the culture of men alone.⁶⁹⁸ In its first function, "gathering the building blocks for this endeavor by focusing on collecting primary source materials,"⁶⁹⁹ Beard asked women to preserve their documents for the center and noted that women often destroyed their own papers while simultaneously preserving the letters and documents of the men in their family.⁷⁰⁰

Not coincidentally, it was Mary Beard who eventually chose the WCWA motto: "No documents, no history."⁷⁰¹ Beard believed women had always been partners with men in the making of history.⁷⁰² It was therefore the historian's task to "see" the actuality of history through the medium of documentation.⁷⁰³ In her belief – that women had always been the partners of men – working with preserved materials would in itself make women in history visible again: "in her view, their contributions had been ignored and needed to be discovered by scholars and students in the archives."⁷⁰⁴ Beard disagreed with some basic premises of the women's movement in the early twentieth century and sparked controversy in the suffrage movement in the 1930s when she rejected the idea that women had been subjugated

⁶⁹⁵ Wernitznig, "Fascism, Refugees, Statelessness" 102.

⁶⁹⁶ See *ibid.* 105.

⁶⁹⁷ See Voss-Hubbard, "Mary Ritter Beard" 19; and Miller/Moon/Voss, "International Women's Collecting" 506:4.

⁶⁹⁸ See Relph, "The World Center for Women's Archives" 597.

⁶⁹⁹ Miller/Moon/Voss, "International Women's Collecting" 506:9.

⁷⁰⁰ See Relph, "The World Center for Women's Archives" 598.

⁷⁰¹ As Peter Novick finds, the slogan "Pas de documents, pas d'histoire," the very idea that the beginnings of human history, for which there were no written records, could never be historically known, was a central notion of Charles Victor Langlois' and Charles Seignobos' *Introduction aux études historiques* (1898) – in its English translation, the most widely used and influential manual of historical method (see Novick, *Noble Dream* 37-39).

⁷⁰² See Voss-Hubbard, "Mary Ritter Beard" 18.

⁷⁰³ See Cott, "Putting Women on the Record" 47.

⁷⁰⁴ Miller/Moon/Voss, "International Women's Collecting" 506:10.

throughout history and called for a reexamination of documentary evidence to prove her thesis.⁷⁰⁵

Beginning in 1938 and continuing over the next two years, the WCWA experienced difficulties in acquiring funding. Furthermore, this was during the same period that public sentiment in the United States gradually moved from neutrality toward increasing acceptance of the possibility of war against fascism in Europe.⁷⁰⁶ Concordantly, on the eve of World War II, Inez Hayes Irwin, chairman of WCWA in the last note from the board in 1940, declared it was “almost impossible to raise money for anything outside the charities connected with war and the evacuations.”⁷⁰⁷

Although only short-lived, the WCWA as it was originally envisioned never materialized, but still had a lasting impact on the field of women’s history and on the acquisition of women’s collection in our field.⁷⁰⁸ Anke Voss believes that centers such as the Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Harvard University, and Sophia Smith Collection, as well as archives everywhere, are making laudable efforts today to collect, uncover, and make accessible the missing and hidden voices of women and marginalized others, and traces this to the work that Beard and Schwimmer had begun with the WCWA in 1935.⁷⁰⁹

As it was WCWA’s hope to have opened the minds of people all over the world to the necessity of collecting and preserving archives particularly about women,⁷¹⁰ the prophetic words by Mary Beard and her efforts to include women’s collections remained true for Miriam Leslie and the absence of institutionalized preservation efforts such as an archive contributed to “forgetting” Miriam Leslie as one of the most influential women of the nineteenth century. An archive such as this would have focused on the variety of various historical sources, preserved the materials of Miriam Leslie, and protected them on behalf of future research on her life.⁷¹¹ The international conceptualization would have also made

⁷⁰⁵ See Voss-Hubbard, “Mary Ritter Beard” 18.

⁷⁰⁶ Cott, “Putting Women on the Record” 48.

⁷⁰⁷ Irwin in Relf, “The World Center for Women’s Archives” 602.

⁷⁰⁸ See Miller/Moon/Voss, “International Women’s Collecting” 506:2. It remains a bitter irony that it was the growth of totalitarianism in Europe that had originally spurred Schwimmer’s idea of preserving women’s records that led to the final (financial) demise of the archives (see Relf, “The World Center for Women’s Archives” 599).

⁷⁰⁹ See Miller/Moon/Voss, “International Women’s Collecting” 506:10.

⁷¹⁰ See Relf, “The World Center for Women’s Archives” 602.

⁷¹¹ In a letter, Beard laid out the central purpose of the WCWA: “the collection in one place of the data on women, including the rich personal material such as letters, diaries, memoranda; and the using of this material right at hand by people competent to use it, with the force of the Archive Center behind them” (Beard/Cott, *A Woman Making History* 135).

visible the material that transcended the national boundaries of the United States. Furthermore, a transnational archive specifically for women could have equally fostered research on Leslie's travel writing and the dimension of her mobility in connection to her career. In any case, such an archive would have included Leslie as one of these "hidden voices of women" and would have enabled the preservation of Miriam Leslie's legacy to a greater degree.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Maude Blackwell, Charles Lindbergh, and a Crate

Following the end of her career, traces of Le Plongeon's work quickly vanished. The institute that Le Plongeon had envisioned for the study of American history was never realized during her lifetime and after her death all papers, photographs, notes, and manuscripts that she and her husband had accumulated over several decades were bequeathed by Alice Le Plongeon to her friend, Maude Blackwell.⁷¹² She put all of her manuscripts into the hands of Blackwell, who proved to be a difficult administrator of her work and her husband's work.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon's unpublished manuscript "Yucatan" (1884) allows for a more detailed look on textual invisibility (possibly enforced by female modesty) and its effects. In the introduction, Alice Le Plongeon speaks about the difficulties about copyright laws on photographs in the United States. In her original handwritten preface to the unpublished book she claims that:

[I]n the United States no copyright is granted on photographic negatives made outside of the States; and as a result of this detrimental law, several unscrupulous persons have used in their books photographs taken by us, not even crediting us with the work or stating that said pictures were our property; but leaving it to be supposed that these were their own.⁷¹³

In the typescript that was most likely done by Le Plongeon's close friend, Maude Blackwell, however, it displays seemingly minor but nevertheless decisive deviations:

[As a] result of this detrimental law, several unscrupulous persons have used in their books and other publications, photographs taken by Dr. Le Plongeon, not ever crediting him with

⁷¹² See Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 122.

⁷¹³ ADLP, "Preface" i, ADPP VI/17-19. Le Plongeon was agitated by the perceived unwillingness of other researchers to credit her and her husband for the photographs: "The labor of photographing those ancient buildings by the wet colodion process can not be realized except by those who have tried it, and for this reason we have found it more than annoying to see University professors and those employed in museums, as well as other persons, illustrate their own writings with copies of these same photographs that we took amid so many difficulties and which, when published by the persons alluded to, were not even accredited to us" (ADLP, "Yucatan" 411, ADPP VI/17-19).

the work or stating that the pictures were his property; but leaving it to be supposed that these were their own.⁷¹⁴

The alterations are clearly visible and let Le Plongeon, despite being the author of the manuscript, vanish behind the achievements of her husband to a degree. Similarly to Le Plongeon, Alfred Maudslay did not acknowledge his wife in his preface to their joint work *Glimpse at Guatemala*.⁷¹⁵ Although, as Claire Lyons mentions, Le Plongeon's "absence from the roster of late Victorian women of accomplishment can be explained by her steadfast support of Augustus's far-fetched notions,"⁷¹⁶ a female voice is rendered invisible in this text, thereby creating textual absence.

Furthermore, particularly in the consolidation phase of American anthropology, theories were being tested: "[s]erious objective studies would be welcomed, and unfounded theories would, if possible, be exposed with ridicule."⁷¹⁷ Alice Le Plongeon's unequivocal support of her husband and his theories caused her to be closely associated with his work. In the same way, her own writing became obfuscated by this close connection in the absence of feminist approaches that could analyze and counteract male-centered national and disciplinary narratives. Blackwell, as a woman herself, rendered Alice Le Plongeon invisible. It can be assumed that Maude Blackwell had substituted Alice Le Plongeon's authorship and its traces whenever the manuscript cites the word "we."

Already shortly after her death, several people inquired about her and her husband as well as the related materials.⁷¹⁸ Despite receiving criticism for her work, only months after Le Plongeon's death Frederic Putnam (Peabody Museum) wrote to Maude Blackwell inquiring about the materials left behind by the Le Plongeon. However, Blackwell kept the materials from the public until a time she felt the world would again be interested in Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon's research on the Maya. She changed her mind in 1929 when Charles Lindbergh, accompanied by archaeologist Alfred Kidder, flew over Chichen Itza for a reconnaissance mission.⁷¹⁹ The images of this flight were widely circulated in various newspapers and

⁷¹⁴ Ibid. 1.

⁷¹⁵ Maudslay refers to "my travels" and speaks about "my wife" merely accompanying him (see Maudslay, *Glimpse* ix).

⁷¹⁶ Lyons, "Foreword" xix.

⁷¹⁷ Parmenter, "Recovery" 79.

⁷¹⁸ Blackwell was contacted by H. Adams interested in a "gossipy letter" for some Dr. Harris in Chicago who was interested in the fate of Dr. and Mrs. Le Plongeon (see Adams, "Letter to Maude Blackwell," 06 May 1913, ADPP LIX/3). Also, Blackwell was contacted by H.W. Percival for a Mrs. Helena Korte in San Diego who wanted to know more about Alice Le Plongeon (see Percival, "Letter to Maude Blackwell," 31 Dec 1912, ADPP LIX/5).

⁷¹⁹ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 334. In a letter to J.C. Merriam Silvanus Morley explained Blackwell's motivation: "When I asked Mrs. Blackwell why she had kept silent about this matter for so long – Mrs. Le Plongeon died in 1908 – she replied that on her death bed Mrs. Le Plongeon had left this material to her with the understanding

magazines.⁷²⁰ This was the long-awaited signal – that people were now more interested in the American past – that prompted Blackwell to contact American archaeologists. Despite the long time the Le Plongeons stayed in Yucatán, Blackwell did not contact Mexican authorities for the material.

Blackwell informed renowned archaeologist Frans Blom, who was director of the Middle American Research Institute at Tulane University in New Orleans, that “she was in possession of all the Le Plangeon photographs, letters, and manuscripts, and then continued with a lengthy explanation of how the Le Plongeons had found Maya books.”⁷²¹ In the letter, Blackwell stated that it was “time that all material should be made public.”⁷²² Frans Blom wrote back to Blackwell thanking her for guarding the Le Plangeon photographs so carefully, showing great interest in seeing them, and inquiring after materials including several buildings at Uxmal.⁷²³ Although thankful for her guardianship, Blom was skeptical about Blackwell’s motivation and credibility in the matter of the Le Plongeons and serious archaeological work.

Over the course of their correspondence, Blackwell had sent Blom several packages including some notes, photographs, and maps. Nevertheless, Blackwell was highly protective of the heritage of the Le Plongeons (she stated that in the past some parts of her possessions, including stereoscopic photographs, were purloined,⁷²⁴ which led her to be very cautious with the collection⁷²⁵) while also making clear it was her intention that “the proper credit will be

that it was not to be made public until the American people evinced a greater interest in the ancient Maya civilization than they had done in her lifetime and that of her husband. Mrs. Blackwell was enjoined to destroy the material before her death if the American people gave no evidence of awakened interest in the ancient Maya civilization up to that time. When I asked her why, then, she was making it public, at this time, she replied that she felt that Colonel Lindbergh’s flights over the Maya area two years ago, and the wave of interest which these had aroused, was sufficient evidence of awakened interest on the part of the American people in the Maya field, to warrant her in making public the Le Plangeon material” (Morley, “Letter to Merriam,” p.6, LGD V/Carnegie-Institution).

⁷²⁰ The flight was covered, for example, in “Over the Dead Citadels of the Lost Mayas” by G. F. Paul and R. L. Duffus in *The Sphere*. Thomas Kessner describes the event: “On one of his flights between the United States and Central America Lindbergh caught sight of ancient-looking ruins deep in the jungles of Yucatan. After reporting these findings to archaeologists at the Smithsonian in Washington it occurred to him that airplanes provided a unique vantage point for studying archaeological sites and remote ruins. He developed a technique to help researchers locate temple and burial ruins from the air by flying close to the ground over flat terrain, sometimes no more than ten or twenty feet above the jungle canopy, looking for ‘bumps’ that often hid age-old pyramids” (Kessner, *Flight of the Century* 188).

⁷²¹ Desmond, *Yucatán* 334.

⁷²² Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 3 Jul 1931, p. 9, LGD V/Tulane.

⁷²³ See Blom, “Letter to Blackwell,” 06 Aug 1931, ADPP LIX/2.

⁷²⁴ “Since coming west I have had some disagreeable experiences here in Los Angeles[.] I had quite a few of my personal possessions gently lifted from my room during my absence” (Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 02 Aug 1931, p.6-7, LGD V/Tulane).

⁷²⁵ She repeatedly confessed to “being nervous about safety of letters” and that her “experiences have been so very annoying” in Los Angeles (Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 13 Sep 1931, LGD V/Tulane).

given to the Le Plongesons.”⁷²⁶ She had also hoped that the materials could be made ready for the 1933 World Fair in Chicago.⁷²⁷ Blom later informed Blackwell about similar plans, as he intended to organize an exhibition of the materials Blackwell had sent him.⁷²⁸ Blom asserted that he would like “to see these papers, not only for the valuable material they may contain, but also because I should like to incorporate them in our library here.”⁷²⁹ Blom also assured Blackwell that:

[N]obody but archaeologists could care and rever[e] the the [sic] papers left by one of their distinguished colleagues, and as our library is visited by practically every expedition which goes to Yucatan we would be able to allow the present generation of explorers to admire the work of one of the pioneers in this field.⁷³⁰

Silvanus Morley mentioned the work of both Le Plongesons in a letter to J.C. Merriam, arguing about the relevance of their conclusions, but Morley found it extraordinary that Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon had been in Chichen Itzá so early and had done digging there (having discovered the Chacmool, now in the National Museum at Mexico City, as well as the one which Felipe Carillo found in the ball court and removed to the Museum at Merida), ultimately asserting to Merriam that, based on this, their photographs and any excavation notes they may have left were of utmost importance to their present work.⁷³¹ Merriam concurred with Morley’s opinion.⁷³² Despite Morley’s interest in the matter and his gratefulness to Blackwell for preserving the materials, he was not unanimous in his evaluation of her: he conveyed to Merriam about Blackwell that she was “a mystic, believing in numbers, signs and symbols, Atlantis, and all that complex of associated absurdities.”⁷³³ Most

⁷²⁶ Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 03 Jul 1931, p.8, LGD V/Tulane.

⁷²⁷ Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 30 Jul 1931, p.4, LGD V/Tulane.

⁷²⁸ Blom: “I intend to make [sic] an exhibition of the Le Plongeon drawings and photographs which you so kindly have sent me” (Blom, “Letter to Blackwell,” 16 Dec 1931, ADPP LIX/2). He already wanted to organize an exhibition at the meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science in New Orleans in December 1931 (see Blom, “Letter to Blackwell,” 18 Aug 1931, ADPP LIX/2).

⁷²⁹ Blom, “Letter to Blackwell,” 22 Jul 1931, p.1, ADPP LIX/2.

⁷³⁰ Ibid.

⁷³¹ See Morley, “Letter to J.C. Merriam,” 10 Oct 1931, LGD V/Carnegie.

⁷³² “There can be no doubt regarding the importance of having the original photographs for means of study of what has taken place since Le Plongeon examined the area” (Merriam, “Letter to Morley,” 19 Oct 1931, LGD V/Carnegie).

⁷³³ Morley, “Letter to Merriam,” 10 Oct 1931, LGD V/Carnegie. As an example, Morley further mentions to Merriam her theories about postures in the photographs by the Le Plongesons, “that every Indian posed in LePlongeon’s pictures was posed for a special purpose, either pointing a gun where hidden treasure was to be found, or indicating with a finger a secret chamber, or pointing with a machete where certain secret symbols were to be found” (ibid.). Blackwell gave similar information to Frans Blom, when she wrote: “The manner in which Dr[.] Le Plongeon placed each human figure and the raised arms, the rifle in Madame Plongeon’s arm, also the man in the door, in front of him the (faded) photographs shows a Rifle pointing up. The Plan showed a concealed room. Placed with these plans and photographs was a photograph of Madame LePlongeon with finger to her lip. But also ~~the~~ men are looking up” (Blackwell, “Letter to Blom,” 18 Aug 1931, p.1, LGD V/Tulane). However, Morley ultimately concluded that much as he wished this to be true, he believed it to be unadulterated “Blah,” although – obviously Blackwell herself believed every word of it (see Morley, “Letter to Merriam,” 10 Oct 1931, p. 5, LGD V/Carnegie).

important, however, Alice Le Plongeon is not particularly mentioned in the letters by Blom at all; mostly, Blom refers to the “Le Plongeon” or directly to Augustus.⁷³⁴

In the following years, the materials of Augustus and Alice Le Plongeon wandered through various hands and institutions that are detailed exhaustively in Lawrence Desmond’s biography of Alice Le Plongeon (2009). In 1931, Manly P. Hall of the Philosophical Research Institution purchased hundreds of the Le Plongeon’s negatives, tracings of murals, prints, and other materials, while Maude Blackwell kept a large number of prints, lantern slides, as well as parts of Alice Le Plongeon’s writings, e.g. her unpublished manuscript “Yucatan” and her diaries as well as unpublished papers.⁷³⁵ These were compiled, along the rest of the materials of the Le Plongeon, by Maude Blackwell until her death in a large crate that was delivered to Professor William D. Strong at Columbia University and then moved to Gordon Ekholm in the department of anthropology at the American Museum of Natural History.⁷³⁶

There, the materials remained untouched for twenty-five years until Lawrence Desmond came across the trunk with the materials in 1980.⁷³⁷ Since his early research of Augustus Le Plongeon, Desmond devoted the larger part of his career to the study of the Le Plongeon. Today, the Peabody Museum at Harvard University possesses various prints made by Alice Le Plongeon from the same negative she used to make prints for the governor of Yucatán, Eligio Ancona, in 1876 that Ancona had deposited in the Mérida Museum.⁷³⁸ Today, Alice Dixon Le Plongeon’s papers and articles are stored in conjunction with her husband’s in a unified collection at the Getty Research Institute in Los Angeles.

Moreover, recently bequeathed to the Getty Research Institute, the “Lawrence Gustave Desmond Papers Relating to Augustus and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon” exemplify a striking situation about material concerning a couple in a work relationship. In the collection, letters to fellow researchers indicate that Desmond began working on Augustus Le Plongeon and only succinctly mentioned his wife Alice Dixon Le Plongeon. Over the course of his extensive research, this drastically changed and eventually led to the publication of Alice’s diaries from their joint Yucatán excursion from 1873 to 1876.⁷³⁹ Through the years of the

⁷³⁴ “I wish to emphasize that full credit and recognition shall be given to the Le Plongeon. He was a strange man. Some of his ideas were fantastic, others were sound, but presented fifty years to [sic] early. Today he might have been better understood” (Blom, “Letter to Blackwell,” 22 Jul 1931, p.2, AADP LIX/2).

⁷³⁵ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 338.

⁷³⁶ See *ibid.* 339.

⁷³⁷ See *ibid.*

⁷³⁸ See *ibid.* 328.

⁷³⁹ Moreover, the Desmond Collection shows contacts to Ross Parmenter, who intended to publish a biography about Zelia Nuttall, but passed away before he could finish the manuscript. In the correspondence it becomes clear, that again, Parmenter initially began working on a bibliography and short biography on Alphonse Louis Pinart, Zelia Nuttall’s husband, and only through research on him learned about Zelia Nuttall.

collection, it becomes obvious that over the years Desmond gradually realized the importance of Alice and her own career. In addition, for the purpose of this chapter, it becomes increasingly obvious that a transnational archive specifically for women would have been detrimental. In the same way that an archive as envisioned by Mary Beard would have contributed to the legacy of Miriam Leslie, storing Le Plongeon's materials disconnected separately from of her husband in such an international archive for women would have been equally unsuited as her life and work can best be analyzed in conjunction with her husband.

Zelia Nuttall and the Failed Casa Alvarado Institution

Zelia Nuttall's legacy can be associated with the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology. Despite the International School having faded away in 1914, although attempts had been made to continue operating,⁷⁴⁰ with the outbreak of World War I, Nuttall continued to champion her vision of an institutionalization of archaeological studies in Mexico. As an intellectual successor of the International School, in the proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Americanists a small note read: "Mrs. Nuttall expressed her desire to establish at her residence, Casa Alvarado, Coyoacan, D.F., Mexico, a home for anthropology and anthropological studies."⁷⁴¹

Political tensions in Mexico in the 1910s and 1920s made the realization of this project difficult. However, the establishment of this "home" preoccupied Nuttall in the later years. In a letter to Dr. Robert W. De Forest, a benefactor of Nuttall's, Franz Boas explains his desire to reestablish the International School, saying that it "did good work a few years until, owing to the World War and to the revolutions of Mexico, its work was suspended."⁷⁴² Furthermore, articulating how Nuttall had been interested in reviving the International School, Boas asserts:

Mrs. Nuttall would like to give up her house, which would make an excellent home for such a school. She believes that a reestablishment of the school on the former basis would be acceptable in Mexico at the present time. I believe also that international cooperation on the earlier basis could be attained again.⁷⁴³

⁷⁴⁰ A note in the *American Anthropologist* in 1916 indicates that at a meeting of the Managing Committee of the International School of Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico held in New York on January 24, Señor Luis Castillo Ledón was elected President of the Managing Committee and Señor Manuel Gamio "Encargado de los trabajos. The work of the School for the present year will be under Senor Gamio's direction (see "Anthropological Notes" 150).

⁷⁴¹ Parmenter, "Glimpses" 135.

⁷⁴² Ibid. 138.

⁷⁴³ Parmenter, "Glimpses" 139.

It is apparent that Boas had underestimated the political climate as well as other critical factors in the reestablishment of the school. Quickly, on October 14, 1928, Nuttall responded to Boas:

Your letter was a surprise to me & showed me that you have misunderstood my plan about my house. I now understand why you think that my owning it is a drawback to my project. Some years ago a wealthy banker asked me to let him know whenever I wanted to sell it & since then has repeated his desire to buy it. As you know it is a fine specimen of Colonial architecture & its garden that I have worked over for 26 years makes it a show place that I need not consider unsaleable – on the contrary. But I love the old place & wish to have it a public building after my death so that my library and collections can remain in it & it can be enjoyed by my colleagues & countrymen. Therefore I am going to establish in it an institution for the promotion of science in Mexico, in which many of my friends are now interested. If I had known that you had been planning “to re-establish the International School of American Archaeology & Ethnology on its former basis” I would have told you that, under the changed conditions in Mexico & the decided anti-foreign animus, this project is absolutely out of the question. Contrary to what you write I do not believe that a re-establishment of the school on the former basis will ever again be acceptable in Mexico. Nor do I share your optimism that international co-operation could be obtained.⁷⁴⁴

She also made it very clear that she did not want to give up the house, for she intended to live in it until her passing away.⁷⁴⁵ Parmenter recalls in his analysis of the Boas-Nuttall correspondence in the aftermath of this letter that their relationship was to be shaken. Essentially, in outlining her project establishing “an institution for the promotion of science in Mexico,” Nuttall opposed the competing project of Boas and his intentions for the reestablishment of the International School.⁷⁴⁶ In the second to last letter in the Boas-Nuttall correspondence, Nuttall wrote to Boas:

Pres. Magoffin of the Arch. Institute of America has expressed a keen interest in the plan & desire that the foundation be a branch of the Arch. Institute on a broader basis however – to extend not only to Archaeology, but also to linguistics, geology, botany, etc.⁷⁴⁷

With only an abrupt answer to the final letter of the exchange between her and Boas, the correspondence ends. However, with Boas, Nuttall lost an internationally renowned figure in American archaeology as a champion for her idea. Also, with many of her former contacts, acquaintances and friendships having faded away, Nuttall’s position was further weakened and, from a scientific standpoint, fell into obscurity, not only because over the course of her long career Nuttall lost touch with the new generation of researchers, but also, in a way, because of her residence in Mexico; she had withdrawn from the American academic community and her ties with the University of California had dwindled away.⁷⁴⁸ This can be paired with the fact that Nuttall once more became occupied with archaeological findings (the

⁷⁴⁴ Ibid. 140.

⁷⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁶ See *ibid.* 142.

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid. 143.

⁷⁴⁸ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 1509.

1932 discovery of Monte Alban's jewelry, etc.). Ultimately, Nuttall, according to Parmenter, was "too busy to do much about establishing her foundation,"⁷⁴⁹ with the effect that her plans for the institution at Casa Alvarado did not come to fruition.

With the failure to establish Casa Alvarado as a school of archaeology, Nuttall directed her attention towards forming a legacy through another project. The ancient Central American celebrations on the solar zenith passages – the yearly ritual cycle on the shadowless moment that occurs at noontime when the sun passes overhead twice a year – was a rite so entrenched in the Mesoamerican culture that the Spanish conquistadors, thinking it connected with idolatry and devil worship, systematically ordered the custom of celebrating it to be abolished.⁷⁵⁰ Nuttall became aware of this tradition in the 1920s and repeatedly called attention to the ancient custom of the solar zenith passage and its importance to pre-Columbian cultures in Central America. Beginning during the winter of 1926-27, she read a paper on this subject before scholarly societies in Oxford, Rome, Washington, and Mexico City.⁷⁵¹ She subsequently published several papers on this topic.⁷⁵² In her 1932 paper "Comunicación sobre un Monumento en Monte Albán de gran importancia," published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, Nuttall specifically suggests that the monument at Monte Albán be investigated with this function in mind.⁷⁵³ Although today viewed as a difficult piece of research,⁷⁵⁴ Nuttall tried to reconnect the native population with their ancient pre-Columbian past, outlawed by Spanish imperialist oppression, through this celebration. Aguilar y Santillan, founder of the Alzate Society in 1884, was also a supporter of Nuttall's sun festival.⁷⁵⁵ Nuttall also tried to introduce Mexican educators to the institution of a celebration of this Aztec New Year's Day in schools⁷⁵⁶ – successfully. As an article in the *Pittsburg Press* reads:

School children of Peru are being urged to revive one of the most picturesque and important customs of the ancient inhabitants of tropical America – the celebration of the old native new year's day. Last year, young Mexicans revived the festival, which is in accordance with the archaeological findings of Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, well known specialist in Mexican archaeology.⁷⁵⁷

⁷⁴⁹ Parmenter, "Glimpses" 146.

⁷⁵⁰ See Aveni, *The Book of the Year* 15.

⁷⁵¹ See Parmenter, "Zelia Magdalena Nuttall" 641.

⁷⁵² For example, "The New Year of Tropical American Indigenes" (1928), "La Observación del Paso del Sol al Zenit" (1928), "Reviving Ancient American Ceremony" (1928), and "The Cult of the Sun at its Zenith in Ancient Mexico" (1930), among others.

⁷⁵³ See ZN, "Comunicación" 24.

⁷⁵⁴ See Schavelzon, "¿Un observatorio no observado?" 79.

⁷⁵⁵ See Parmenter, "Recovery" 1529.

⁷⁵⁶ See Parmenter, "Zelia Magdalena Nuttall" 642.

⁷⁵⁷ "Peruvians May Revive Custom" 8.

Nuttall interpreted the moment when an object was entirely shadowless as the descent of the sun-god and knew that it meant the coming of the rains and that crops must be planted.⁷⁵⁸ Nuttall intended the revival of this phenomenon to be as a school festival throughout Mexico and with the institutional help of the Geographical Society of Lima to be instituted as a national festival for children throughout Peru.⁷⁵⁹

Nuttall's 75th birthday, on September 6, 1932, went mostly unnoticed; plans for a *Festschrift* in her honor never came to fruition.⁷⁶⁰ Only a few months later, Nuttall died on May 13, 1933. Six days later, on May 17, 1933, the Geographic Society held a memorial meeting for Nuttall in which the newly appointed ambassador Daniels and Nuttall's grandson John Laughton participated.⁷⁶¹ Only days later, on April 18, 1933, the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística – of which Nuttall had been a member for 27 years – celebrated its 100th anniversary.⁷⁶²

Only shortly after her death, her Casa Alvarado fell into the hands of private owners, her legacy and heritage were broken up, her library was sold and burned, and so on. Obituaries appeared not only in the prestigious *American Anthropologist* with Alfred M. Tozzer's praise of Nuttall, but also in Mexico by Federic Gomez de Orozco, who published his appreciation of Nuttall in the *Boletín del Museo Nacional de Mexico* as well as a short piece in *El Palacio* and George C. Vaillant's piece in the respectable *Natural History* journal. All of them reflected Nuttall's live and professional engagement in Central American archaeology, anthropology, history, and botany. Philip Aimsforth Means' piece that was published in the US-Mexican *Hispanic-American Historical Review* was a greater personal reflection on his relationship with Nuttall from the perspective of a visit to Casa Alvarado in 1925-26, more appropriately named "Zelia Nuttall: An Appreciation." While obituaries praising Nuttall's accomplishments were numerous and published in many countries, including in the USA, Mexico, France, Germany, and England, her life quickly vanished from the disciplinary consciousness.

Although "fellow anthropologists obviously had so much respect for her work that they did not dismiss her as an interfering society woman,"⁷⁶³ anthropology, having a

⁷⁵⁸ See *ibid.*

⁷⁵⁹ See "Anthropological Notes and News" 364.

⁷⁶⁰ Parmenter argues, colleagues such as W.H. Holmes or Max Uhle and others from a younger generation felt concerns for their reputation to undertake the task of organizing a *Festschrift*. Not only had her ties with the University of California long dwindled away; also, by taking up residence in Mexico, Parmenter reasons, Nuttall had withdrawn from the American academic community too far (see Parmenter, "Recovery" 1509).

⁷⁶¹ See *ibid.* 1535.

⁷⁶² See *ibid.* 1529.

⁷⁶³ Parmenter, "Glimpses" 94.

complicated history⁷⁶⁴ as Peter Hulme and Russell McDougall formulate, in its beginning moment “was particularly concerned to discount the contributions of any possible precursors who were non-professionals in the formal sense of not holding paid positions as anthropologists.”⁷⁶⁵ Equally intransigent towards historical persons who were perceived to be non-professionals, archaeology was also the “less welcoming science” compared to social anthropology, according to Hilary Lynn Chester.⁷⁶⁶ In archaeology, “credentialed salaried professionals designate the domain and it mirrors their disciplinary boundaries and scale.”⁷⁶⁷ Also in the development of the historical profession, Peter Novick links professionalization, with its insistence on professional autonomy, to “the establishment of norms of objectivity,” and a national scope to “transcend provincialism and particularism.”⁷⁶⁸

In his obituary, George C. Vaillant already hinted at the seemingly predestined lack of research on Nuttall: “A great historian, a great botanist, and a true intellectual, Zelia Nuttall lived a full and rich life.”⁷⁶⁹ Even more so, Nuttall “was not solely an archaeologist and historian” but “also an ardent horticulturalist.”⁷⁷⁰ As Ross Parmenter remarks, and as cited repeatedly in this dissertation, Zelia Nuttall transcended the boundaries of disciplines in “overflowing the frame” and was thereby subject to any measures that would eliminate her from the establishment of a genesis of a disciplinary historical identity.

As with Alice Le Plongeon, research on Nuttall in this era failed mostly due to a lack of feminist approaches to the work of Nuttall that had always been interdisciplinary and transcending boundaries on multiple levels. In the absence of any approaches breaking up or looking beyond disciplinary boundaries, research on Nuttall could only rely on disciplinary histories that were not only male-bound but also deeply national in outreach (focused on the national level of the respective disciplines). Later, Apen Ruiz recognized that Nuttall “was indeed at the central scene of archaeological action and had a crucial role in Mexican archaeology during the late 19th and the early 20th century.”⁷⁷¹ Yet, “she did not become a ‘legitimate witness’ to be a protagonist in the existing histories of archaeology, either in Mexico or the US.”⁷⁷² Nuttall, as an internationally traveling American and an “integral

⁷⁶⁴ Hulme/McDougall, “Margins of Anthropology” 1.

⁷⁶⁵ Ibid. 3.

⁷⁶⁶ Chester, “Frances Eliza Babbitt” 179.

⁷⁶⁷ Kehoe, *Land of Prehistory* 213-4.

⁷⁶⁸ See Novick, *Noble Dream* 511.

⁷⁶⁹ Vaillant, “Madame Zelia Nuttall” 454.

⁷⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷⁷¹ Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 237-8.

⁷⁷² Ruiz, “Insiders and Outsiders” 238.

outsider” in Mexico, was not covered by the national historiographies of Mexico; she also fell out of the nationalist framework within the United States.

Nuttall’s will was written in Spanish, aided by Joaquín Cortina, and executed by Perry Allen, a lawyer from Boston.⁷⁷³ Parmenter explains that Laughton learned that the Mexican government wanted to acquire Casa Alvarado as a national monument;⁷⁷⁴ however, this would take time to complete. It would take four more years until a new buyer for Casa Alvarado would be found: Thomas Briscoe Miller, a Texan owner of an automobile agency, who was able to acquire the house, all its possessions, and the extensive grounds by agreeing to pay Nuttall’s debts.⁷⁷⁵ Unfortunately, Nuttall’s library was broken up and sold: it included between thirty and forty thousand volumes, subsequently sold to Editorial Porrúa.⁷⁷⁶ Moreover, hundreds of letters she had saved, including, probably, the originals of those from Boas, were consigned to flames.⁷⁷⁷

It was only after the acquisition of Casa Alvarado by Miller in 1976 that the house was declared a national monument; when Miller sold it, Alvarado grossed \$750,000, and the sale ended the house’s career as a domestic residence.⁷⁷⁸ Its further fate saw a second sale to Miguel de la Madrid, president of Mexico (1982-1988), who turned the house into a bureau to chronicle his administrations; however, it was ultimately moved to the Archivo General de la Nación, San Lazaro and substituted with the library of the National Library of Planning.⁷⁷⁹ The building continued to be used in official Mexican functions, e.g. as the library of the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit, as a library for the Ministry of Education, home of the Encyclopedia of Mexico, Bureau of Statistics, the Octavio Paz Foundation.⁷⁸⁰ In 2004, the National Council for Culture and Arts decreed that Casa Alvarado would house the Fonoteca Nacional (the National Sound Archives).⁷⁸¹ One year later, in 2005, extensive restoration work took place in order to reconstitute Casa Alvarado’s architectural conditions and its original colors; in addition, the historical gardens were restored to their original state thanks to the project of the Dutch architect Kees van Rooij.⁷⁸²

⁷⁷³ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 1510.

⁷⁷⁴ See *ibid.* 1535.

⁷⁷⁵ See *ibid.* 1536.

⁷⁷⁶ See *ibid.* 1537.

⁷⁷⁷ See Parmenter, “Glimpses” 146.

⁷⁷⁸ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 1537.

⁷⁷⁹ See *ibid.* 1538.

⁷⁸⁰ See “Casa Alvarado.”

⁷⁸¹ See *ibid.*

⁷⁸² See *ibid.*

Aside from her estate falling apart, her library and collection being torn apart, and Nuttall's failed vision of turning Casa Alvarado into a facility to foster learning about Mexico's past, anthropology and archaeology, her work on the shadowless moment celebrations proved to be a long-lasting part of her legacy. It was initiated during her life (a school performance was made), but the celebrations – in remembrance of the past civilizations – were continued after her death. However, in contrast to Alice Le Plongeon, a collection separate from her husband would have been most appropriate for all the protagonists in this study. In Nuttall's case, the international archives of Schwimmer could have prevented exclusion of Nuttall from the memory of archaeology. Essentially, a transnational actor such as Nuttall would have necessitated archives that could cover the transnational career and would at least have to incorporate two major geographical settings: the Peabody Museum at Harvard in the United States and possibly the Casa Alvarado in Mexico City.

Lady Drummond-Hay: Aerial Records and a Trophy

When Drummond-Hay died, the obituary in the *Milwaukee Sentinel* quoted her as a writer and traveler, yet praised her only for her trip aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* in 1928 and 1929 as well as for being Karl von Wiegand's assistant.⁷⁸³ Praising Drummond-Hay as being a prolific journalist while not elaborating her journalism was to embody the research in the subsequent years.

Particularly in the period only shortly after Drummond-Hay's death, if at all, her aerial adventures aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* in 1928 and 1929 were mentioned as well as her visits to the rocket testing sites in Germany. For example, in his 1959 book on the German industry *Die Große Zeit des Feuers*, Count Lutz Schwerin von Krosigk mentions Drummond-Hay's work in journalism; von Krosigk refers to Drummond-Hay visiting rocket tests by Klaus Riedel and Rudolf Nebel in 1930, whose tested fuel would later be used for the V2.⁷⁸⁴ That same incident was also depicted as part of an article series titled "A Thousand Years Like a Day" in the German journal *Der Stern* by Hans Nogly with the rather frivolous heading "The Lady and the Young Men" (1958).⁷⁸⁵ The articles recount the events in 1930 at the rocket

⁷⁸³ See "Lady Drummond-Hay, Writer, Traveler Dies" 3.

⁷⁸⁴ Krosigk cites Drummond-Hay's impressions: "In 1930, the engineer Klaus Riedel and the war pilot Rudolf Nebel designed experimental rockets with a nerve-damaging, stomach-cramping noise – as Lady Drummond-Hay wrote – which I, like everyone else, feared terribly" (Krosigk, *Zeit des Feuers* 73). The original German quotation: "1930 konstruierten der Ingenieur Klaus Riedel und der Kampfpilot Rudolf Nebel Versuchsraketen mit einem – wie Lady Drummond-Hay schrieb – 'nervenzerrütenden, magenverkrampfenden Getöse, vor dem ich mich, wie alle anderen auch, entsetzlich fürchtete'" (ibid).

⁷⁸⁵ German: "Die Lady und die jungen Männer."

testing sites, their experiences with the rocket MIRAK 1, and feature Drummond-Hay visiting the area. She is described as: “English, writing articles for American newspapers and residing in Berlin.”⁷⁸⁶ Remarking on her appearance, “the lady wore a slimline ladies’ suit, her hair wrapped in a scarf. She looked very attractive and very distant.”⁷⁸⁷ That very incident was later to be fictionalized by Ulrich Woelk in *Der Mann im Mond* (2012).⁷⁸⁸

Apart from short remarks about Drummond-Hay’s journalistic efforts as in Schwerin (1959) or Nogly (1958), most of the comments address her time as assistant to Karl von Wiegand during World War II and afterwards. In these cases, ever since she assumed the position of von Wiegand’s assistant in 1939,⁷⁸⁹ Drummond-Hay’s professionalism was almost entirely reduced being to his assistant or “cosmopolitan assistant,” even by Wiegand himself.⁷⁹⁰ Apart from being directly referred to as his assistant, Drummond-Hay was assigned another term: von Wiegand’s “girl Friday.” In her obituary, from the *Milestones* magazine, Drummond-Hay is stated to have been “peacetime British aviatrix, wartime Girl Friday (through Jap captivity in Manila) to Hearst’s aged (72), No. 1 Foreign Correspondent Karl H. von Wiegand.”⁷⁹¹ The expression “girl Friday” was, according to Bell, an expression that carried no age connotation⁷⁹² and is a coinage derived from the “man Friday,” which in turn is derived from the character Friday in Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Similarly, as for the character Friday in the novel, the “girl Friday” is “a loyal and trusted subordinate.”⁷⁹³

Even before, but solidifying after Drummond-Hay’s death in 1946, her legacy began fading away quickly – particularly her career and achievements in journalism. Drummond-Hay’s most famous achievements were already fading by the time of her disappearance from the international news scene with the imprisonment in Manila in 1941 – more than a decade before her death – and might have already vanished from the general memory of the time. Drummond-Hay’s death and legacy in 1946, too, coincided with the ultimate incision in the

⁷⁸⁶ Nogly, “Die Lady und die jungen Männer” 56, KHWP LVI/Biographical.

⁷⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸⁸ The play, which tells retrospectively the biography of the rocket engineer Wernher von Braun, a slightly altered adaptation of Ulrich Woelk’s libretto *Wernher von Braun* (2012), fictionalizes this meeting between the main protagonist von Braun and Drummond-Hay.

⁷⁸⁹ “G. Drummond-Hay, Journalist, Dead” 20. Despite the obituary in the *New York Times*, Drummond-Hay herself remarked in her diary that, in 1941, “Karl H. von Wiegand, veteran American Foreign Correspondent, has offered me the position of assistant correspondent” (LDH, “Diary 1941” 1, KHWP LVI/Diary-1941).

⁷⁹⁰ Varied sources reference this piece of information, e.g. KHW, “Red, Underground, Map Purge” 2; KHW, “Storm Clouds” 4; “British Aviatrix, Journalist, Dies” 2; Desmond, *Tides o War* 204; Weintraub, *A Long Day’s Journey* 170, among others.

⁷⁹¹ “Milestones.”

⁷⁹² See Bell, “Double Standard” 143.

⁷⁹³ Elwood, *Inessa Armand* 125.

20th century – the end of World War II – which might have contributed to her vanishing into oblivion. Already in 1937, when considering the Peat Lecture Tour, von Wiegand warned Drummond-Hay about her fading from the public eye: “Objectively considered, it is a fact that is undeniable that you have been out of the public eye too long to be a really good drawing card at present.”⁷⁹⁴ This fading away, in the case of Drummond-Hay, is particularly linked to her inability to travel and cross national and cultural borders.

In contrast to the quickly faded recognition of Lady Drummond-Hay’s achievements in journalism, her engagement in aviation was much more appreciated and lingered throughout the twentieth century. Only shortly after Drummond-Hay’s passing away in 1946, the Lady Drummond-Hay Trophy was initiated by the Women’s International Association of Aeronautics. Described as a “prestigious and highly coveted trophy,”⁷⁹⁵ the trophy cup (see fig. 1) was awarded to women who excelled in flying and recognized their aerial achievements. It, however, made no reference to whether the trophy was awarded due to Drummond-Hay’s engagement as president of the WIAA from the 1930s until 1942 or to her own achievements in flying (namely the first transoceanic crossing of the *Graf Zeppelin* airship in 1928, the 1929 globe circumnavigation in said aircraft, her flights in the Dornier Do-X in 1930, her participation in air races, etc.).



Fig. 1: Lady Grace Drummond-Hay / Jesse R. Chamberlain Memorial Trophy

⁷⁹⁴ KHW, “Letter to LDH,” 29 Jan 1937, p.2, KHWP IX/1937.

⁷⁹⁵ Bower, *The Flying Cashier* 138.

The trophy recognized records in flying as well as more general achievements, e.g. in 1959, laureate Blanche Noyes was awarded for her “outstanding service in the pioneering and promotion of aeronautics.”⁷⁹⁶ Also, on June 22, 1954, the trophy was awarded to the aforementioned Viola Gentry for her courage and devotion to aviation.⁷⁹⁷ The 1954 laureate was best known for her record of the first non-refueling endurance record for women when she flew for eight hours and six minutes.

The inaugural trophy was awarded in 1948 to the Ninety-Nines: International Organization of Women Pilots and their All Women’s Air Races at Miami,⁷⁹⁸ for “having the greatest number of planes entered in any derby and arriving at Miami.”⁷⁹⁹ The trophy in memory of Lady Drummond-Hay by the New York branch of the WIAA was presented by Mrs. Jessie R. Chamberlain to Marjorie Davis, national representative of the Ninety-Nines Club (for licensed women pilots), at the All Women’s World Air Show held on June 5 and 6, 1948, at Amelia Earhart Field.⁸⁰⁰

The trophy was awarded regularly through the 1950s,⁸⁰¹ with recipients like Jacqueline Cochran (1951),⁸⁰² (Mrs. Walter) Olive Ann (Mellor) Beech (1952),⁸⁰³ Cecil (“Teddy”) Kenyon (1953),⁸⁰⁴ the aforementioned Viola Gentry (1954),⁸⁰⁵ Gloria Heath for distinguished service in air safety (1955),⁸⁰⁶ Marjorie M. Gray (1956),⁸⁰⁷ and Blanche Noyes (1959).⁸⁰⁸ The trophy continued to be awarded to women of distinction in aviation during the 1960s, to flyers such as Dr. Dora Dougherty (Strothers) (1961),⁸⁰⁹ Fay Gillis Wells (1963),⁸¹⁰ Selma Cronan

⁷⁹⁶ “Mrs. Blanche Noyes” 15.

⁷⁹⁷ See Bower, *The Flying Cashier* 139. According to Bower, for Gentry this trophy was not only just an award, it was furthermore a material recognition for her achievements in the field of flight as well as a sentimental treasure, a symbol of their close friendship (see Bower, *Flying Cashier* 138).

⁷⁹⁸ See Brick, “New York-New Jersey Chapter” 3. In contrast, *The Ninety-Nines: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow* states the 1948 recipient of the trophy to be as Katherine A. Menges-Brick in 1948 (Hollander/Jessen/West, *Ninety-Nines* 63). Further complicating the dating, Doris H. Renninger claimed in 1973 that the trophy was established in 1949 (“News Briefs: Sheila Scott” 5.).

⁷⁹⁹ Noyes, “Cloak of Glory” 8.

⁸⁰⁰ See “Trophy Presented” 21.

⁸⁰¹ A typed list of women who were awarded the Lady Drummond-Hay Trophy covering the years 1950 to 1961 can be found in the Women’s International Association of Aeronautics Collection at the University of Southern California Library. Los Angeles, California (see McCann, “Feminine Wings” 156).

⁸⁰² “Jacqueline Cochran: Career Highlights.” Dating the trophy is sometimes problematic. For Cochran, a newspaper article in the *Brooklyn Eagle* claims that she received the trophy in 1951 for 1950 (see “Jacquelin Cochran to Receive Trophy” 17).

⁸⁰³ “Contemporary Honors Award Recipient: Olive Ann (Mellor) Beech, 1989”; see Reilly, “Lament for the Bride” 23.

⁸⁰⁴ “Barnstormer Cecil Kenyon dies” 3C.

⁸⁰⁵ See “Lady Hay Drummond-Hay Air Trophy Presented to Flier” 25; Chipman, “Daring Women Pilot” 23; “Viola Gentry Honored” 25.

⁸⁰⁶ See Sadtler, “N.Y.-N.J.” 3.

⁸⁰⁷ Sue, “Defying Gravity.”

⁸⁰⁸ “Mrs. Blanche Noyes” 15.

⁸⁰⁹ “Dr. Dora Dougherty to Speak” 1.

⁸¹⁰ Abbate, “Fay Gillis Wells.”

(1967),⁸¹¹ and Jean Ross Howard Phelan (1969).⁸¹² In the 1970s, the trophy name was merged into the Lady Drummond-Hay/Jesse R. Chamberlain Memorial Trophy.⁸¹³ However, information about the trophy becomes sparse in the 1970s, and after that it seems to have been discontinued. The last recipients for which information could be found were Page Schamburger (1971),⁸¹⁴ Sheila Scott (1973),⁸¹⁵ and Mary Tracy Gaffeney (1974).⁸¹⁶

After her death, Drummond-Hay's writings and collected materials fell into the hands of her long-time partner, Karl Henry von Wiegand. Presumably, von Wiegand collected her belongings and kept them together with his own materials until his death in 1962. The combined archives were acquired by the Hoover Institution Archives at Stanford University in California in 1975 from von Wiegand's estate.⁸¹⁷ The bulk of material about and by her, many of her papers, correspondences, books, memorabilia, etc. are stored *within* the Karl von Wiegand collection in Stanford, rendering her almost invisible regarding the archival preservation of primary source material of women. It is an example of how the "ghostly presence" of women still persists. There, Drummond-Hay's materials remain in the status of "subsumed" materials, included into another man's materials, and do not stand on their own. However, as in the latter years of her career, Drummond-Hay increasingly functioned as assistant to von Wiegand (mainly because of his complicated health issues) and their working careers were partly intertwined; a separation – similar to Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon – or a distinct breaking up of the materials seems illogical as this would simultaneously erase the close connections between von Wiegand and Drummond-Hay.

Like the WCWA and Rosika Schwimmer's attempt, the collection of materials of the WIAA could have prevented Drummond-Hay from being forgotten. Essentially, Linda McCann's dissertation on the role of Drummond-Hay in the aviation association proves that such a collection was able to cover internationally active members and agents beyond the boundaries of national canons. As a Briton, Drummond-Hay had a deep impact on American aviation with the trophy named after her. On the other hand, Drummond-Hay's close

⁸¹¹ Wyal, *WASP Newsletter* 1.

⁸¹² "Biographical Note."

⁸¹³ See Hollander/Jessen/West, *Ninety-Nines* 199.

⁸¹⁴ Shamburger received the joint Lady Drummond-Hay/Jesse R. Chamberlain Memorial Trophy (see *ibid.*).

⁸¹⁵ Sewell, "President's column" IFC.

⁸¹⁶ Gaffeney, as Schamburger, received the joint Lady Drummond-Hay/ Jesse R. Chamberlain Memorial Trophy (see Hollander/Jessen/West, *Ninety-Nines* 25).

⁸¹⁷ Moussavi, *Guide to the Hanna Collection and Related Archival Materials at the Hoover Institution* 188. An increment to the collection, consisting of 16 photographic prints depicting the Graf Zeppelin's around-the-world voyage in 1929 was added in 1988 (see Leadenham, "RE: Acquisition Karl von Wiegand Collection").

association with Karl-Henry von Wiegand over the course of her career would have caused this connection to be lost or necessitated a reconstruction of said relationship.

5. The Multifaceted Female Voice: Travel and Language

This chapter examines the connection between the writing and publication of women's texts, their authorial voices, and the geographical experience, i.e. as travelistic experience (e.g. travelogues, ethnographical writing, articles and books, etc.). Firstly, the chapter exposes the deeply hierarchical relationship between the protagonists and other people in foreign landscapes as a relation that can be analyzed in terms of the picturesque aesthetic. The picturesque mode as a well-established pictorial tradition was not only a way of perceiving foreign landscapes and people but also a crucial factor in organizing the respective works of the protagonists. Secondly, this chapter addresses the multilingual ability of the protagonists in relation to the production of knowledge. It poses that the ability to speak multiple languages not only enabled the protagonists to access and acquire information necessary for the output of publications but also gave them the ability to publish in multiple languages and thereby gain a greater international publication syndicate.

5.1. The Female Imperial Gaze and the Picturesque Aesthetic

In her book *Looking for the Other* (1997), E. Ann Kaplan asks: "What happens when white people look at non-whites?"¹ In her study, one of her key assumptions is that looking is never innocent: looking relations are always determined by the cultural systems people traveling bring with them.² Traveling into contact zones, and imperial landscapes that naturalize unequal social conditions, exploitation, and violence to justify and maintain political power,³ cultural encounters involve looking at, and looking relations with, peoples different from oneself.⁴ According to James, the traveler-narrator is the one who is observing imperial landscapes and peoples from an elevated vantage point that highlights their physical and metaphorical separation and solidifies an imperial hierarchy in which these travelers stand above and control indigenous colonial subjects and environments.⁵

Distinguishing between looking and gazing, Kaplan reserves the term "look" to connote a process or a relation, while using the word "gaze" for a specific one-way subjective

¹ Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* 4.

² See *ibid.* 6. Similar to John Berger (1972), who finds that "looking" per se might be considered a relatively neutral activity, yet it actually carries with it relations of power, access, and control (see Walters, *Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory* 51).

³ Maxwell, *Romantic Revisions* 52-3.

⁴ See Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* 5.

⁵ See James, *Econarratology and Postcolonial Narratives* 252.

vision.⁶ In other words, for Kaplan, the gaze sets a hierarchical perspective in connoting an active subject versus a passive object.⁷ In this regard, the gaze during a cultural encounter in a contact zone is reminiscent of Mary Louise Pratt's "seeing-man": a designation for the European male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes look out and possess,⁸ a protagonist of what Pratt refers to as "anti-conquest."⁹ Thus, according to Peter Beardsell, the gaze has the function of establishing a subject-object relationship as it indicates at its point of emanation the location of the subject and at its point of contact the location of the object.¹⁰ In that regard, Pratt, Beardsell, and Ann Kaplan recognize the deeply hierarchical nature of this relationship: "the subject bearing the gaze is not interested in the object per se, but consumed with his own anxieties, which inevitably intermixed with desire."¹¹

In order to historicize the notion of an imperial gaze from a feminist perspective, it is necessary to acknowledge that "woman" developed as a cultural and social category, and particularly with regard to the female imperial gaze a complicated category, since it provoked patriarchal control over locating woman as an object of the dominating male gaze.¹² Influenced by Walter Benjamin's seminal essay *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1936), John Berger, in his study *Ways of Seeing* (1972), remarks that, in the patriarchal culture with its imbalance between male and female power, women are positioned as the passive object of the male look:¹³ "*men act and women appear. Men look at women.*"¹⁴ For Berger, women are depicted in quite a different way from men because the "ideal" spectator is always assumed to be male and the image of woman is designed to flatter him.¹⁵

⁶ See Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* xvi.

⁷ See Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* xviii.

⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 7.

⁹ Pratt relates to the concept of anti-conquest the "strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony" (ibid.).

¹⁰ See Beardsell, *Europe and Latin America* 8.

¹¹ Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* xviii.

¹² See ibid. 4. An analysis of contact zones and the female imperial gaze is naturally indebted to Edward Said and his seminal study *Orientalism* (1978) in explaining the perception that the occident constructed of people in countries of the "Orient." However, the female imperial gaze and particularly the aesthetic of the picturesque to be discussed in this chapter can be considered a more comprehensive trope than in terms of geographical applicability, mainly because picturesque descriptions can transcend vast geo-cultural locales and national boundaries – a unifying phenomenon by refracting local differences through a single lens (see Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire" 52).

¹³ See Walters, *Making Sense of Feminist Cultural Theory* 51.

¹⁴ Berger, *Ways of Seeing* 47.

¹⁵ See ibid. 64. Furthermore, in Sheila Contreras' exploration *Blood Lines* of hegemonial cultural encounters in Mexico, she finds that particularly indigenous subjects are rendered as female victims and conquerors as male aggressors. As much as such narratives operate to expose a submerged history of conquest violence, they also reinscribe and attribute a lack of agency to women and feminize victimization. Contreras concludes that even indigenous male subjects become "like women" in that they are subjugated as women are forever consigned to a state of powerlessness (see Contreras, *Blood Lines* 58-9).

Despite this, the dichotomous conceptualization of woman versus man, as subject versus object, and of woman as a naturalized category is considered too narrowly. The imperial gaze, or Pratt's seeing-man, from an intersectional perspective is not only gendered but also racially encoded: "only *white* people, i.e., those conceived as subjects, can observe and see."¹⁶ Concordantly, since non-whites are not constituted as subjects, they cannot look let alone gaze in the sense of dominating, assume a position of objectifying themselves.¹⁷ In other words, just as these women were objectified in colonial contexts (or were gazed upon as available objects in a colonial setting),¹⁸ equally white European, or in a broader sense Western, women who were traveling abroad could be complicit with asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination,¹⁹ even erotic subjugation,²⁰ and thereby assume a hierarchical position: the "seeing wo-man." This tradition depends on a notion of cultural superiority: the observer establishes a position of superiority over the observed, shared with the readers, while the subject of observation becomes iconized as an idealized Other.²¹

In her 1990 study on rhetorical strategies, Eva-Marie Kröller already finds in travel narratives by Victorian women multiple authorial personae that allowed them to be both accomplices in, and critics of, the business of imperialism.²² Sara Mills, in her seminal study on women's travel writing *Discourses of Difference* (1991), similarly finds that women writers in the nineteenth century produced texts that were in conflict with dominant travel narratives but at the same time contradicted their rebellious statements by re-inscribing conservative notions of gender and imperialism.²³ Thus, it cannot be said that the gaze of Western or European women was not without its colonizing attributes.²⁴ On the contrary, as Amy Kaplan in her essay "Manifest Domesticity" (1998) argues, women could be even more effective imperialists than their male counterparts, e.g. in penetrating those interior feminine colonial spaces, symbolized by the harem that remained inaccessible to male missionaries.²⁵

¹⁶ Kaplan, *Looking for the Other* 7.

¹⁷ See *ibid.*

¹⁸ For example, see Kirsten Fischer's article "The imperial Gaze: Native American, African American, and colonial women in European Eyes" (2005).

¹⁹ See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 4.

²⁰ As Justin D. Edwards explains: "Frequently, the American traveler describes the native Other as an erotic spectacle that is viewed as anomalous in relation to the Western norm. Under these circumstances the native is denied subjectivity and becomes a source of erotic fantasy, an image that frames him or her as sexually accessible to the imperial traveler. The American gaze, which works to undermine foreign subjectivities in this way, casts the other into an inferior mold by conceiving him/her as vulnerable to penetration and possession" (Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 12).

²¹ Foster/Mills, *Anthology of Travel Writing* 94.

²² See Kröller, "First Impressions" 87.

²³ See Mills, *Discourses of Difference* 99.

²⁴ See Desai, "In Search of the Sacred" 65.

²⁵ Kaplan, "Manifest Domesticity" 598.

Resulting from these travels and encounters in contact zones, the female imperial gaze of traveling women authors produced multiply coded and constructed images. This female imperial gaze was transformed, visually as well as textually, into pictures (paintings and photographs) and travelogues. Just like their male counterparts, women negotiated their voyeuristic gaze; a gaze through which, in other contexts, the picturesque aesthetic exerts its uncertain control over peoples, landscape and property.²⁶ In his article “Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze” (1998), John Marx holds the view that “the picturesque developed into a powerful tool for conceptualizing the colonial world”²⁷ and that this manifested in women’s travelogues,²⁸ e.g. Amelia Edwards’s *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1877), or the English traveler Fanny Parkes, who wandered across the Indian subcontinent in the 1830s and who relied on the picturesque as her lens for the scenes and incidences she described in her travelogue *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (1859).²⁹ Parkes expressed her love for her lifestyle when she remarked: “How I love this roaming life on the river, with the power of stopping at any picturesque spot!”³⁰ And although distinct from men, the female imperial gaze enveloped in the “feminine picturesque” develops as a peculiarly dual discourse: on one level, it is obedient and follows the strictures of sentimentality in complete acceptance of its own minority status, while on a more subversive level, it manipulates the terminology of the picturesque to lend a new violence to fragility, implicitly questioning the symbolic relevance of women to a colonial discourse.³¹

It can be argued that the picturesque is “a notoriously difficult category to define,”³² but in approaching the subject, as Jeffrey Auerbach recognizes, “the picturesque took as its starting point the idea that nature was imperfect and needed to be organized.”³³ It employed a formulaic method of composition that was based upon certain rules of classical proportion³⁴ and was most prominently elaborated on by William Gilpin in his *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty; On Picturesque Travel; and on Sketching Landscape* (1792). In his essays, he explains a dichotomy between objects that are *beautiful* and those that are *picturesque* – those which please the eye in their *natural state* compared to those, which

²⁶ See Jones, “The Coquetry of Nature” 121.

²⁷ Marx, “Female Imperial Gaze” 55.

²⁸ Travel writing here will be understood as an extension from literature, so to say, as it shares its constructedness and as John Conron finds, paintings, prose narratives, or landscape architecture are said to enact a “poetry of the scene” or are understood to “paint” scenes – the one with words, the other with terrain, foliage, water forms, and architectural forms (see Conron, *American Picturesque* xix).

²⁹ See Desai, “In Search of the Sacred” 65.

³⁰ Parkes, *Wanderings of a Pilgrim* 454.

³¹ See Goodyear, *The Rhetoric of English India* 78.

³² See Copley/Garside, “Introduction” 1.

³³ Auerbach, “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire” 48.

³⁴ See *ibid.*

please based on some quality and are capable of being *illustrated in painting*.³⁵ Gilpin most importantly emphasizes “that *roughness* forms the most essential point of difference between the *beautiful*, and the *picturesque*.”³⁶ Employed as a pictorial aesthetic, the picturesque was utilized and exemplified by William Hodges’ painting *Tahiti Revisited* (app. 1776), in which he divides the landscape into three distances: a darkened and detailed foreground, a strongly lit and deep-toned middle-ground, and a hazy background;³⁷ in other words, according to John Conron, the picturesque image is astir with energies and vibrant with color and light.³⁸

Regarding the application in travel writing, Tim Youngs finds that Gilpin’s version of the picturesque allows one to see more clearly what is implicit in other, if not all, travel writing: that travelers’ accounts of the landscape do not provide neutral versions of it; they do not simply describe it, they *construct* it.³⁹ In other words, the picturesque mode constructs its representations by arranging its view into foreground and background in as much as it obfuscates other parts of the original – “hiding from sight all that is unattractive,” as Mark Twain in his travelogue *The Innocents Abroad* (1869) explained.⁴⁰ In the picturesque, nature is tamed and put into perspective with and by the human eye as a landscape picture, a single vision of order.⁴¹

³⁵ See Gilpin, *Three Essays* 3.

³⁶ Gilpin, *Three Essays* 6. Gilpin then further elaborates on the issue of roughness: “Turn the lawn into a piece of broken ground: plant rugged oaks instead of flowering shrubs: break the edges of the walk: give it the rudeness of a road: mark it with wheel-tracks; and scatter around a few stones, and brushwood; in a word, instead of making the whole *smooth*, make it *rough*; and you make it also *picturesque*. All the other ingredients of beauty it already possessed” (ibid. 8). Ann Bermingham sees the central point in Gilpin’s views on the picturesque that what others might view as mere landscape details, of trees, rock and *staffage* – painter Thomas Gainsborough’s “a little business for the eye” – became for Gilpin the essential ornaments from which the landscape was composed (see Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Read-to-Wear Feminism” 83).

³⁷ See Auerbach, “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire” 48. Jeffrey Auerbach further elaborates the setup of a picturesque scene with an example: “Features such as trees and ruins were to be positioned so as to created a balanced composition that provided a sense of both harmony and variety, and to push the viewer’s eye to the middle distance, as in a stage set. In a typical picturesque scene there would be a winding river; two *coulisses*, or side screens, which are the opposite banks of the river and which, in conjunction with some hills, mark the perspective; a front screen which points out the winding of the river; and a hazy, rugged, mountainous background. There was also an identifiable picturesque tint, the soft golden light of the Roman Campagna, which, as a number of scholar have suggested, artists transposed first onto the English landscape, and then carried to the furthest reaches of the British Empire” (ibid).

³⁸ See Conron, *American Picturesque* xviii.

³⁹ See Youngs, *Travel Writing* 44. Mary Louise Pratt agrees with this constructivist aspect when she writes: “travel writing [...] narrates place and describes people” (Pratt, “Scratches on the Face of the Country” 127). Similarly, Justin Edwards finds that observation is not vision but revision, which is filtered through the lenses provided by artists and books written in (or about) the past: “Monuments and other tourist sights not only commemorate the past but are also part of a narrative about a world that is already past at the time of being written” (Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 110).

⁴⁰ Twain wrote: “To glance at the salient features of this landscape through the picturesque framework of a ragged and ruined stone window-arch of the time of Christ, thus hiding from sight all that is unattractive, is to secure to yourself a pleasure worth climbing the mountain to enjoy. One must stand on his head to get the best effect in a fine sunset, and set a landscape in a bold, strong framework that is very close at hand, to bring out all its beauty” (Twain, *The Innocents Abroad* 521).

⁴¹ See Urry/Larson, *Tourist Gaze* 158.

On the one hand, picturesque descriptions present themselves as narratives of discovery, presenting pictures of things their writers have never seen before to Euro-American citizens, being a narrative convention of which a Euro-American culture set out to survey the aesthetic resources of the nation and its peoples.⁴² On the other hand, the picturesque aesthetics appropriate foreign landscapes, cultures, and peoples under the notion of “picturesque imperialism” that John Marx relates to Pratt’s “seeing man” (or here the “seeing woman”), whose imperial eyes looked out and possessed.⁴³ Ultimately, the picturesque helped to naturalize an unfamiliar environment.⁴⁴ The protagonists of this study were all women of a specific gender, class, nationality, and ethnicity. When these Western women traveled to other countries and into contact zones, their travel writing is characterized by a specific form of perceiving their surroundings. It is the aim of this chapter to explore how the established aesthetic trope of the picturesque was part of their perception and to what extent this mode shaped the transformation of their travels in their professional texts.

“Havana awaited us” – Miriam Leslie in South America

Although the availability of transatlantic steamships had caused an increase in American travel to Europe, e.g. evidenced by Mark Twain’s *Innocents Abroad* (1869), the popularity of American travel writing was not limited to those works chronicling travelers’ experiences on the European Grand Tour.⁴⁵ On the contrary, earlier before Twain, Herman Melville’s travel accounts *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life* (1846) as well as *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Sea* (1847) showed a different trajectory for American travel writing and were commercially successful. Hence, Miriam Leslie’s descriptions of her travels in Central and South America in the 1860s and 1870s are particularly interesting for this chapter dealing with the female dimension of the imperial gaze.

Leslie claimed during her Cuban travels in 1878 that she “mentally photographed a picture that many a day of realistic, work-a-day life will not efface.”⁴⁶ During the same trip, Leslie also visited a sugar estate, recalling “the lovely scenery and those thousand *cosas de Cuba*, which active eyes discover at every turn, whether in town or country.”⁴⁷ By actively

⁴² See Conron, *American Picturesque* 6.

⁴³ Pratt only recognizes specifically “the (lettered, male, European) eye that held the system [and who] could familiarize (‘naturalize’) new sites/sights immediately upon contact, by incorporating them into the language of the system” (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 31).

⁴⁴ See Kröller, “First Impressions” 90.

⁴⁵ See Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 7.

⁴⁶ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 135.

⁴⁷ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 417.

viewing and “mentally photographing” her surroundings, Leslie employs the technique of the picturesque, e.g. in her description of Havana, “the beloved city so foreign to American sights and experiences,”⁴⁸ in 1878:

I glance out at the open windows; but when I did so, and in the fair morning light beheld the grand old fortress proudly rearing its impregnable towers against the cloudless sky, while even the cruel sea could only fawn persuasively at its feet and wash with foam the living rock upon which it is reared, my heart swelled with fond pride in its strength and its beauty, and I forgot myself in joy at once more beholding it. Beyond and behind Morro rose the white walls and steep acclivities of Cabañas, larger in extent and more diversified of structure than the former, but not so famous and not so impregnable; opposite, lies the fortification of La Punta, and the distance between this and Morro is only one thousand feet – so that a hostile fleet, attempting to run the gauntlet of these forts, would do so in considerable peril.⁴⁹

It is apparent in this description – like many images from the time (see fig. 2) – that Leslie arranges the view before her into a foreground, stretching out from her window, of the “impregnable towers against the cloudless sky” of Morro Castle,⁵⁰ dipped in “fair morning light” as a piece of interest in the image, and into the distant background of Cabañas and the Castillo San Salvador de la Punta.⁵¹

⁴⁸ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 131.

⁴⁹ Ibid. 130.

⁵⁰ Or Castillo de los Tres Reyes Magos del Morro.

⁵¹ Integrating a piece of interest is a central element in constructing a picturesque scene (see Marx, “Female Imperial Gaze” 61), as Amelia Edwards explained describing Egypt: “[O]ne never wearies of the palm. [...] Substitute a palm, however, for a post; combine it with anything that comes first – a camel, a shadoof, a woman with a water-jar upon her head – and your picture stands before you ready made” (Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* 246-7).

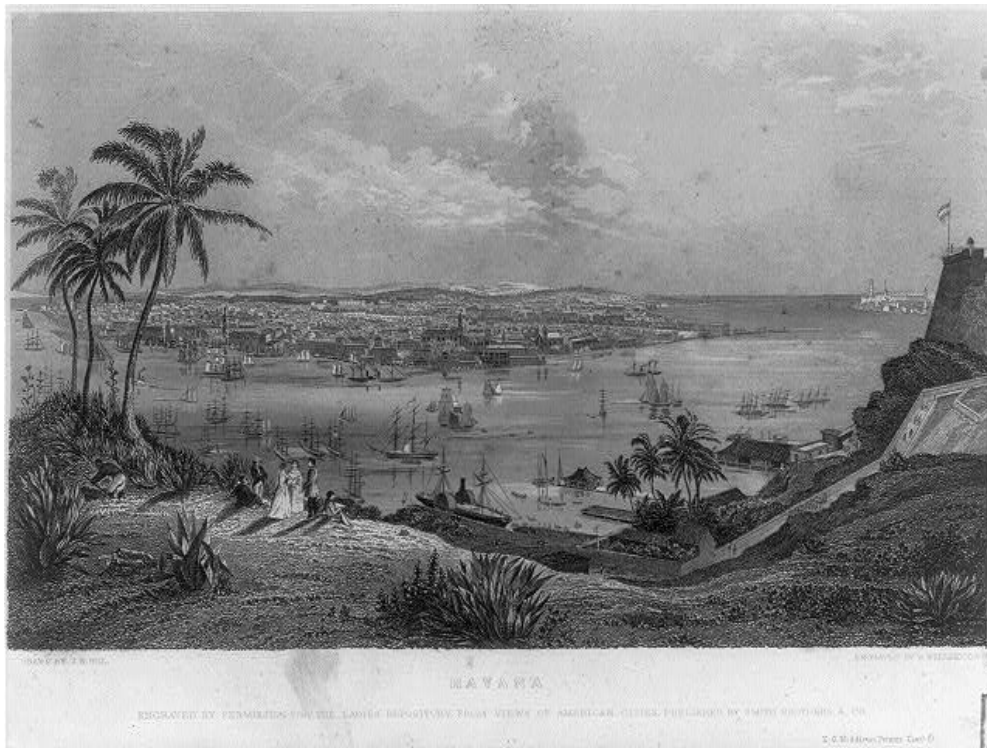


Fig. 2: Havana (185-).

Like its theatrical counterpart and predecessor, the *mise-en-scène*, the picturesque scene not only arranges its constituent forms in groupings and sequences, but also situates the spectator in relation to these arrangements and lights and frames them in signifying ways.⁵² Leslie's perspective in this description emanates from the window out into the arrangement in front of her. This position in relation to the image, particularly of standing at a window and from this vantage point viewing a landscape, is in itself a well-established tradition in travel writing, particularly European travel writing (of the Grand Tour), e.g. in Lady Anna Miller's *Letters from Italy* in which she describes:

The mount [sic] Vesuvius bounds our view; and this mountain is a great amusement to me at night: I never go to bed without watching and bidding it adieu from my window. It bellows like distant thunder, and then throws out flames and red hot stones with *lava*; the appearance altogether is like that of a prodigious fire-work; the fire is seldom visible by day, but a thick smoke always rises from its top.⁵³

⁵² See Conron, *American Picturesque* 8-9. In a similar example, Edwards's imperial gaze arranges the monuments into foreground and background, light and shadow from atop the Great Pyramid of Giza (see Marx, "Female Imperial Gaze" 60): "The ground lies, as it were, immediately under one; and the Necropolis is seen as in a ground-plan" (Edwards, *Thousand Miles up the Nile* 458).

⁵³ Miller, *Letters from Italy* 47. In a similar fashion, Maria Graham in her *Journal of a Residence in Chile* (1824), described "her house in detail, including the views from the doors and windows: initially Chile will be seen from within" (Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 159). Graham writes: "This afternoon I stood at my window, looking over the bay. The captain's barge, of the *Doris*, brought ashore the remains of my indulgent friend, companions, and husband. There were all his own people, and those of the *Blossom* and of the American ships, and their flags joined and mingled with those of England and of Chile" (Graham, *Journal of a Residence* 115).

Leslie was well aware of the tradition of the picturesque and its rootedness in European representational culture, having seen the ruins of ancient Rome in 1858.⁵⁴ When recounting the landscape opposite Morro and Cabañas and following the cited description, Leslie “wonder[s] whether it is a real city of the nineteenth century, a scene out of a play, or a sudden reproduction of Pompeii, whose ruins it strongly resembles.”⁵⁵ While Leslie was obviously familiar with the mode of the picturesque in its European tradition, her own perspective included a unique American tradition of the picturesque. Again, viewed from the vantage point of a window, during her trip to a Cuban sugar plantation, Leslie not only describes the scenic landscape but also includes the factory (or “sugar house”) in her descriptions:

Extinguishing our candles as soon as might be, we opened the blinds of our great, windowless windows, and once more looked upon the wonders of the night, with the millions of great stars shining down in their calm beauty, so careless of whether poor humanity looked up at them or down upon the earth; the dewy, rustling foliage and lowers of the garden sending up a subtle, delicious perfume, and the great black forms of the sugar-house and its attendant buildings looming against the sky. Here and there a lantern, shining in the depths of the great mill, showed that the chances of the night were guarded against, and in the open vigia, or watchtower, at the top of the building, one could see the slowly moving form of the sentinel who keeps vigil there day and night, never sitting down, never resting, but watching, not only over the mill at his feet, but the whole great plantation spread out before him.⁵⁶

By integrating the industrial sugar-producing factory into the picturesque landscape of the entire plantation, it becomes clear in this description by Leslie what Timothy Martin expresses about the American picturesque: industrialization was not considered a man-made evil that threatened an idyllic paradise; on the contrary, it could be a vehicle of the common good.⁵⁷ Before the inclusive description of the factory as well as the surrounding landscape, Leslie specifically addresses the beneficial developments on the estate.⁵⁸ Coinciding with this observation, Martin found that the American landscape architect and painter Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903) best expressed that the American picturesque, in contrast to the British, was less influenced by Romantic idealism, equally less interested in denying the man-made favor of the natural, and more concerned with integrating the two.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 30.

⁵⁵ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 130. Leslie seemed to have been familiar with the history of the arts, e.g. paintings, as she described a “Spaniard, looking as if he had just stepped out of a last-century painting” (LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands III” 545).

⁵⁶ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 419.

⁵⁷ See Martin, “Anglo-American Picturesque” 168.

⁵⁸ Leslie remarks: “In former times there was much inhumanity practiced upon many sugar estates in Cuba, the negroes being sometimes literally worked to death in order to secure as large a crop as possible while the season lasted; but the protective laws are now so stringent and the consciousness of impending emancipation so strong that there is now very little hardship anywhere” (LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 419).

⁵⁹ See Martin, “Anglo-American Picturesque” 168. Sara Jane Lippincott, under her pen name Grace Greenwood, in her travelogue *New Life in New Lands* (1873), similarly “attempts to reconcile both the destruction of nature

While Leslie was aware of aesthetic traditions as well as the history of arts and paintings, her mode of picturesque shows signs of contracting the strict conventions of this representation:

It is just outside the town at the southwest, bordering upon the sea and confronting, on the land side, some picturesque ruins of the old city wall, which, with its gates, crops up here and there in one's explorations of Havana, like a hand from the dead and buried past, beckoning one to listen to its voiceless traditions.⁶⁰

The composition in this description is not clearly divided into foreground, middleground and background, but still retains the element of Gilpin's edginess or roughness, i.e. the ruins "of the old city."⁶¹ At times, Leslie does not employ the strict aesthetic design of the picturesque mode but refers to specific buildings, landscapes, and objects as picturesque, e.g. describing the city of Havana "with its many church towers rising above the red-tiled roofs of the houses; its busy and picturesque water-front, its rows of palm trees, and suburban gardens pressing closely down upon the newer part of the town."⁶²

Not only did the picturesque aesthetic ultimately validate the acquired taste of the viewer; moreover, the picturesque, with its emphasis on vision and on landscape as an ornamented surface affording endless occasions for diversion, provided an incentive for tourism and an education in how to do it properly, eventually meaning that the popularization of the picturesque aesthetic also meant its commercialization.⁶³ This meant that via teaching people how to look at nature as if it were a picture,⁶⁴ the picturesque accustomed its practitioners to exercising a connoisseur's gaze – one that could be trained not only on landscapes and painting but on a whole variety of familiar scenes and objects: cityscapes,

and oppressive labor conditions with an ultimately positive image of large-scale industrial mining – and its accompanying society – as honest, orderly, efficient, and, above all, economically prosperous" (Morin, *Frontiers of Femininity* 208). As Karen Morin argues, "the costs of empire building in industrial mining were worthwhile so long as mining involved lawful, brave miners and paternalistic bosses; the landscape was only ugly when greedy speculators made a profit from it." (ibid.). This stands in contrast to the European traveler, like Francies Calderon de la Barca, who found through her use of the pictures, the satirical, and the sublime, a profound sense of desolation and loss: "Often when viewing a landscape she contrasts its picturesque qualities with an aside as to how a Yankee would find a way of profiting from the site" (Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, "Between Empires" 22).

⁶⁰ LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands III" 546.

⁶¹ While not always dividing the image into the three divisions of the picturesque, Leslie also keeps the roughness in other descriptions, e.g. graveyards: "across the plaza to our hotel, breathing with delight the fresh, pure air, and looking up to the unchanging sky and those wondrous impassive stars which look down with the same calm gaze upon carnival balls and lonely grave-yards, upon lovers' new plighted vows and hearts that break but will not die" (LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands I" 134).

⁶² Ibid. 130.

⁶³ See Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 86.

⁶⁴ At times Leslie even expresses that she does not want to unsettle the image before her eyes. For example, on an excursion to a sugar estate on her trip to Cuba: "At the top of the steps [of a sugar estate near Havana] stood our fair young hostess, accompanied by two pretty cousins, the little group suiting so well with the tropical surroundings that one longed to stop awhile and admire the picture, instead of disturbing it by approaching" (LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands II" 418).

architecture, gardens, animals, furniture, pottery, fabrics, interior decoration, and dress,⁶⁵ oscillating between an attraction to the ordinary and to the extraordinary.⁶⁶ Visiting a market during her visit in Havana, Leslie describes in a kitchen the “strings of onions and garlic hung picturesquely overhead,”⁶⁷ or another market with its display of produce: “The fruit market, which we visited one morning, is a very pretty sight, divided into stalls, each heaped with its picturesque assortment of gayly colored or verdant fruit and vegetables.”⁶⁸

Most importantly, picturesque travelogues harmonize and aestheticize contact between colonizer and colonized,⁶⁹ embracing not only landscapes, paintings and manufactured objects, but people and personalities as well⁷⁰ and effectively capturing for readers the local color of the colonial world.⁷¹ Leslie also describes in her travel writing an “old beggar-man – his bowed form hung with picturesque tatters, and his gray face half hidden by white elf-locks.”⁷² The picturesque attribute and the interest in gazing at the beggar, the seeming contradiction of the picturesque to aestheticize the extraordinary and in this case the ordinary, stems from the beggar figure, or destitutes, as Raimona Modiano describes “the very antithesis of the king: already sacrificed, they cannot be sacrificed again and can thus constitute an ideal safe from the threat of violence.”⁷³ Similarly, Leslie describes the beggar “present[ing] himself at the same door, and, hat in hand, stood imploring charity”⁷⁴ as non-violent.

Given the primary function of the picturesque in the establishment of both domestic and foreign tourism, it would seem that the colonial and the touristic gaze have collapsed into each other, resulting in normalizing the imperial experience.⁷⁵ This beginning collapse can be seen oscillating in Leslie’s writing, as from her touristic dimension Leslie refers to her trips to Cuba as “sight-seeing”⁷⁶ while from her imperial perspective Leslie still vividly describes the foreign “beauties of which the American tourist so fondly loves to linger,”⁷⁷ or in other words, enjoys gazing at.

⁶⁵ See Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism” 87.

⁶⁶ See Modiano, “The Legacy of the Picturesque” 213.

⁶⁷ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 135.

⁶⁸ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands III” 553.

⁶⁹ See Marx, “Female Imperial Gaze” 70.

⁷⁰ See Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism” 88.

⁷¹ See Marx, “Female Imperial Gaze” 56.

⁷² LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 133.

⁷³ Modiano, “The Legacy of the Picturesque” 196.

⁷⁴ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 133.

⁷⁵ See Auerbach, “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire” 52.

⁷⁶ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands III” 545.

⁷⁷ LES, “Pineapple Trade in the Bahamas” 364.

Leslie's active gaze manifests in the availability of commodities, people, and places that "present themselves" to the imperial traveler. As Mary Louise Pratt explains: "No less than the men, these women travelers occupy a world of servants and servitude where their class and race privilege is presupposed, and meals, baths, blankets, and lamps appear from nowhere."⁷⁸ It is this privilege of commodities available to the traveler that can be seen in one of Miriam Leslie's serial articles "Scenes in Sun-Lands" recalling her journey to Cuba: "we passed through a courtyard and an iron gate to a *plaza*, where sundry of the quasi victorias, replacing the time-honored *volante* in the streets of Havana, awaited us."⁷⁹ Leslie describes her as having "enjoyed the gay life of the city spread out at four feet."⁸⁰ That expression exemplifies her tendency to view the natural and artificial surroundings of the cityscape as available to her, the imperial traveler, as they are there to be gazed upon and consumed.

The picturesque, whether employed as a strict formulaic aesthetic program or a slowly changing term denoting an image worthwhile to look at, functions as a form of distancing the traveler from the inhabitants.⁸¹ Following Justin Edwards, the increase in nineteenth-century tourism inspired many travelers and American citizens to reflect upon their national identity.⁸² Leslie asked herself: "Is it possible that Americans have something yet to learn?"⁸³ The question immediately reveals itself as purely rhetoric, as Leslie amends her question: "we must not forget that the climate and the people and the ways of life modify everything in the two places, and that New York can never be as picturesque and genial as Havana, and Saxons never can be Latins."⁸⁴

Miriam Leslie's gaze not only becomes apparent in the picturesque description of the city of Havana and the ready availability of its commodities, but also asserts itself on a human level, as for example Leslie, in entering the house of the sugar plantation, "found our dainty little hostess [...] upon the veranda, waiting to take us into the garden."⁸⁵ The women not only present themselves as being available to Leslie, she moreover employs her gaze in a more intimate manner. According to John Conron, the picturesque is characterized by the fact that human figures are imbued with motion and energy, particularly the human face, the most sensitive surface in the picturesque universe, is made capable of visualizing the most subtle

⁷⁸ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 159.

⁷⁹ LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands I" 131.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ As Raimona Modiano reasons, the picturesque characteristically places its constituent objects (and/or subjects) spatially but also socially at a far remove from the observer, making access to them difficult if not impossible (see Modiano, "The Legacy of the Picturesque" 197-8).

⁸² Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 6.

⁸³ LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands III" 550.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands II" 422.

and expressive movements and deformations caused by emotion rising from within or by the energies of the environment from without.⁸⁶ Leslie describes a woman at a hotel in Havana, invoking parallels to the paintings of Spanish Baroque painter Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, who was known for his luminous Tenebrism style:

One of the principal features of the Passage Hotel, is its mistress, Señora Doña Innocencia, wife of the proprietor, but in Spanish fashion addressed always by her first name. This lady is Spanish by birth, and her marvelous beauty at once invokes the desire to relegate Murillo from the land of shades to fitly paint her picture, since only he could touch that creamy brown skin; those level, mobile brows, always drawing together about the stormy eyes; the turbulent dark hair, and red, loving mouth.⁸⁷

As typical for Murillo's paintings, darkness and light oscillate almost violently in Leslie's picturesque description of Doña Innocencia's face: dark and "stormy" eyes with mobile brows and turbulent hair and a glowing red mouth, illuminated by her "creamy brown skin." In the following, Leslie continues to report on Doña Innocencia and asserts her position as she describes Doña Innocencia was not "only benignant to gaze upon" but that "she carried out the writer's inconvenient whim of possessing herself."⁸⁸ In this passage, the female gaze of Miriam Leslie becomes obvious as an element of eroticization appears that is analyzed by Justin D. Edwards in his book *Exotic Journeys* (2001). Edwards finds that the possessing American gaze frequently works to undermine foreign subjectivities in the way of becoming a source of erotic fantasy,⁸⁹ just as Leslie remarks about her desire to "touch that creamy brown skin" that only the famous painter would be allowed to do. Just as the picturesque abounds in wistful gazes towards untouchable objects,⁹⁰ it also traffics heavily in the eroticism of denied desire, relegating appetite to the exclusive realm of vision which at once limits and sustains it:⁹¹ Leslie actively gazes at her object of desire, Doña Innocencia, yet her gaze is "always in a position of mastery, never dependent on an object however, desirable, and free to seek yet another sight."⁹² As Raimona Modiano aptly summarizes: "the observer of the Picturesque plays at the game of love but is never a lover and never in love."⁹³

Miriam Leslie's accounts of her travels show that American women traveling abroad employed a nostalgic gaze. On her trip to a sugar plantation on Cuba in 1878, Leslie recalls an earlier trip and reminisces about the "good old days" when she writes: "since my first

⁸⁶ See Conron, *American Picturesque* 10.

⁸⁷ LES, "Scenes in Sun-Lands I" 131.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 12.

⁹⁰ See Liu, *The Sense of History* 62.

⁹¹ See Modiano, "The Legacy of the Picturesque" 197.

⁹² Ibid. 198.

⁹³ Ibid.

girlish experience of this road, some years since, the spirit of improvement and innovation had crept in to destroy several of its most distinctive features.”⁹⁴ She also laments on the same trip that “Havana is given over to French cooks and foreign ways.”⁹⁵ As apparent, an onset of nostalgia can be detected in Leslie’s travel writing.

In summary, Leslie’s picturesque gaze follows the formula of the aesthetic mode in that she constructs with it descriptions of nature and integrates everyday objects as well as people into the gaze, adding a specific American wrinkle to the original European pictorial tradition. This specific American perspective is also expressed in that she was a picturesque traveler in the regard that she employed a hierarchic structure between herself and the object of her gaze, in this case the landscapes of Central and Latin America. In as much as the European tradition of the picturesque appropriated colonial landscapes and people, Leslie utilizes this aesthetic for the depiction of the “other America.” In this way, the “other” America was rendered as the idealized other.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Wandering Between Empires – “¿*Quien Sabe?*”

Before her journey into the jungles of the Yucatán peninsula began, Le Plongeon had familiarized herself with the works of Brasseur de Bourbourg, e.g. *Monuments anciens du Mexique* (1866) and his bilingual Spanish-French edition of Diego de Landa’s work *Relation des choses de Yucatán de Diego de Landa* (1863), as well as the most notable example of Yucatán travel writing: John Lloyd Stephens’s *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan* (1941) and *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan* (1843), with its predecessor *Voyage pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d’Yucatan pendant les années 1834 et 1836* (1838) by the French traveler Jean-Frédéric Waldeck. Generally, these travel accounts were successes. Stephens’ account was widely distributed and consumed both in the United States and abroad due to its low price, firing the imagination of major American writers such as Poe and Melville while introducing the exotic world of archaeological adventure to a common reader.⁹⁶ As well as Poe or Melville, these works introduced Alice Le Plongeon to the world of antiquity in America and its pictorial appropriation through travel writing and influenced her perception and expectations of what was to be found during her travels. It was

⁹⁴ LES, “Scenes in Sun-Lands II” 417.

⁹⁵ Ibid. 418.

⁹⁶ See Mackenthun, “The Conquest of Antiquity” 100.

a lesson in how to employ the formulaic language of the picturesque aesthetic of her imperial gaze, as Ann Bermingham suggests: “the ‘Picturesque eye’ had to be trained by first looking at pictures and learning to discriminate between their individual styles of beauty.”⁹⁷

The illustrations by Jean-Frédéric Waldeck in his *Voyage pittoresque* were the first published images available to a greater audience. In the years after, Frederic Catherwood would follow Waldeck in depicting the scenes of the ruins in Yucatán. Yet, Catherwood was skeptical of Waldeck’s drawing because he noticed they had too many similarities inherent to Egyptian and Roman styles and suspected that Waldeck’s illustrations were part real and part the imaginings of the French artist;⁹⁸ after all, Yucatán has been claimed to be “America’s Egypt.”⁹⁹ However, Frederick Catherwood not only had great enthusiasm for everything pertaining to architecture, but was an ardent lover of the picturesque and of archaeological researchers.¹⁰⁰ Interestingly, as Preston claims, it was exactly the reading of Waldeck’s “visionary and highly inaccurate lithographs of ruins in Central America” that caught Stephens’ attention.¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Read-to-Wear Feminism” 91. As Richard Preston argues, it was specifically nonfiction narratives of experience like Stephens’ and others that became an important part of American literature in the nineteenth century, partly due to the growth of a middle-class audience that liked to read such books, and partly to the changes in the publishing industry that made even highly illustrated books affordable for people of relatively limited means” (Preston, “America’s Egypt” 243).

⁹⁸ See Koch, *Pioneers of Mayan Archaeology* 84. However, as Khristaan Vilella argues, although students of American antiquity generally remember Waldeck for his much-maligned renderings of ancient Maya ruins and monuments several authors have noted that Waldeck’s original drawings are free of the Egyptian and Near Eastern imagery and style that characterize the final published versions (see Vilella, “Beyond Stephens and Catherwood” 163).

⁹⁹ See Preston, “America’s Egypt” 243.

¹⁰⁰ Koch, *Pioneers of Mayan Archaeology* 84.

¹⁰¹ See Preston, “America’s Egypt” 249.



Fig. 3: Scene of ancient Mayan Indian monument in the Yucatan Peninsula of Mexico (1844).

Preston parallels Stephens' vision to the American painter Thomas Cole, who was a painter known for employing the picturesque aesthetics.¹⁰² Although Preston reasons that Stephens and Catherwood depart from the imagery of Waldeck that was rooted in an artistic style and move to a more scientific approach, both Stephens and Catherwood, as Preston himself, cannot distance themselves from the aesthetic principles that govern the picturesque. Preston cannot resist describing Catherwood's intricately constructed romanticized images, in particular the folded panoramic view of Uxmal nearly a yard long that cascades out of *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán* like a handkerchief,¹⁰³ in picturesque aesthetic (see fig. 3):

We see rising out of shadowy rubble a long building lit by a brilliant afternoon light, encrusted with precisely rendered stonework. Before it are twenty-seven human figures and ten mules and horses. Most of the figures are Mayas. In the foreground, partly screening the view, are twisted, dead jungle trees and wind-raked palms. In the distance looms the misty form of a pyramid, shrouded in jungle foliage.¹⁰⁴

Generally, the picturesque eye comprehended landscape as pure spectacle, a lively surface animated by a *mélange* of ornamental details and decorative effects – a spectacle that was meant to be consumed.¹⁰⁵ That is why some authors even find that the enduring fame of travel accounts by John Lloyd Stephens is more owed to Catherwood's images than to Stephens's prose:¹⁰⁶ “The impenetrable jungle, ruined buildings and monuments, lightning strike, and dramatic lighting would have appealed to audiences who went to the theater and opera for

¹⁰² See *ibid.* 257.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* 262.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 262.

¹⁰⁵ See Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism” 85-6.

¹⁰⁶ See Villela, “Beyond Stephens and Catherwood” 156.

spectacles.”¹⁰⁷ Richard Preston argues that Stephens in his travel accounts had a “touch for building an intensely realized scene by picking up visual and auditory cues while sketching a generalized travelers response,” his view often describing “panoramic pictures.”¹⁰⁸ Stephens’s travel accounts are interlaced with picturesque descriptions. Similarly, Le Plongeon in *Here and There in Yucatan* allows a panoramic scene to unfold when visiting Isla Mujeres, approximately 13 kilometers off the Yucatán Peninsula coast in the Caribbean Sea:

On the tenth day after leaving Progreso, about nine o’clock at night, we sailed into the beautiful Bay of Dolores, at Mugeris Island, or Women’s Island as the Spanish conquerors called it, because they found in the temples of the natives many images of women. The water of the bay was as unruffled and crystalline as a sheet of emerald; and the village of Dolores made a charming pictures, with its thatched cottages, boats hauled up on the white beach, and tall palms waving like feathered canopies above the dwellings; while the perfect stillness made us almost imagine that we beheld an enchanted island awaiting the touch of a magic wand. That wand was the first golden sun-ray that shot from the east, calling every creature to life and action. Doors were thrown open; faint columns of smoke wreathed their way to the cloudless sky; children ran to the beach to float their toy ships; fishermen launched their boats; women passed to and fro, and feathered songsters warbled their sweetest lay.¹⁰⁹

When describing the landscapes in the jungles of Yucatan, Le Plongeon remarks: “The convent was a picturesque ruin, where monks no longer trod, but merry maids roamed among the crumbling shells, and frightened each other with ghost stories.”¹¹⁰ As obvious from the quotation, and similar to Miriam Leslie’s articles, Alice Le Plongeon’s works show a certain erosion of the picturesque as strict aesthetic, e.g. when Le Plongeon remarks in *Here and There in Yucatan* that “Holbox is a picturesque Indian village whose inhabitants make a living by catching turtle to send to British Honduras, where the demand is constant.”¹¹¹ Le Plongeon’s usage of the term picturesque can be discriminated into three different areas: landscapes,¹¹² dwellings/villages,¹¹³ and native clothing.¹¹⁴ The element of picturesque clothing is reflective of what was expressed in Miriam Leslie’s descriptions. Although the elements of the picturesque aesthetic are still prevalent in Le Plongeon’s descriptions of the

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. 159.

¹⁰⁸ See Preston, “America’s Egypt” 247.

¹⁰⁹ ADLP, *Here and There* 5-6.

¹¹⁰ ADLP, “Yucatan” 184, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹¹¹ ADLP, *Here and There* 2.

¹¹² For example: “Island Contoy is four miles long, very picturesque, and totally uninhabited except by millions of sea birds” (ADLP, *Here and There* 3). Another example: “A great extent of the interior the island [Isla Mugeris] is taken up by a most picturesque lake that opens on the south side of the bay by a narrow channel through which the water of the ocean enters” (ibid. 15).

¹¹³ See Le Plongeon’s description of “San Pedro, a picturesque fishing village, surrounded by groves of cocoanut palms” (ibid. 68).

¹¹⁴ As Le Plongeon relates to in her article “Notes on Yucatan” (1878): “The Indians alone, in their picturesque, unique costume, were sufficient to rivet our attention” (ADLP, “Notes on Yucatan” 78).

Maya ruins and landscape of Yucatán, the certain erosion of the picturesque coincides with a beginning movement in the perception of her surroundings.

The picturesque aesthetic, as an instantiation of the imperial gaze, rests on a position Mary Louise Pratt calls “the monarch-of-all-I-survey scene,” which is repeated even in modern travel accounts.¹¹⁵ Considering an “urge of imperialistic-minded travelers to station themselves panoptically vis-à-vis the lands they traversed,”¹¹⁶ Le Plongeon’s perspective descends from Amelia Edwards’ Archimedean point of view on top of the pyramid in *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1888) into a perspective of being surrounded, causing her gaze to rest on the inhabitants with multiply focused eyes.¹¹⁷

In her writings, Le Plongeon finds, citing from Cogolludo, that the Mayas had “resisted the Spaniards more determinedly than any other Americans, in defence [sic] of their country.”¹¹⁸ In that position, Le Plongeon is complicit with many British travelers, scientists, and cultural historians who ranked their own civilization over that of the Spanish and lamented what they perceived as three centuries of ignorance and superstition that had reigned in Spanish America since Columbus’ landfall¹¹⁹ by stating: “Poor dupes! Spain has brought its terrible spiritual darkness to the land of the Mays!”¹²⁰ Concordantly, Le Plongeon criticizes the Spanish rule as “the Spaniards forced the natives the natives [sic] to forget all their own forms of worship, or at least to appear to do so.”¹²¹ Le Plongeon repeated this criticism throughout her career, e.g. as she worked on her Yucatán manuscript intermittently throughout the years and attached to it an appendix titled “Epitome of the war of races in Yucatan: The Maya Indians” in which she recalls the history of and leading to the Caste War (1847-1901), recognizing it as “a tragedy that the darkest pages in the history of Yucatán have been formed by the Spaniards.”¹²² She makes this position even clearer when Le Plongeon compares the brutality of bullfights in Spain to sport in Peru: “In Spain, where cruelty is the predominating national characteristic, the favorite sport is a horrible spectacle.”¹²³ In contrast

¹¹⁵ See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* 216.

¹¹⁶ Harvey, *American Geographics* 1.

¹¹⁷ As Desmond repeatedly argues, Le Plongeon “often included the Maya point of view in her writings” (Desmond, *Yucatan* 312).

¹¹⁸ ADLP, “Yucatan” 125, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹¹⁹ Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 234.

¹²⁰ ADLP, “Yucatan” 142, ADPP VI/17-19. Le Plongeon recognizes the Spanish Inquisition as a terrible force: “our admiration of the Sanctuary with a thought of those Inquisition days, when torture was the Churches favorite method of extorting from its helpless victims all it that desired” (ADLP, “Paris”, leaf 4, p. 15, ADPP VII/1).

¹²¹ ADLP, “Yucatan” 351, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹²² See ADLP, “Yucatan” 506, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹²³ Ibid. 101-2.

to the Spanish brutality, Le Plongeon writes that “in Peru the same entertainment is admirable and free from all brutality.”¹²⁴

Despite Le Plongeon’s gaze showing a form of empathy and relatability, Le Plongeon – like Miriam Leslie – professes a contradictory position in her writings: women travel writers were unable to adopt the imperialist voice with the same ease with which male writers did, as Sara Mills points out.¹²⁵ Although she was empathetic towards the “hostile acts” the Spanish oppressors caused to the native Yucatecans, she is complicit in her textual voice of a gaze that professes a hegemonial position. Le Plongeon’s gaze incorporates utterances of cultural imperialism when she describes the “barbarous” acts of the ancients:

It is possible that the Mayas of old ate the hearts of their enemies, as did the people of other nations, with the idea that they thus absorbed the valor of the deceased enemies. To us this seems barbarous, although [sic] we eat the heart of other animals. The fact is the ancients, even the most civilized, behaved savagely to prisoners of war.¹²⁶

In this passage, Le Plongeon uses the act of cannibalism as a strategy of othering, as laid out by Daniel Fulda and Walter Pape in *Eating the Other* (2001),¹²⁷ who identify the issue of cannibalism as a denouncing European invention in order to distinguish Western culture from an essentialized Other and hence legitimize missionary and colonial actions.¹²⁸ Although Le Plongeon sides with the inhabitants of Yucatán, she continues an oppositional or binary essentialized thinking: Le Plongeon regularly speaks about “indebted servants” versus the “Independent Indians.”¹²⁹

Remarking on the issue of race, Le Plongeon compares “the mixed or Mestizo race” to the “uneducated white” with regard to their belief in witchcraft and superstition,¹³⁰ influenced by an entire spectrum of Victorian racial science that played a key role in forming and sustaining the core attitudes, including the distinction reinforced in nearly every nineteenth-century travel account between the grandeur of by-gone civilizations such as the Maya and the degeneracy of the nineteenth-century inhabitants who occupied the ruins.¹³¹ For Le Plongeon, it “seems pretty clear; the original inhabitants, the Mayas, were in all respects more civilized than the various tribes that had taken up their abode in that land.”¹³²

¹²⁴ Ibid. 102.

¹²⁵ See Mills, *Discourses of Difference* 3.

¹²⁶ ADLP, “Yucatan” 95, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹²⁷ The original title being: *Das andere Essen. Kannibalismus als Motiv und Metapher in der Literatur* (2001).

¹²⁸ See Osthus, “Review of *Das andere Essen*” 112.

¹²⁹ See, ADLP, “Yucatan” 534, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹³⁰ Le Plongeon writes: “The Indian, the mixed or Mestizo race, and even some of the uneducated white, are firm believers in witchcraft, and practice many superstitious rites” (ADLP, “Notes on Yucatan” 83).

¹³¹ Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 233-4.

¹³² ADLP, “Yucatan” 207, ADPP VI/17-19.

While Le Plongeon at times appears frustrated with the “Indians [who] more willingly obey one of their own race than a white man,”¹³³ particularly “the superstition of our men, a source of serious annoyance to us,”¹³⁴ at other times, when writing about “the Indians, with their characteristic manners and interesting idiom, their philosophical indifference to trifles, and their extreme indolence,” she confesses to the reader that they “amused us at all times.”¹³⁵

During the excavations, Le Plongeon also laments the vandalized and ruinous condition of Central American sites. Le Plongeon, in 1881, remarked that the Yucatán peninsula is littered with the fragments of its lost splendor; some cities could not be visited safely, with some being in contested territory.¹³⁶ While at Chichén Itzá, Le Plongeon also took care to copy graffiti that was inscribed on the temples and found the names of Doctor S. Cabot and Frederick Catherwood, who had both accompanied John Lloyd Stephens.¹³⁷ Similarly, to Amelia Edwards, who lamented the destruction of ancient monuments by the population in an effort to create new buildings, Le Plongeon records the destruction of antiquities for contemporary purposes: “four large mounds, once crowned with temples, yet surrounded the square; many smaller ones were razed to the ground that their material might serve for building the modern city.”¹³⁸

The aspect of vandalism is connected to another aspect between the imperial traveler and the indigenous population. Similar to Robert Aguirre, who finds that “more than one traveler reports asking the local people who had built the monuments, only to be told, shoulders shrugging, ‘quien sabe?’”¹³⁹ Le Plongeon recalls an episode in the jungle, when:

Lorenzo begged permission to accompany his friend; the Dr. in turn asked him to remain with me. Machete in hand, he stood at the head of the wide stairway until the sound of the wheels could no longer be heard, then heaved a de[ep] sigh; the thought something dreadful would occur. I assured him his friend would soon return, but he replied: “[¿]Quien sabe?” and gave me a look of pity. Vainly I tried to dispell [sic] his gloom [...]¹⁴⁰

The Spanish expression “¿quien sabe?” is frequently included in travelogues of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and even twentieth centuries. It was widespread enough that on March 19, 1876, the *Daily State Gazette* ran an entire article titled “From Out Regular Rio Grande

¹³³ Ibid. 291.

¹³⁴ Ibid. 314.

¹³⁵ Ibid. 245.

¹³⁶ In an article for the *New York World*, Le Plongeon writes: “The Peninsula of Yucatan is strewn with fragments of departed grandeur; silent, deserted, fallen cities. Some are not approachable without danger, lying as they do within the territories of hostile tribes. Others – and these are the worst treated – are in the power of the whites” (Desmond/Messenger, *A Dream of Maya* 82).

¹³⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatan* 144.

¹³⁸ ADLP, “Yucatan” 95, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹³⁹ Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 234.

¹⁴⁰ ADLP, “Yucatan” 455, ADPP, VI/17-19.

Correspondent” about the phrase. The expression, literally translated as “who knows,” is – according to reports from the nineteenth century – “the everlasting and never failing response to all inquiries as to distance, routes, directions, forage, water, weather, state of the country, characters of people, soil, climate and productions.”¹⁴¹ Most importantly, however, a mere description “conveys but a faint idea of its comprehensiveness, the expressive gestures which accompany the *quien sabe* are dreadful to contemplate, especially when one has lost his way or is very hungry.”¹⁴² John Lloyd Stephens, in *Incidents of Travel in Central America*, mused about the ruins of Yucatán:

Who were these people that built this city? In the ruined cities of Egypt, even in the long-lost Petra, the stranger knows the story of the people whose vestiges are around him. America, say historians, was peopled by savages; but savages never carved those stones. We asked the Indians who made them, and their dull answer was “Quien sabe?” “Who knows?”¹⁴³

Just as Stephens was confronted with an apparent disinterest of the native inhabitants towards the ruins of their past and the general “ignorance, carelessness, and indifference of the inhabitants of Spanish America,”¹⁴⁴ Le Plongeon also describes her annoyance with that expression. According to her, the “natives tell exaggerated stories when there is little to be seen and pretend that there is nothing worth looking at where there is really something interesting.”¹⁴⁵ The seemingly disinterested position of the inhabitants to what is an important cause for Le Plongeon makes her assume a contradiction: “Perhaps they find pleasure in misleading the white man; or do they desire to protect their antiquities?”¹⁴⁶ Because Le Plongeon realizes the vandalization of the ancient ruins, she relates this to the apparent disinterest as deliberate act of resistance to the imperial travelers and subsequent protection of the ancient Maya sites.

In that regard, for travel writers such as Le Plongeon, the expression was a bivalent annoyance. On the one hand, it signified for imperialist travelers an apparent genuine disinterest in the archaeological past and history of the respective people, and on the other side, a potential disingenuousness of the helpers, carriers, workers, etc. in order to lure scientific explorers away from archaeological sites. This recalls John Lloyd Stephens, who, according to Robert Aguirre, depicts Central Americans not only as ignorant of the monuments and the civilizations that produced them, but also hostile to the forces of scientific

¹⁴¹ Parsons, *Pidge, Texas Ranger* 108.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* I 104.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 98.

¹⁴⁵ ADLP, “Yucatan” 38, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

modernity that would uncover the buried past.¹⁴⁷ In that regard, the annoyance of travel writers with the phrase to denominate an ignorance for the past is, however, part of the hegemonic white elitist Western rationale to question the relation of the native inhabitants to their archaeological past and by extension their general history.

This perceived negligence becomes clear when Alice Le Plongeon reproduces a dialogue between her husband Augustus Le Plongeon and one of their workers. Le Plongeon reports that one “evening Dr. Le Plongeon had a talk with his men,” during which he claimed: ““You have forgotten the ways of your ancestors.””¹⁴⁸ To which the worker replies: ““You white people may believe what you like; it changes nothing.””¹⁴⁹ As Robert Aguirre argues, it was a central element to the disciplinary narrative of pioneering knowledge to diminish local knowledge through calculated exclusion.¹⁵⁰ Although Le Plongeon is aware of the criticality of Western history and its production,¹⁵¹ she is also complicit with this position in her writing.

Before Waldeck or Stephens and Catherwood, the German scientist Alexander von Humboldt had called “the man-made structures of Mexico and Peru ‘pittoresque’ rather than allowing them the same civilizational status as Old World monuments.”¹⁵² But with Stephens, the scene becomes a paradox: “America, we learn, is not a New World but an Old World.”¹⁵³ The ruins prompt Stephens to find that “the character of American antiquities [...] gave us the assurance [...] that the people who once occupied the Continent of America were not savages.”¹⁵⁴ More than being evidence of ancient refinement, “the monuments stand as testimony to antiquity, a visual proof of the existence of immensely refined arts in the Americas long before Columbus.”¹⁵⁵ Encapsulating his experiences while exploring the ancient ruins, Stephens paints a vivid image:

With an interest perhaps stronger than we had ever felt in wandering among the ruins of Egypt, we followed our guide, who, sometimes missing his way, with a constant and vigorous use of his machete, conducted us through the thick forest, among half-buried fragments, to fourteen monuments of the same character and appearance, some with more elegant designs, and some in workmanship equal to the finest monuments of the Egyptians;

¹⁴⁷ See Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 235.

¹⁴⁸ ADLP, “Yucatan” 306, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. 307.

¹⁵⁰ See Aguirre, “The Work of Archaeology” 235.

¹⁵¹ As Le Plongeon remarks about “the difference between the savage and the civilized is painfully insignificant. The history of every civilized nation, including the United States of North America, has hideous pages recording the prosecution of those called sorcerers” (ADLP, “Yucatan” 195, ADPP VI/17-19).

¹⁵² Mackenthun, “Conquest of Antiquity” 103. Humboldt regarded Mexican high cultures as “dark” and uncreative, not to be compared with the “arts” and the “sweet” fictions of Greece (see *ibid.*).

¹⁵³ Preston, “America’s Egypt” 256.

¹⁵⁴ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* I 102.

¹⁵⁵ Preston, “America’s Egypt” 256.

one displaced from its pedestal by enormous roots; another locked in the close embrace of branches of trees, and almost lifted out of the earth; another hurled to the ground, and bound down by huge vines and creepers; and one standing, with its altar before it, in a grove of trees which grew around it, seemingly to shade and shroud it as a sacred thing; in the solemn stillness of the woods, it seemed a divinity mourning over a fallen people.¹⁵⁶

Stephens succeeds in contradicting attempts to measure human artistic achievement exclusively in comparison with Greece as, in his view, the monuments of Palenque, Copán, and other pre-Columbian sites are indigenous, autochthonous, *and* as complex in artistic execution as those of the Hindus, Greeks, and Egyptians.¹⁵⁷

This description is important in order to understand Le Plongeon's perspective. Amelia Edwards in *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* described Egyptians as "wearing the same loincloth, plowing the same shaduf, ploughing with the same plough, preparing the same food in the same way and eating it with his fingers from the same bowl as did his forefather of six thousand years ago."¹⁵⁸ With that expression, linked to Edwards's descriptions relating the ancient Egyptian pyramids to the contemporary villages she passes through, John Marx argues that this carefully organized relationship between village and pyramids suggests that the picturesque allows Edwards to forge a historical link between ancient and modern Egypt in formal terms.¹⁵⁹ In contrast to such links between the past and present, for Le Plongeon the

¹⁵⁶ Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Central America* 102-3.

¹⁵⁷ See Mackenthun, "Conquest of Antiquity" 103. Like Stephens, Le Plongeon interpreted the pre-Columbian Amerindian cultures to be as complex as the ancient European cultures. In her article "Dialogues of the Dead: From the French of Fontenelle" (1885), published in *Home Journal*, she critiques the fictitious account of a dialogue between Montezuma and Hernán Cortés, authored by the French author Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle in his book *Dialogues of the Dead* (Fr. *Le Dialogues des Morts*, 1683). After reproducing the dialogue from Fontenelle's account, she attaches a criticism, challenging his reasoning and credibility of this account. In Fontenelle's account Cortés claims that the "Greeks and Romans invented all Arts and Sciences, of which you have not the least Idea" (Fontenelle, *Dialogues of the Dead* 235). To this claim, the fictional Moctezuma replies that it was their "happiness not to have known there were sciences in the world" (ibid.). This remarks prompted Le Plongeon to question the reasoning behind Fontenelle's notion of the Aztec having no science: "Montezuma would hardly have admitted that there was no science among his people, for without science, without a knowledge of certain natural laws they could not have raised the prodigious stones mentioned by him. [...] Architecture, engineering, astronomy require a knowledge of mathematics, that science of all sciences" (ADLP, "Dialogues of the Dead," ADPP VIII/6). It seems an apparent observation to Le Plongeon that a civilization that constructed monuments of such enormous size must have understood a certain level of "natural laws." Furthermore, Le Plongeon also answers to de Fontenelle's accusation that the ancient Americans did not have any art by remarking: "Unquestionably arts and sciences were known in America, only the application of them was different from what it was in Europe. India, China, every country in fact, has developed the arts and sciences according to its peculiar idiosyncrasy" (ibid.). Le Plongeon was able to see beyond cultural limitations and acknowledged the possibility of Mesoamerican art that had its "peculiar idiosyncrasy" and that was merely distinct from the Western counterpart. With her criticism Le Plongeon tried to deconstruct the relationship between Hernán Cortés and Moctezuma II as that of an uncivilized savage king and the Spanish benevolent conqueror posed by Fontenelle. Throughout her work, Le Plongeon repeatedly pointed out the evolved scientific understanding of the Maya and how it was mediated through the passage of time, e.g. in *Here and There in Yucatán*: "With the dispersion of the Maya priests, the arts and sciences disappeared, or died out; yet there were some men who remembered the primitive history of the nation, who perhaps had in their possession ancient books" (ADLP, *Here and There* 119).

¹⁵⁸ Edwards, *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* 8.

¹⁵⁹ Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze" 60.

past could come to life at any given moment, e.g. during the excavation of the Chacmool statue at Chichén Itzá in 1875:

Thought and fancy chased each other through my brain; ardently I wished the stony Prince could indeed become imbued with life and speech, that he might describe to us the scenes enacted on that spot when, amid pomp and ceremony, he had been laid in his deep, dark, bed – how long ago? But the noble city of that day was now a grand pile of sombre ruins shrouded by the forest whose foliage seemed to be the ever murmuring its requiem, and perhaps it was well that the eyes of Coh were sightless.¹⁶⁰

In her manuscript, Le Plongeon offers a lengthy description about her falling asleep in the ruins and dreaming about a Mayan prince. In that regard, Le Plongeon intermingles the landscapes and ruins of Yucatán similarly to Calderon de la Barca, who encountered Mexico “through the lenses of this transition between empires and through the fantasies and realities of their different racial and temporal grids.”¹⁶¹ For de la Barca, coming to Mexico meant “the sudden transition from Yankee land to this military Spanish negro-land is *dreamy*.”¹⁶² In such a dream sequence, Le Plongeon uses the picturesque aesthetic to describe a landscape and interweaves it with her thoughts on ancient history:

The afternoon was sultry, and I threw myself into a hammock suspended from a scaffold upon which Dr. Le Plongeon passed many hours making molds of the elaborate sculptures above the central doorway, for here was a long, well preserved record of some of the deeds of Aac who had at one time reigned supreme there. Butterflies fluttered in the light breeze upon which were waf[t]ed to me the forest perfumes. I reposed, watching the white clouds floating against the turkoi-blue [sic] sky; their ever changing forms set me musing upon the instability of all things and conditions; mentally I compared the appearance of the place where I was, with what it used to be, and mused on scenes which might have been enacted on that spot in days long gone. Royal processions ascended and descended the grand stairway; courtly assemblies on these broad terraces; soft-treading serfs hastened hither and thither at the bidding of their haughty masters. These things, with all their rich coloring quaint costumes, and strange faces, held and fascinated my imagination. The fragrant air fanned my brow and lulled me to sleep; still my dreams were a continuation of my meditations. As I lay there in the hammock at the door of that ruined mansion, a man appeared suddenly before me – whence, I saw not. He was of powerful build and his features were handsome, but his large d[a]rk eyes had a forbidding expression. His straight da[r]k hair was short in front, combed over his forehead; at the sides its length increased gradually toward the back, and ornaments of amber which clasped the ends, separated the hair into several locks.¹⁶³

As Aac’s “dream-voice was effaced by another, speaking Maya” to her, Le Plongeon’s dream sequence ends as abruptly as it began, transporting her back to the Mayan ruins, seeing “not the richly attired Aac, beneath whose broken statue I had been dreaming, but the smiling face, bright eyes, and sinewy, half-clad form of our trusty friend, [Ignacio] Loesa.”¹⁶⁴ The dream

¹⁶⁰ ADLP, “Yucatan” 311, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁶¹ Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, “Between Empires” 5.

¹⁶² Barca, *Life in Mexico* 10.

¹⁶³ ADLP, “Yucatan” 457-9, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. 462.

sequence serves as an example of how Le Plongeon's writing on the history of the Maya was multiply coded and reflects what she labeled a "tangled skein" that can be "perplexing to the student."¹⁶⁵ Having immersed herself in the works of her predecessors like Waldeck, Stephens, Catherwood, or Bourbourg and by drawing from them, Le Plongeon's own local boundedness in Yucatán, the Mayan ruins, her Victorian time frame, her scientific and personal views, her desire of "looking yet further back in the history of the Maya nation,"¹⁶⁶ all coalesce into an amalgamation of coexisting fragmentary elements in her gaze and subsequent writing. Le Plongeon not only depicts landscape and ruins in her picturesque descriptions as mentally photographed in that very moment; her view extends past the current presentation of ruins and bygone Maya empires through the past, the present and future from a certain vantage point seemingly outside the time frame:

But in tracing the history of the Mayas, we contemplate only one of the many waves of humanity which have flowed on before us. Could we look beyond and yet further beyond, we should find the same story repeated again and again; for nations, like individuals, come into existence, attain maturity, then begin to decay; finally they die and other spring into being. As some stars in the firmament are visible to the naked eye, while telescopes reveal more beyond, and still others remain unseen in infinite space; so it would seem to be with the nations which, through many ages, have succeeded each other, and are lost in the abyss of time.¹⁶⁷

John Whale finds that the picturesque in many of its articulations combines the pleasures deriving from irritations of sense perception with a capacity to register a process of time: of decay, ruination and various forms of "naturalisation."¹⁶⁸ In contrast to Edith Wharton, for whom Morocco's connection to antiquity led to the exclusion of contemporary Morocco, the unchanging past governing the present moment in her travels and largely obliterating the contemporary scene¹⁶⁹ – an impression devoid of the passing of time – Le Plongeon's picturesque gaze is not a still image fixed in the present. Rather, it pierces through the fabric of time when it relates the waves of humanity "which have flowed before us" with the processes of becoming and decaying into a larger picture before the metaphorically hazy background of "others [that] remain unseen in infinite space" only to be seen through a telescope; in this case, the civilizations of the Mayas that had risen and fallen in the same imperial landscape as the Spanish conquered and established rule, as Richard Preston colorfully expresses: "For centuries, the ancient cities have rested under the forest canopy like

¹⁶⁵ Ibid. 207.

¹⁶⁶ ADLP, "Incinerating the Dead," ADPP VIII/4.

¹⁶⁷ ADLP, "Yucatan" 385, ADPP VI/17-19.

¹⁶⁸ Whale, "Romantics, Explorers and Picturesque Travellers" 176.

¹⁶⁹ See Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 110.

sunken reefs, while Spaniards and the descendants of the old people passed by them, almost unconscious of their existence.”¹⁷⁰ The only distinguishing feature is the procession of time.¹⁷¹

In taking Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan’s remarks that empires may exist simultaneously or successively in the sense of being geographically adjacent or temporally successive¹⁷² one step further, Le Plongeon’s gaze walks the reader through a kaleidoscope of the shattered, tempo-spatially fragmented remains of imperial formations.¹⁷³ In the same way, throughout de la Barca’s *Life in Mexico*, “she attends to the multi-layered past inscribed in the landscape.”¹⁷⁴ When de la Barca gazes into the landscape, “it all appeared to me rather like a vision of the Past then the actual breathing Present.”¹⁷⁵ Although de la Barca first envisioned the history of the Aztec civilization through the imperial lens of the Spanish conquest, her perspective shifts between empires throughout the text¹⁷⁶ when she describes “[t]he curtain of Time [that] seemed to roll back, and to discover to us the great panorama that burst upon the eye.”¹⁷⁷ In contrast to Miriam Leslie, for whom the point of view of her imperial gaze was static and devoid of a temporal flow, by drawing back the curtains of time, Alice Le Plongeon describes the different empires of the past, present, and future. Like de la Barca, Le Plongeon experiences a connection between the imperial gaze, the picturesque, and nostalgia: a melancholic nature of the Mexican landscape, a dejection that stems from many temporal sources, e.g. the ruins of the Aztecs on which stand ruins of Spanish convents and cathedrals,¹⁷⁸ which at the time of Le Plongeon’s travels were the theater for scientific exploration, appropriation and exploitation and the Caste War of Yucatán.

Zelia Nuttall: Nostalgia for pre-Columbian America

Of the four protagonists, Zelia Nuttall’s texts show the least amount of utilization of the aesthetic of the picturesque. Her efforts to maintain a more neutral and academic tone in her scientific books, articles, etc., appear to have limited the amount of textual preservations of a

¹⁷⁰ Preston, “America’s Egypt” 256.

¹⁷¹ Later, in her poem “Immortality,” Le Plongeon continues this notion of rise and fall of civilizations when she writes: “Each fleeting shape that vanished revives / In other forms – repose can but endure / Till Life to action shall again allure. / Each atom of the world that gem the sky, / Enfolded in the Infinite, survives / To know the soul of immortality” (ADLP, “Immortality”, ADPP VII/Folder 12).

¹⁷² See Stoler/McGranahan, “Refiguring Imperial Terrains” 18.

¹⁷³ In the way that Ann Laura Stoler and Carole McGranahan define that “empires may be ‘things,’ but imperial formations are not. Imperial formations are polities of dislocations, processes of dispersion, appropriation, and displacement” (Stoler/McGranahan, “Refiguring Imperial Terrains” 8).

¹⁷⁴ Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, “Between Empires” 15.

¹⁷⁵ Barca, *Life in Mexico* 39.

¹⁷⁶ See Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, “Between Empires” 15-6.

¹⁷⁷ Barca, *Life in Mexico* 39.

¹⁷⁸ See Kaplan/Gerassi-Navarro, “Between Empires” 22.

female imperial gaze (through the picturesque texts). However, Nuttall's texts are not entirely devoid of any signs of cultural imperialism or possessing or appropriating gazes.

During Nuttall's exploration of the Isla da Sacrificios in December 1909, with its subsequent contestation with Leopoldo Batres (see ch. 4.2), Nuttall described the island in her article "The Island of Sacrificios" (1910):

To conclude the sketch of the history of Sacrificios it should be stated that its center is now occupied by a lighthouse which, with two tall palm trees, constitute the only salient features of the low sandy stretch which has been experimentally planted with the native cane and a few shrubs. A bungalow and outhouse were erected on the eastern shore of the island to serve as an isolation ward connected with the hospital in Vera Cruz for patients suffering from contagious diseases. It could not, however, be used on account of the distance from Vera Cruz, because in rough weather the island is practically cut off from all communication with the mainland. Its inhabitants now consist of the lighthouse keepers and their families. An obelisk marks the spot where, at the south of the island near the landing place, are buried the remains of a great number of Frenchmen who died of yellow fever at Vera Cruz and on the island during the French occupation. The bones of the "heretical" Englishmen rest, I am told, in the northern part of the island and, I regret to say, not even a cross marks the place of their burial. It is strange how, during the course of centuries, the history of the island seems always to have been tragic and associated with some form or other of human suffering and death.¹⁷⁹

This excerpt from the article exemplifies rare elements in Nuttall's style that were concerned with detailed descriptions of landscapes and surroundings. Despite these rare descriptive passages on landscape, these do not specifically employ the aesthetic strategy of the picturesque, as formulated by Gilpin. Although not following a specific style of imagery, in a similar fashion to Miriam Leslie, Nuttall, e.g. in her book *The Fundamental Principles* (1901) approaches her topic by stepping towards a window: "One evening, in February, 1898, I left my desk and, stepping to the window, looked out at Polaris and the circumpolar region of the sky, with a newly awakened and eager interest."¹⁸⁰

Like Miriam Leslie and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon, Zelia Nuttall's use of the picturesque shows noticeable signs of eroding the clear-cut elements of the picturesque aesthetic. In some instances, Nuttall is able to keep the element of the roughness in the descriptions. In a letter to her brother George Nuttall, she writes: "'One cannot imagine oneself in America here – all is so old, dilapidated and picturesque.'"¹⁸¹ In general, the aspect

¹⁷⁹ ZN, "Island of Sacrificios" 367.

¹⁸⁰ ZN, *Fundamental Principles* 7.

¹⁸¹ Parmenter, "Recovery" 96. Another example of preserving the element of roughness can be seen in one of Nuttall's botanical paper: "The picturesque dances in which all the dancers wore wreaths and necklaces of flowers and sustained a massive gardenland; the pretty floral game in which the women pelted each other with balls entirely made of the Pachtli or Florida moss or orange *Tagetes* and the profusion of fragrant blossoms with which the victims were adorned, were in striking contrast to the hideous human sacrifices which were performed by the Aztec priesthood during the festivals of their gods" (ZN, "Flower-Lovers of Ancient Mexico" 371).

of pre-Columbian Aztec ruins cause the very few descriptions in Nuttall's work that are more closely related to a literary style, e.g. the following passage from Nuttall's *Fundamental Principles* (1902):

At the zenith of its power, however, it may safely be inferred that Teotihuacan was a great center where astronomical observation and agriculture flourished, these being the natural outcome of the cult of the mother-earth and the nocturnal heaven. Whilst all conjecture must necessarily be hypothetical, it is a comfort to reflect that in the ruins themselves, lies guarded the past history of Teotihuacan, which was shrouded in a mist of uncertainty even at the time of the Conquest.¹⁸²

Further contraction of the term can be seen in Nuttall's article "A Curious Survival in Mexico of the Use of the Purpura Shell-Fish for Dyeing" (1909) in which she uses the expression similar to Leslie and Le Plongeon regarding the consumption of products: "She showed a picturesque basket full of purple skeins of loosely twisted cotton thread which had just been brought back to her, on mule-back, from Huamelula, a small town on the Pacific coast."¹⁸³

In the same article, Nuttall also shows signs of a gaze that tends to objectify inhabitants of the region, particularly when writing about the purple-colored skirts worn by native inhabitants of Tehuantepec. As Ann Bermingham reasons, in exotic fashions the cultural Other was subsumed by the more familiar and easily managed feminine Other,¹⁸⁴ and from the picturesque point of view these feminine Others were beautiful, flexible, weak, yielding, submissive, restful, affectionate, elegant, and graceful, and with its parts imperceptibly combined.¹⁸⁵ Like Alice Le Plongeon, who found that "the Mestizas and Indians always retain their most picturesque ancient national costume,"¹⁸⁶ Nuttall similarly remarks about the "ordinary skirts so gracefully worn by the native women who are distinguished for their slender willowy."¹⁸⁷ Typically for the picturesque aesthetic on clothing, dresses were "light and limp, falling in graceful folds, its ornaments were few and not glittering,"¹⁸⁸ just like Nuttall's gaze that rests on a romanticized perspective toward the women by referring to them as "graceful" and wearing their skirts "gracefully." Here, Nuttall's tone becomes possessive of the native inhabitants as she not only "ordered a skirt to be woven for me" but also by "having persuaded a graceful Zapotec woman to sell me one she had had in use."¹⁸⁹ In 1926, the Nuttall's student Manuel Gamio explained: "The white man possessed the native woman

¹⁸² ZN, *Fundamental Principles* 268.

¹⁸³ ZN, "Curious Survival" 369.

¹⁸⁴ See Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 103.

¹⁸⁵ See *ibid.* 109.

¹⁸⁶ ADLP, "Notes on Yucatan" 96.

¹⁸⁷ ZN, "Curious Survival" 368.

¹⁸⁸ Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 110.

¹⁸⁹ ZN, "Curious Survival" 371.

wherever and whenever he saw fit.”¹⁹⁰ By perceiving the object of interest, not the dress itself but the woman *in* the dress, through the possessive visual mode of the picturesque aesthetic, Nuttall is complicit with these fetishizations of indigenous culture in a similar way.

Nuttall could recognize the craftsmanship of ancient American cultures, e.g. in the form of the atlatl in her piece “The Atlatl or Spear-Thrower” (1891), by saying it was “exquisitely carved, covered with gold, inlaid with turquoise, decorated with feather work and exhibiting the remarkable degree of skill attained by an industrious and intelligent race.”¹⁹¹ More importantly, it seemed “to be a fitting epitome of the strange civilization of Ancient Mexico, the real barbarism of which was mitigated by the most marvelous perfection in every detail of industrial art.”¹⁹² Moreover, when writing about the ancient traditions of bloodletting in “A Penitential Rite of the Ancient Mexicans” (1904) that included “the rite of voluntarily drawing blood, principally from the ear, [and which] was a feature of every-day life in Ancient Mexico which was performed by young and old,”¹⁹³ Nuttall incipiently assumes that “the performance of the rite of blood sacrifice, constituted an act of humility, of thanksgiving, of penitence, or of propitiation.”¹⁹⁴ However, later in the article, Nuttall cannot disconnect her own personal opinion from her position as a Victorian-age American woman, assuming a moral high ground and crediting the Spanish conquistadores for their actions: “It is but just to recognize what a meritorious deed the Spanish Conquerors performed when they summarily abolished as barbarous a practice, which, of itself, sufficed to fill them with disgust for the native ritual.”¹⁹⁵

Following the incipiently mentioned contradiction posed by Kröller and Mills, Nuttall could both assume culturally imperialistic positions and be equanimous towards Mexicans, particularly in their struggle of Mexicans before the Mexican Revolution. Ross Parmenter surmises about Nuttall’s equanimity that although Nuttall was a scientific investigator, her preoccupation with the past caused her to be indifferent to egalitarian ideas and other intellectual currents in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁹⁶ While on the one side Nuttall asserts her own position towards ancient Aztec traditions as “barbarous practice[s]” that were ousted in a “meritorious deed” by the Spanish conquerors, on the other side Nuttall claims that “whatever views may be held concerning the religion of the Ancient

¹⁹⁰ Gamio, “Incorporating the Indian” 108.

¹⁹¹ ZN, “The Atlatl or Spear-Thrower” 30.

¹⁹² Ibid. 30.

¹⁹³ ZN, “Penitential Rite” 26.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. 9.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. 26.

¹⁹⁶ See Parmenter, “Recovery” 701.

Mexicans; [...] there is one point on which all must agree, namely, that the Ancient Mexicans practised their religion with a zeal and devotion worthy of a better cause.”¹⁹⁷ This Janus-faced position of Zelia Nuttall can be seen in the fact that she could be more disturbed by the loss of archaeological artifacts, e.g. in discussing a pre-Columbian featherwork in “Standard or Head-Dress?” (1888),¹⁹⁸ than she was by the loss of culture and traditions, i.e. the “barbarous practices,” as well as recognizing the “terrible struggle of the Mexicans” during the Spanish Conquest.¹⁹⁹

While Nuttall displays a certain equanimity during most of her active career, towards its end, Nuttall’s equanimity was replaced by nostalgia and ambitions to counteract the effects of the past. Although Nuttall in her work rarely utters personal views or reveals personal opinions, in the article “A Curious Survival” she finds herself “absorbed in thought upon an industry which was, to me, invested with all the romance and charm of historical and classical associations.”²⁰⁰ In these rare instances, Nuttall conveys a sense of amazement and romanticizes nostalgia for the past and these traditions. Summarizing her explorations on the dyeing of materials with the purpura, Nuttall reminisces: “Here was almost an extinct survival of an ancient, primitive method of dyeing similar to that practised by the Phoenicians not only at Sidon and Tyre, but in the islands of Cythera, Thera, and Crete, which were also ‘main seats of the purple trade.’”²⁰¹

On a subliminal level, Nuttall also de-historicizes the indigenous population, similar to Amelia Edwards’s Egypt or Alice Le Plongeon’s Yucatán.²⁰² Not only conveying a certain sense of nostalgia for the pre-Columbian past,²⁰³ Nuttall also becomes aware of Western or European influences and relates her nostalgia to her own cultural background when discussing the purple skirts in Tehuantepec. Nuttall reasons that “Tehuantepec matrons still consider one

¹⁹⁷ ZN, “Penitential Rite” 3.

¹⁹⁸ According to Nuttall: “Ethnologists will probably never cease to regret that once its future conservation was ensured, the venerable relic was not left untouched; and they cannot but consider its restoration an irreparable error, for it almost entirely deprives those interested in studying the methods of ancient, native handiwork of personal inspection and observation” (ZN, “Standard or Head-Dress” 26).

¹⁹⁹ In her paper “The Atlatl or Spear-Thrower,” Nuttall remarks: “For it is recorded as an historical fact, that during the final terrible struggle of the Mexicans, in a time of direst distress, the last of Aztec hero-chiefs, Quauhtemotzin, ordered the bravest of his warrior to take Huitzilopochtli’s relics, the ‘blue serpent’ and ‘the cleaver’ and venture boldly into the ranks of the Spaniards” (ZN, “The Atlatl or Spear-Thrower” 21).

²⁰⁰ ZN, “Curious Survival” 371.

²⁰¹ Ibid. 371.

²⁰² For example, for Nuttall “the ancient Mexicans had rain-makers and medicine-men, whose professional attainments were on par with those of other American tribes of the present day” (ZN, “Sorcery, Medicine and Surgery” 91).

²⁰³ In her 1919 paper “The Gardens of Ancient Mexico,” Nuttall expresses her nostalgia for the lost gardens of Ancient Mexico: “After reading in the preceding pages of the beauty of the vanished gardens of Ancient Mexico, the reader will doubtless share the writer’s regret that at the present time there is no botanical garden in Mexico or any other containing a representative collection of the wonderful native flora which furnished so much delight to countless generations of the earliest American flower-garden lovers” (ZN, “Gardens of Ancient Mexico” 590).

of these [skirts] somewhat in the light that our grandmothers regarded a black silk dress, as associated with social respectability and position,” but also finds that “fewer and fewer purple skirts are ordered every year, and the younger generation of women favor the imported and cheaper European stuffs.”²⁰⁴ In the case of this nostalgia, the notion of a land self-sufficient in its natural state, to be untouched by progress and outside influence, was also depicted by one of Nuttall’s acquaintances Marian Storm in *Little Known Mexico* (1932):

We were going out to Tempoal [de Sánchez] that day – a native city in the far-off hills. Was ever town so self-sufficient? I wondered afterwards. But that is Mexico. Such towns had no real need of the bus lines and airplanes that have come, for already they possessed what they wanted.²⁰⁵

In the late 1920s, Nuttall’s nostalgia for the past manifested itself when she dedicated herself to the implementation of the shadowless moment as a festival. In 1931, she published an article about the mythical significance of the sun passing through the zenith and the nature of its observation by the native inhabitants of tropical America.²⁰⁶ In it, Nuttall identifies the beliefs around solstices and equinoxes of the Central American civilizations as a fundamental and unifying part of their religion that influenced art and architecture in the tropical regions of the Americas.²⁰⁷ In the article, Nuttall expressly condemns the destruction of Inca monuments, particularly of steles relating to the movements of the sun, by the Spanish as never before in her career: “The nefarious destruction of sun pillars, being applauded by the Inca descendent Garcilaso de la Vega, undoubtedly also took place in other parts of America.”²⁰⁸ She then continues to identify this as an act of eradicating indigenous traditions: “These same fanatical destruction was conducted by civilians, religiously oriented and proselytes, and extended to the entire tropical America, particularly Mexico, in order to wholly eradicate the sun cult.”²⁰⁹ Nuttall realizes the critical effects of the forced introduction

²⁰⁴ ZN, “Curious Survival” 370.

²⁰⁵ Storm, *Little Known Mexico* 38. Interestingly, Storm, in the very first chapter of *Little Known Mexico* (“Tempico Blazes”) writes about the Americanization of Mexico: “In her heart Tampico is not Americanized, and she is only waiting for the assorted foreigners to give up and go. She will never be regular. Fickle as Madame Roulette, she bestows her favours suddenly, with astounding lavishness, making premature millionaires, enriching the rich, and tricking the trustful. She is amused at patient, plucky labour, and will jestingly turn to salt water wells that seemed certain to yield fortunes, while drowning the philosophical wildcat driller in an uncontrollable flood of wasted oil. Tampico can be generous and infatuated, or outrageous and cruel. Tampico is a test” (Storm, *Little Known Mexico* 17).

²⁰⁶ The original German title: “Die mythologische Bedeutung des Sonnendurchgangs durch den Zenit und die Art seiner Beobachtung bei den Ureinwohnern des tropischen Amerika.”

²⁰⁷ See ZN, “Die mythologische Bedeutung” 2.

²⁰⁸ ZN, “Die mythologische Bedeutung” 9. The original German quotation: “Diese ruchlose Zerstörung der Sonnensäulen, welche den Beifall des Inkaabkömmlings [Garcilaso de la Vega] hatte, hat zweifellos auch in anderen Teilen Amerikas stattgefunden” (ibid.).

²⁰⁹ Ibid. The original German quotation: “Dieselbe fanatische Zerstörung wurde von Zivilpersonen, kirchlich gesinnten und Neubekehrten, ausgeführt und erstreckte sich über das ganze tropische Amerika, besonders über Mexico, um den Sonnenkult vollständig auszurotten” (ibid.).

of Christian calendar systems by the Spanish authorities on the native religion.²¹⁰ Also, in her late paper “The Causes of the Physical Degeneracy of Mexican Indians after the Spanish Conquest” (1927), Nuttall condemns similar acts by the Spanish authorities in Mexico. With the article, she hopes to “throw a new light upon the increased mortality and degeneration of the native race after the Conquest,” a phenomenon Nuttall finds to have “generally been attributed to the oppression and cruelty of the Spaniards.”²¹¹ Nuttall wanted to re-establish the event of the sun passing through the zenith in an attempt to undo the damage that was inflicted upon the inhabitants of Mexico.²¹²

To summarize, Nuttall’s female imperial gaze of Central America is characterized by a sense of quaintness for traditional objects such as baskets and women’s skirts and costumes that funnel into a romanticized nostalgia for pre-Columbian life. More than that, as a historian Nuttall could occupy a Janus-faced position: While she could condemn pre-Columbian civilizations for their barbaric rituals, she could also admire their culture and condemn the destruction caused by the Spanish conquistadores.

“Picturesque, To a Degree...” – Lady Drummond-Hay’s Touristic Gaze

Of the protagonists in this study, Drummond-Hay’s life reached the most into the twentieth century. The picturesque, despite its cultural zenith in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as an aesthetic framework continued to prevail so that this artistic mode is easily recognizable in the late nineteenth and even twentieth-century texts, photography, advertisements, and other media.²¹³ Like the other protagonists but perhaps to a greater degree, Drummond-Hay was a “picturesque tourist,”²¹⁴ what John Whale in his essay “Romantics, Explorers and Picturesque Travellers” refers to as “a surrogate explorer.”²¹⁵

Having already discussed how in the picturesque scene positions the spectator in relation to the arranged elements,²¹⁶ e.g. Miriam Leslie looking out of her window at the city

²¹⁰ Nuttall remarks: “The Spanish authorities and monks had realized that the sun cult represented the basis of the native religion, in conjunction with the interrelated calendar, which automatically vanished after the introduction of the Christian calendar with its artificial division into four seasons, its religious feasts and saints’ days” (ibid. 9-10). The original German quotation: “Die spanischen Behörden und die Mönche hatten wohl erkannt, dass der Sonnenkult die Grundlage der einheimischen Religion und des davon abhängenden Kalenders bildete, welcher automatisch verschwand mit der Einführung des christlichen Kalenders mit seiner künstlichen Jahreseinteilung in vier Jahreszeiten, seinen religiösen Festen und seinen Heiligentagen” (ibid.).

²¹¹ ZN, “Causes of Physical Degeneracy” 40.

²¹² See ZN, “Die mythologische Bedeutung” 10-11.

²¹³ See Auerbach, “The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire” 52.

²¹⁴ Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism” 92.

²¹⁵ Whale, “Romantics, Explorers and Picturesque Travellers” 176.

²¹⁶ See Conron, *American Picturesque* 8-9.

of Havana in 1878, Drummond-Hay also uses this positioning as she aptly named her first article published in *The Sphere* on September 27, 1924, “From a Window in Fleet Street.” Also, similar to Miriam Leslie, who during her trip to Cuba sketched the picturesque scenery of Havana’s “grand old fortress proudly rearing its impregnable towers against the cloudless sky, while even the cruel sea could only fawn persuasively at its feet and wash with foam the living rock upon which it is reared,”²¹⁷ Drummond-Hay’s gaze manifests on the waterside during her trip to Havana in 1928:

The water-front at Havana, known as the Malecon [sic],²¹⁸ is by far the loveliest I have ever seen, and was compared by South Americans with the famous front at Rio de Janeiro. Picturesque and dreamy in daytime, the starlit, tropical nights lend it quite another allure. For literally miles a chain of dazzling lights outline the coast; the promenade is generously planted with exotic shrubs and flowers.²¹⁹

In comparison to the other protagonists, in Drummond-Hay’s writing the aspect of ruination is the strongest aspect that lives through the long history of the aesthetic, as she describes in the British Magazine *Mentor-World Traveler* the Algerian city of Ghardaia that is “to the eye, a picturesque heap of stones and medley of tumbledown buildings, [...] a fascinating world of its own.”²²⁰

As an “effective imperialist” who could enter the realms of the harem, i.e. those worlds that male imperialists were unable to penetrate (see Kaplan’s notion of manifest domesticity), Drummond-Hay explains: “I believe I am more aware of the harem life than any other Western woman. I was able to penetrate this mysterious life that takes place behind the veil and behind the closed doors of women’s apartments.”²²¹ Drummond-Hay was particularly fascinated by the interior of Egyptian (or Eastern) harems as it constituted a parallel world laden with romanticized idealism. In her early writing, for Drummond-Hay’s gaze the “hareem is a magic word” that works as a “key to the floodgates of our imaginations.”²²² However, most importantly, they “conjure up fantastic visions of barbaric beauty, of the colour and glamour of the East.”²²³ As Drummond-Hay explains, superficially the “harem is merely that part of the house which is not accessible to the casual visitor, and includes all the living and many of the reception rooms.”²²⁴ In contrast to Drummond-Hay’s remarks that

²¹⁷ Leslie, “Scenes in Sun-Lands I” 130.

²¹⁸ Or by its official name Avenida de Maceo.

²¹⁹ LDH, “Politics in Havana” 297.

²²⁰ LDH, “Land of Quaker Sheikhs” 59-60.

²²¹ The original French quotation: “Je crois être plus au courant de la vie des harems que toute autre femme occidentale. Il m’a été donné de pénétrer cette vie mystérieuse qui se déroule derrière le voile et derrière les portes fermées des appartements des femmes” (LDH, “Lettres du Maroc” 366).

²²² LDH, “The New Hareem” 8.

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Ibid.

harems are not ordinarily accessible to the “causal visitor,” she does not exclude a visitation in general as, for example, does Edith Wharton, who claims in *In Morocco* that “as a rule no women are admitted.”²²⁵ In doing so, Wharton implies to the reader a privileged gaze into an exotic and erotic world that is generally inaccessible to Western subjects.²²⁶

However, having entered the ordinarily inaccessible rooms, similarly to Leslie, Le Plongeon, and Nuttall, Drummond-Hay uses the expression of the picturesque in a contracted form, e.g. when she describes the interior of a harem in Morocco: “Le décor est presque toujours d’un pittoresque romantique.”²²⁷ The visual representations of harems function similarly to the picturesque house that, according to John Conron, is a sphere dialogically defined by both genders: a mental map, often as surreal as apartheid, of spaces, functions, powers, and responsibilities both divided, often hierarchically, and shared by gender.²²⁸ Drummond-Hay describes this gender-specific layout in detail: “At the extreme end of this courtyard another door in the high walls leads to the garden reserved for members of the hareem, who were disporting and sunning themselves on the drab lawns, while innumerable children played games around the shabby bushes.”²²⁹



Fig. 4: Favorites of the Harem, Constantinople (ca. 1900).

²²⁵ Wharton, *In Morocco* 164.

²²⁶ See Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 114.

²²⁷ LDH, “Lettres du Maroc” 367.

²²⁸ Conron, *American Picturesque* xxi.

²²⁹ LDH, “The New Harem” 8.

Drummond-Hay's imperial gaze formalizes the personages of the harem as passive and apathetic, similarly to Wharton, who describes a "languor [that] lay on all the" women²³⁰ (see fig. 4). For Wharton, the "divans covered with striped mattress-ticking stood against the white walls, and on them sat seven or eight passive-looking women over whom a number of pale children scrambled."²³¹ Such rhetoric distinguishes the passivity of the women of the harem from the leisure experienced by upper-class Europeans and Americans: although European women of the upper classes were encouraged to live a life of leisure, this leisure was registered as productive because it permitted the acquisition of cultural capital.²³² This applies even more for Drummond-Hay, as her depictions of the harem were not only leisure activities but paid-for content for an English newspaper.

Furthermore, the picturesque asserts itself in various ways in Drummond-Hay's writing, not merely in describing the romanticized interior of "oriental harems." As the mode of the picturesque in the eighteenth century could accommodate a variety of objects from cityscapes, gardens, animals, or furniture to fabrics or decoration, Alice Le Plongeon as well as Zelia Nuttall and Miriam Leslie and Drummond-Hay aestheticized foreign objects and dresses. Le Plongeon aestheticized the dresses of native women in Yucatan, Zelia Nuttall the purple-colored skirts worn by the women of Tehuantepec, and Miriam Leslie described of a South American beggar in "picturesque attire." According to Ann Bermingham, as the picturesque was coded as feminine, indexing a femininity that embodied and responded to variety and change, fashion became closely associated with the picturesque, perfectly suited to the ever-changing woman of fashion and her world.²³³ On its path through history, the picturesque aesthetic migrated from the aesthetic discourse of the eighteenth-century landscape design to a commercial discourse of the twentieth century, particularly in fashion retailing.²³⁴

In her descriptions of the Orient, Drummond-Hay often remarks on the changes in the cultural realm of "the magic East" in context with its picturesqueness:

The apostles of Western civilization threaten to deprive us of all that is thrilling, colourful, and glamorous in the magic East. Turkey led the way when Mustapha Kemal Pasha abolished the picturesque traditions of Islam, relegating to the realm of the forbidden harems plurality of wives and concubines, the seductive veil, and decorative crimson fez.²³⁵

²³⁰ Wharton, *In Morocco* 191.

²³¹ See *ibid.* 192.

²³² See Edwards, *Exotic Journeys* 115.

²³³ See Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 81.

²³⁴ See *ibid.*

²³⁵ LDH, "World Affairs" 167.

Not coincidentally, Drummond-Hay's nostalgia already formed in one of her earliest journalistic pieces from 1924, when she wrote her first pieces for the London-based *Daily Express*. She mourned the loss of traditional Egyptian culture of harems:

Young Egypt, eager to overtake her Western contemporaries, is fast discarding many a time-worn customs and institutions with undoubted material benefit to herself, but the regret and disappointment of those who seek still to find the inimitable cachet of the Orient in this, the Gateway of the East.²³⁶

Drawing on Renato Rosaldo's work on nostalgia,²³⁷ Drummond-Hay here shows a mourning of the passing of traditional society that cannot be separated from imperialist nostalgia that attempts to use a mask of innocence to cover imperialist involvement with processes of domination.²³⁸ In that regard, Rosaldo's concept is similar to one strand of Patricia Lorcin's interpretation of "colonial nostalgia"²³⁹ that is "connected to reminiscences and evocations of a past lifestyle and an idealized vision of the intercultural relations within the colony that existed at that time."²⁴⁰ Moreover, as Sann Turoma expresses, imperial nostalgia encompasses an ironic longing for the aesthetic practices and the authentic travel and adventure of Europe's colonial past.²⁴¹

The connection between the picturesque aesthetic and imperial nostalgia is obvious: picturesque viewing was supposed to be "superficial" in that it was a way to examine the appearances of things without necessarily seeking their cause or meaning.²⁴² A key feature of imperialist nostalgia uses the pose of 'innocent yearning' both to capture people's imaginations and to conceal its complicity with brutal domination, according to Renato Rosaldo.²⁴³ As John Marx is sure that Amelia Edwards's use of the picturesque in *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* (1888) suggests that the origins of colonial or imperial nostalgia are perhaps

²³⁶ LDH, "My Hareem Thrill" 8.

²³⁷ According to Renato Rosaldo, "imperialist nostalgia" is "a mood of nostalgia [that] makes racial domination appear innocent and pure" (Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* 68), sometimes "even noble, since it dovetails with the mission to uplift and civilize 'savage' cultures" (Foja, *Islands of Empire* 65). It revolves around the paradox that "someone deliberately alters a form of life and then regrets that things have not remained as they were prior to the intervention" (Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* 70).

²³⁸ See *ibid.* 86.

²³⁹ John Marx refers to Rosaldo's term as "imperial nostalgia" in regard to the sentiment he was describing as "imperialist nostalgia." The notions of "imperial nostalgia" and "colonial nostalgia" are often used interchangeably and can broadly be understood as a "yearning for the imperial power that had vanished, without hope of restoration" (Ai, "Nostalgia Imperial" xvi) or as "descriptions of the colonial past [that] were permeated by a sense of loss" (Baratieri, *Memories and Silences* 139).

²⁴⁰ Lorcin, "Imperial Nostalgia" 103. Lorcin argues that there is a distinction to be made between imperial nostalgia and colonial nostalgia: The former is associated with the loss of empire, that is to say the decline of national grandeur and the international power politics connected to economic and political hegemony; whereas the latter is associated with the loss of socio-cultural standing or, to be more precise, the colonial lifestyle (see Lorcin, "France's Nostalgias for Empire" 143).

²⁴¹ See Turoma, *Empire, Tourism, Nostalgia* 226.

²⁴² See Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 85.

²⁴³ See Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth* 70.

more Victorian and more feminine than assumed,²⁴⁴ Drummond-Hay's nostalgic expression about Egypt as the "inimitable cachet" of the Orient is complicit with imperialist nostalgia's ideology in that it attenuates the guilt stemming from the subject's implication in – and even responsibility for – precisely the state of affairs it is lamenting.²⁴⁵ For example, according to John Marx, Amelia Edwards with the picturesque aesthetic in her travel account *A Thousand Miles Up the Nile* pioneered in aesthetic terms very much the same colonial reinvention that the British Foreign Office would later stage in political and economic terms in taking control over Egypt.²⁴⁶ In the attempt to cover the involvement with this process of domination, the central premise of imperialist nostalgia is exactly the occluded memory of the exactions inflicted on the colonized people, the belief in benevolent modernity, and the relative bonhomie of the colonial lifestyle.²⁴⁷

Jeffrey Auerbach reasons that in the picturesque image "the scene is in perfect harmony, in terms of perspective, colour, and relationship between the human world and the natural world."²⁴⁸ When Drummond-Hay traveled through China, she remarked about the Legation Quarter in Beijing that "modern Western edifices look sadly out of place in the picturesque surroundings."²⁴⁹ Although the picturesque was able to aestheticize even unexpected harmonies,²⁵⁰ Drummond-Hay's perception is characterized by a disturbance of the elements in her descriptions instead of the incorporative power of the picturesque mode, particularly in American writing, e.g. by Miriam Leslie in South America. In her article "Suspense in the Legation Quarter" (1927), by particularly describing the political tensions and the uncertain peace in the Legation Quarter between the Western powers and the Chinese government, Drummond-Hay's writings embody what Ann Bermingham describes about the picturesque tourist: they "communed with the most beautiful creations of divine intelligence and not with the corrupt and corrupting works of men."²⁵¹

This correlates with Tim Youngs' findings about travel writing from 1900 onwards: not unique to it but characteristic of it "is bathos; a rejection of the picturesque and the sublime."²⁵² Youngs further explains: "the hapless, comic protagonist moves through a

²⁴⁴ See Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze" 58.

²⁴⁵ See Roberts, "Transnational Geographic" 111.

²⁴⁶ Marx, "Modernism and the Female Imperial Gaze" 62.

²⁴⁷ Lorcin, "Imperial Nostalgia" 104.

²⁴⁸ Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire" 49.

²⁴⁹ LDH, "Suspense in the Legation Quarter" 502. Drummond-Hay described the insides of the quarter: "Viewed from the Tart Wall, the Legation Quarter is a labyrinth of walls and well-paved streets" (ibid.).

²⁵⁰ See Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 85.

²⁵¹ Bermingham, "The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism" 86.

²⁵² Youngs, *Travel Writing* 82.

landscape that is much less inspiring or sustaining than, say, in the eighteenth century.”²⁵³ The picturesque in the twentieth century had not only been saturated with a long and rich history since the eighteenth century, but was all too easily disturbed and was beginning to collapse under the weight of its own history. The appropriative power that the picturesque had asserted through Western and particularly British imperialism became unstable in its assimilative capabilities.²⁵⁴ Concordantly, Drummond-Hay constructs a picturesque image in her article “The Land of the Quaker-Sheikhs” that the Algerian city of:

Laghouat boasts some 30,000 palms, and a sect of human beings, whose bee-like service is to fecundate the trees. Loudly calling upon the One God, these priests of Nature carry the fertilizing pollen to the flowers of the female palm. It is claimed that this curious fraternity alone possesses the strange virtue. But Laghouat with all its color and mystery of white-robed Sheikhs, heavily-veiled women, dashing French military spahis in scarlet burnouses against the romantic background of burning sand, verdant palms and white arabesque houses, was still not the haven I sought.²⁵⁵

Despite the elaborated image, the paragraph closes by noting that, after witnessing all the elements of the exotic and picturesque, it still was not the “haven” Drummond-Hay had sought. Like Edith Wharton in *In Morocco* or Amelia Edwards in *A Thousand Miles up the Nile*, Drummond-Hay in “The Land of the Quaker Sheikhs” constructs North Africa, more precisely Algerian society, as rooted in the past: “The Golden Age still persists in the Sahara and Time stands still in the strange Mozabite city of Ghardaia.”²⁵⁶ And yet, although being in line with other authors in this respect, Drummond-Hay’s experience as traveler is not satisfying. Even more, Drummond-Hay points to the problem of this dilemma:

The cities of the M’zab are picturesque to a degree. When I was there the market places were ablaze with the gold of a rich date-harvest, the crimson of pomegranates, aubergines, with oranges, and sweet lemons. But there is no need to go to the market to buy dates or pomegranates. Both can be had for the picking. Custom sanctions the traveler to pick as many dates as he can eat on the spot, but none must be carried away. Pomegranates lie on the roadside fallen in their juicy ripeness from the trees.²⁵⁷

The cities of the M’zab are indeed picturesque – however, not enough in order to satisfy the presupposed imaginations of the traveler. While for Miriam Leslie the availability of commodities in the Havana city was a key element to perceiving her surroundings, for

²⁵³ Youngs, *Travel Writing* 82-3.

²⁵⁴ Drummond-Hay indeed used the appropriating aspect of the picturesque, for example by referring to Shanghai as “The Paris of the Distant Orient” describing Italy’s settlement plans in Africa as “Building a New Rome in Africa” (1934), or Hongkong as “The Chinese Semiramis” (1938). However, in so far as Jeffrey Auerbach identified the picturesque as effectively rendering the outskirts of the empire into a landscape similar to that of England, it becomes apparent that not only the English landscape is used by Drummond-Hay for these relations but rather a broader cultural background of Western culture and geographies. In that, the possessive power of the picturesque, at least for the British Imperial project, seems to dissipate.

²⁵⁵ LDH, “Land of the Quaker Sheikhs” 14-5.

²⁵⁶ LDH, “Land of the Quaker Sheikhs” 14.

²⁵⁷ Ibid. 61.

Drummond-Hay the all too easy availability of commodities that came at no expense to the traveler caused a disturbance to the tourist experience – it felt tepid for Drummond-Hay. There is nothing lurking in the shadows, beneath the shrubs of the jungle, hidden in the desert sand or behind the next romantically ruinous corner. Richard Preston acknowledges: “for the sweetest moment to the explorer is the first sight of the object of desire, not the ravishing that must follow.”²⁵⁸ As there is no need for Drummond-Hay to engage in the market, the cityscape, etc., the picturesque loses its appeal. The aesthetic of the picturesque with its strict routine in composition seems to break away in form of a kaleidoscopic panorama, e.g. in her descriptions of “Manila: The Junction of the Ages” (1927):

Manila, the capital of the Philippines, is a city of fantastic incongruities. Civilisation and savagery, the old and the new, the sublime and the ridiculous, nestle side by side. One of the finest, most modern and imposing western cities in the Orient lies on the fringe of jungle and the haunts of primitive man. The Isle of Luzon, on which Manila is situated, still harbours head-hunters, the “wild tribes” of the mountains, the Igorrotes, including the Bontocs, Kalingas, Ifugaos, and other to the number of approximately 450,000. Americanised Manila is a city of bread tree-lined boulevards, majestic buildings, *luxe* hotels, swift automobiles, and all the sanitary and hygienic amenities of the most progressive Western civilisation. [...] “Pearl of the Orient” fringed by the sapphire sea, roofed by a celestial pall of dazzling tropical loveliness, star-strewn at night, when the waxy sampaguita lavishes her fragrance on the evening breeze, and the camellia-like oleander discreetly perfumes path and pleasaunce of the children of the East and children of the West.²⁵⁹

The tourist development of the imperial gaze becomes apparent: connoisseurship that was necessary for the picturesque required a prolonged, contemplative look regarding the field of vision with a certain aloofness and disengagement over a tranquil interval.²⁶⁰ By contrast, what Drummond-Hay records in her descriptions of Shanghai, Hong Kong, Manila, and other landscapes or cityscapes is what Hillary Kaell describes as “mobilized gaze,” a sense of multidimensional rush and the fluid interconnections of places, peoples and possibilities.²⁶¹ In Drummond-Hay’s description of Manila’s “fantastic incongruities,” its scenic views, olfactory inputs, etc. all come together like a whirlwind of impressions that a canonical picturesque structure could not represent. As in her descriptions of Shanghai, Drummond-Hay expresses a destabilized, coalescing, and unorganized view:

As a cosmopolitan centre, Shanghai is unique and unrivalled. Along the Bund, that famous waterfront boulevard, hourly passes a kaleidoscopic procession of the peoples of the globe, and behind the magnificent modern buildings and streets of international shops nestle the picturesque resorts of the foreign Oriental inhabitants. British, American, French, Russian

²⁵⁸ Preston, “America’s Egypt” 256.

²⁵⁹ LDH, “Manila: The Junction of the Ages” 89.

²⁶⁰ See Urry/Larson, *Tourist Gaze* 157.

²⁶¹ See Kaell, *American Christians* 88. Kaell draws on Wolfgang Schivelbusch’s “mobility of vision,” he developed in *The Railway Journey: The Industrialization of Time and Space in the 19th Century* (1986).

hotels, stores, and resorts catering for the requirements of the various nationals, are poor in mystery and colourful allure when it comes to comparing them with the haunts of Japanese, Malays, Parsees, Koreans, Persians, Turks, Cingalese, Javanese, Annamese, Hindus, Brahmins, Sikhs, and all the pot-pourri of exotic man, whose presence lends Shanghai an incomparable brilliance and interest. They are not, as in Europe, oppressed or depressed by the drabness of a Western civilization or a sunless sky. If anything, China's climate seems to be a stimulus to their exuberance, expressed in all the tongues of Babel.²⁶²

Drummond-Hay's descriptions display a connection between imperialism and the picturesque: it grew in popularity at the very moment when the British empire was undergoing its most massive expansion, and the picturesque lost its appeal – and value – as the empire became more physically integrated during the second half of the nineteenth century when the electric telegraph and the steamship allowed for greater levels of communication and control.²⁶³ Concurring with Tim Youngs, it was exactly due to the commercialization of the modern world and particularly because of traveling that for Drummond-Hay a single landscape was not inspiring enough to fire her imagination continuously. Not only was Drummond-Hay part of a culture that increasingly embraced the commercial consumption of objects, her travel accounts were also professionally paid content for specific target audiences that could be consumed readily in itself. Moreover, Drummond-Hay's writing was further advanced, more than any of the other protagonists, by the development of what Susanne Müller refers to as the "second discovery".²⁶⁴ the fact that world had already been circumnavigated and mapped, already possessed and appropriated in its cultural outlets, in combination with the commercial developments in touristic exploration, e.g. easing traveling in terms of steamships, railways, even airships and planes, and the development of professional travel agencies.²⁶⁵

With a growing separation of the senses, especially of vision, from touch, smell and hearing, new technologies of the gaze began to be produced and circulated, including postcards, guidebooks, photographs, commodities, arcades, cafés, dioramas, mirrors, plate-glass windows.²⁶⁶ However, particularly the "tourist gaze" combined the means of collective travel, the desire for travel and the techniques of photographic reproduction and became a core component of Western modernity.²⁶⁷ In the same way, the picturesque aesthetic lost its

²⁶² LDH, "The Paris of the Distant Orient" 90.

²⁶³ See Auerbach, "The Picturesque and the Homogenisation of Empire" 52.

²⁶⁴ Susanne Müller finds the plethora of (scientific) expeditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to be exemplary of a "second discovery" of the world; since the world had been circumnavigated and charted, it was time for the next conquest – by steamships and railways (see Müller, *Die Welt des Baedeker* 67).

²⁶⁵ Before the nineteenth century, few outside the upper classes travelled extensively, but in the second half of the nineteenth century there was an extensive development in Europe of mass travel by train (see Urry/Larson, *Tourist Gaze* 31).

²⁶⁶ See *ibid.* 162.

²⁶⁷ See *ibid.* 31.

encompassing and compelling power over the depiction of foreign geographies. Whereas the picturesque view subsumed, the tourist gaze consumed.

Particularly in Drummond-Hay's, yet also in the other protagonists' writings, the remnants of the picturesque are still very much recognizable but give way to becoming associated with travel as a form of consumption in turning foreign objects and landscapes into consumables. The picturesque aesthetic lost its appropriative power with the rise of the commercialization of travel and tourism. It developed into a situationally bound term describing foreign scenes and objects that – although still oscillating between the grandeur of the sublime, its roughness, and the beautifully pleasing small and intricate, and in that regard staying in touch with the picturesque purpose so often noted by Gilpin to aesthetically please, delight, and amuse²⁶⁸ – became a quintessential way of denoting a diffuse sense of appealing otherness for travelers abroad that, most importantly, was there to be consumed by the view of the traveler.

5.2 Multilingualism and Transnational Publishing Strategies

Skills in multiple languages can be attributed to many transnationally active and traveling women and affected their professional output in writing, e.g. authorship in multiple languages, translations, lectures, etc. For example, the English traveler, writer, political official and archaeologist Gertrude Bell was fluent not only in her native language English but also in Arabic, Persian, French, German, and in several other languages.²⁶⁹ As one of her accomplishments that were enabled by her linguistic abilities, Bell had translated the poetry of Ḥafiz, a fourteenth-century Persian poet, as the collected *Poems from the Divan of Hafiz* (1897) with a lengthy introduction on Hafiz that received high praise at the time; it was ranked among “the finest and most truly poetical renderings of any Persian poet ever produced in the English language” in the *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, A.D. 1265-1502* (1920) by the British Orientalist Edward Browne (1862-1926).²⁷⁰ This chapter addresses the effects the ability to speak multiple languages had on the acquisition of information, which was then subsequently turned into knowledge, and on the dissemination of this knowledge in

²⁶⁸ See Bermingham, “The Picturesque and Ready-to-Wear Feminism” 84.

²⁶⁹ See Adams, *Ladies of the Field* 90.

²⁷⁰ Browne, *History of Persian Literature* 304.

the form of articles, speeches, books, publications in general, etc. as a central element in the professionalism of the protagonists.

Miriam Leslie's Multilingualism as Key to Business

Remarking on Leslie's language skills, Madeleine Stern asserts that Leslie was able to "drop [...] coruscating phrases in French or Spanish, Italian or English."²⁷¹ Leslie's multilingual abilities enabled her to explore South American countries without notable language borders,²⁷² making her feel at ease in conversations in the salons in the United States and making it easy for her to converse with business partners across the Atlantic in a multilingual Europe, ranging from the cultural hubs of Paris and London to the Spanish and Italian landscapes and villages.²⁷³ Due to Leslie's upbringing in New Orleans, the French-infused American South, her English is stylized with French expressions²⁷⁴ while her knowledge and appreciation of the Spanish language also became clearer in her travel writing.²⁷⁵

Leslie utilized her language skills in French early in her career to accomplish elaborated translations. She translated the comedy play *Le Demi-Monde: Comédie en cinq Actes, en Prose* (1855) by Alexandre Dumas jr. into English as *The "Demi-Monde:" A Satire on Society* (1858). According to Leslie (then Squier), "it daguerreotypes, with great fidelity, a phase of society not uncommon in Europe, perhaps not impossible in America, which offers, at the same time, a fair mark for the satirist, and a theme of discourse for the moralist."²⁷⁶ The translation of Dumas' play remains an interesting choice for Leslie, since the play concerns with *déclassées* women whose pasts invite a closer inspection that they will bear.²⁷⁷ The

²⁷¹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 3.

²⁷² For example, in her article "Scenes in Sun-Lands," Leslie recalls addressing an Italian man in Havana not only in English but also in Italian, French, and Spanish (see Leslie, "Scenes in Sun-Lands: Havana" 557).

²⁷³ Leslie's ease in speaking various languages is exemplified by Madeleine Stern regarding "a sumptuous feast for her royal guests, Miriam [Leslie] entertained them aboard the steam yacht, conversing in Spanish, French or Italian as they slipped from one language to another" (Stern, *Queen of Publisher's Row* 95).

²⁷⁴ Examples of Leslie's French influence on her English include generally erudite phrases such as "par excellence," "(en) dishabille," or "en rute" to more uncommon expressions such as "feu d'artifice" or "embarrass des oranges," a word-play on the French expression "embarrass de richesse." In her late book, *A Social Mirage* (1899), Leslie devoted an entire chapter in order "to investigate the picturesque intricacies of the French language in all its ramifications" (see Leslie, *Social Mirage* 338).

²⁷⁵ Leslie acknowledges that although she "like[s] France and the French, there is yet a warm corner of my heart for Spain and the Spanish" (Leslie, "Summer Saunterings" 642). During her trip from New York to California, Leslie conversed with the alleged oldest woman in the world who, according to Leslie, "seemed quite delighted at my speaking to her in Spanish" (Leslie, *California* 260). Generally, in Leslie's style the importance of both languages becomes apparent with descriptions such as the following during her visit of San Sebastian: "First come the *espadas* or *matadors* the aristocrats of the profession, whose business it is to finally give the bull his *coup de grâce*, or death-blow" (Leslie, "Summer Saunterings" 651).

²⁷⁶ Leslie, "Translators Note" iii.

²⁷⁷ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 27.

expression of the demimonde was heavily popularized by Dumas's play in which "a fallen woman struggled to re-enter polite society by tricking a respectable young man into marriage, only to be foiled by one of her previous lovers."²⁷⁸ According to Eltis, the *déclassées* meant those who had fallen in status, including divorcees, merry widows, and those abandoned by husband or lover who lived somewhere between respectable high society and the low life of the common prostitute.²⁷⁹

In 1893, over thirty-five years later, Leslie came back to her translation of the *Demi-Monde* and adapted it into *The Froth of Society* for an American audience in New York.²⁸⁰ Leslie's adaptation mainly focused on streamlining the European play for an American audience; as theater critic for *The North American* Octavus Cohen formulates, there are many features of "Le Demimonde" which are incomprehensible to Americans.²⁸¹ She added a final scene to Dumas's original in "making her play more acceptable by ending it with the suicide by poison of the adventuress"²⁸² and gave the young love interest Oliver "the invaluable opportunity of moralizing over her dead body,"²⁸³ making him "seem less despicable by furnishing a motive for his now unqualifiedly contemptible conduct."²⁸⁴ The greatest problem about the play was that, at the time, "it was deemed impossible to say in ruder English what slips from the tongue so delicately in French."²⁸⁵ About the translation, Leslie herself claimed that Dumas had "pointed a moral" that she hoped to be conveyed in the translation, although she believed her translation could not aspire to the grace of language, or the sparkle and pungency of expression, which distinguished the original.²⁸⁶ Bearing this in mind, the most drastic step Leslie took in the adaptation was in "eliminating everything objectionable"²⁸⁷ in concurrence with English adapters and theatre managers on the other side of the Atlantic, who carefully edited the French originals to produce heavily bowdlerized and sanitized versions of the sexual exchanges and relations being dramatized: such activities were peculiarly Gallic and simply did not happen in happy English homes or among the higher echelons of society.²⁸⁸ However, reviewers pointed out that eliminating everything objectionable would eliminate the play altogether.²⁸⁹ As New Yorkers had been satiated with the theme – the play had already

²⁷⁸ Eltis, *Acts of Desire* 72.

²⁷⁹ See *ibid.*

²⁸⁰ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 28.

²⁸¹ See Cohen, "Metropolitan Theatricals" 2.

²⁸² See *ibid.*

²⁸³ Stern, *Purple Passage* 166.

²⁸⁴ Cohen, "Metropolitan Theatricals" 2.

²⁸⁵ "Attractions at the Theaters" 4.

²⁸⁶ See Leslie, "Translators Note" iv.

²⁸⁷ Stern, *Purple Passage* 167.

²⁸⁸ See Eltis, *Acts of Desire* 74.

²⁸⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 167.

been adapted as *The Crust of Society*, *The Fringe of Society*, *The Seamy Side* and possibly two or three others²⁹⁰ – her decision opened the doors to burlesque versions and caricatures like *The Fringe of the Froth of the Curst of Society* – with the protagonist being a “woman with a past.”²⁹¹ Leslie’s translation and subsequent adaptation proved almost fatal for her public reputation as, in the words of Madeleine Stern, she “herself was rapidly becoming a woman with many pasts.”²⁹²

In Leslie’s second large translation endeavor, she translated travel writer Arthur Morelet’s *Voyage L’Amérique Centrale L’île de Cuba et le Yucatan* (1857) into English as *Travels in Central America. Including Accounts of Some Regions Unexplored since the Conquest* (1871). Leslie’s husband and partner E.G. Squier in their “connubial work,”²⁹³ as Madeleine Stern refers to the joint work, stressed the importance of this translation of Morelet’s travel account in his introduction to the book: “[I]t is far too varied and important, and has too clear an appeal to American interests, to be allowed to remain in the comparative obscurity to which the mistaken delicacy of its author would condemn it.”²⁹⁴ Squier also reasoned that the overall length of the account was too long for publication, hence his cutting of ‘minor’ chapters:

In presenting the work, however, in an English translation, it should be explained that the chapters containing an account of M. Morelet’s voyage across the Atlantic, and his tour through the island of Cuba, have been omitted, as of subordinate interest and importance.²⁹⁵

Labeled as “what promises to be one of the most interesting books of the season,”²⁹⁶ the translation highlighted Leslie’s talent for translating, weaving “a colorful tapestry of a journey,”²⁹⁷ and rendering the narrative “with all the vivacity and spirit of the original.”²⁹⁸ Although there were some minor questions regarding the scientific accuracy of the translation,²⁹⁹ in general, the work, containing a few alterations from the original, e.g. smaller additions to the French text,³⁰⁰ was approved of: the *New York Times* acknowledged that the “traveler’s style is a lively one, and his language has been happily rendered in English by

²⁹⁰ See “Attractions at the Theaters” 4.

²⁹¹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 167.

²⁹² Ibid. 167.

²⁹³ Ibid. 59.

²⁹⁴ Squier, “Introduction” xvi.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ “An Adventure at Palenque” 438.

²⁹⁷ Stern, *Purple Passage* 58.

²⁹⁸ “An Adventure at Palenque” 438.

²⁹⁹ As the review in *Nature* of 1871 suggests: “A suspicion of the accuracy of the author’s knowledge of natural history is excited by the occurrence of such phrases, unless they be due to incorrect translation, as ‘invertrebrae (sic) and [the] insects,’ speaking of a gasteropod as a ‘shell-fish,’ and describing the *Tillandsia* as ‘a variety of moss’” (“Morelet’s Travels in Central America” 159-160).

³⁰⁰ See Mackenthun, “Imperial Archaeology” 124 (FN 52).

Mrs. Squier,”³⁰¹ and further praised the “pleasant, clear, crisp style of the author [that] is wonderfully preserved in the translation.”³⁰² As Ishbel Ross casually remarks in *Charmers and Cranks* (1965), “the fact was recognized by this time that she had brains as well as beauty.”³⁰³ The critical acclaim not only proved Leslie’s prowess as a skilled translator, it also “paid a gratifying tribute to the combined efforts of so illustrious a couple.”³⁰⁴ Despite this, E.G. Squier never mentioned his wife’s translating efforts in his introduction to the book.³⁰⁵ Ultimately, Leslie’s seminal translation is still consulted by contemporary researchers on travel writing in Central and Latin America. Seen in connection, both translations exhibit Leslie’s flexibility in her social anchors, oscillating between the worlds of the salon, as “belle of boardroom,”³⁰⁶ and her interest in travel writing.

Having utilized her Spanish language abilities at an early age in her position as assistant for the *Noticioso de Nueva York*, the Spanish paper for readers in South America and Cuba, which was to lay the foundation for her journalistic career³⁰⁷ along with her travels in Latin America that had served as an important impetus, in the 1870s Leslie returned to her Spanish abilities for business purposes. In 1871, the New York biweekly Spanish newspaper *El Mundo Nuevo/La América Ilustrada* was launched and continued operating until 1875, aiming at building a transnational audience.³⁰⁸ The launch of the newspaper garnered positive reviews.³⁰⁹ Published by the Cuban exiles Enrique Piñeyro and José Manuel Mestre,³¹⁰ the paper was distributed across the Southwest by the American News Company.³¹¹ The editorial

³⁰¹ “New Publications” [NYT] 2.

³⁰² “New Publications” [FLIN] 3.

³⁰³ Ross, *Charmers and Cranks* 70.

³⁰⁴ Stern, *Purple Passage* 59.

³⁰⁵ Leslie’s decision to translate a travel account from French into English was repeated by another internationally active traveler and author: renowned British Egyptologist Amelia Edwards translated Gaston Maspero’s *L’Archéologie égyptienne* (1887) into the English under the title *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* (1887). Similarly to E.G. Squier and Miriam Leslie, who had deemed the travel account as “too important to remain in obscurity,” Edwards had translated it with the intention “to hand it to thousands who might not otherwise have not enjoyed it” (Edwards, “Preface” ix). Edwards, too, having been deeply influenced by travel writing herself, translated it as “inseparable companion of all English-speaking travellers who visit the Valley of the Nile” and for which she thusly adopted the spelling of Egyptian proper names as given in *Murray’s Handbook for Travellers in Egypt* (1847) by Sir John Gardner Wilkinson (see Edwards, “Preface” xi), which was a corrected and condensed version of Gardener’s earlier *Modern Egypt and Thebes* (1843) and was at the time a popular guide among English and European travelers.

³⁰⁶ Jackson, “Belle of the Boardroom” 150.

³⁰⁷ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 30-1.

³⁰⁸ See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture* 187.

³⁰⁹ An article in the *New York Herald* praised *El Noticioso* by stating that the paper “has a bright, business look about it, and seems to be on the right track. It is purely a newspaper, without any political color or partisan learnings, with a sharp lookout for the news and a keen attention to business” (“Spanish Journalism in New York” 5). Madeleine Stern in *Publisher’s Row* cites in addition to the article: “The idea of including a word or two about American fashions was a clever one which will appeal to the ladies of South America” (Stern, *Queen of Publisher’s Row* 56).

³¹⁰ See Gruesz, “Anónimo No More” 82.

³¹¹ See Gruesz, “Mexican/American” 464.

board around Piñeyro sought out poetry, essays, and reviews from the whole of Spain and Latin America, running a regular feature about each nation's leadership and cultural life.³¹² Additionally, while fairly cosmopolitan in outlook, *El Mundo Nuevo* followed similar American publications such as *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and other magazines in soliciting features that showcased Southern California and New Mexico as exciting new areas for agricultural development and tourism.³¹³ As Kirsten Gruesz remarks, it was not only her knowledge of Spanish that had attracted Frank Leslie to invite Miriam (then) Squier to write for the paper, she moreover "moved more aggressively to enter the Spanish-language market, and thus one of the most significant Hispanophone papers of the time was born and funded."³¹⁴

After only one year, the ties to the Leslie Publishing house were severed for unspecified reasons, according to Kirsten Gruesz.³¹⁵ However, despite its relatively short existence, the paper initially shared its eye-catching illustrations and sensationalist tendencies with other publications of the Leslie Publishing House; then, it gradually moved away from these joint features for a more distinct voice.³¹⁶ According to Kirsten Gruesz, *El Mundo Nuevo/La América Ilustrada* turned culture into a marketable commodity for a designated segment of the middle-class readership and encouraged its readers to align themselves along multiple lines of affiliation: as residents or citizens of the United States who took pride in their cultural Hispanism, or as members of a far-flung transnational community of progressive, elite Spanish Americans – with the political valence of that term left deliberately vague.³¹⁷

As Kirsten Gruesz acknowledges, although such magazines attempted to capture the most affluent slice of the Spanish readership by glossing over the social tensions and political disagreements among them, they did present a vigorous defense of Hispanic culture and the Spanish language that stands in stark contrast to mainstream representations.³¹⁸ Just as the *Noticioso de Nueva York* was published six times a month to exactly correspond with the departure of mail steamers for the Antilles and the Isthmus³¹⁹ in order to satisfy the interest of a wider trans-American audience, for Miriam Leslie the unlocking of the Spanish-speaking

³¹² See Gruesz, "Anónimo No More" 82.

³¹³ See Gruesz, "Mexican/American" 464-5.

³¹⁴ Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture* 186-7. However, considering the Cuban market, Leslie herself, in 1878, had claimed that "no American journal, however, can hope to occupy the place within its public held by the *Diario* among the people of Havana" (Leslie, "Scenes in Sun-Lands III" 550).

³¹⁵ See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture* 187.

³¹⁶ See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture* 187.

³¹⁷ See *ibid.*

³¹⁸ See Gruesz, "Mexican/American" 465.

³¹⁹ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 30.

portion of the Americas was a business strategy to access new and profitable markets. These commercial as well as cultural, trans-American ties to Spanish-speaking communities within the United States as well as abroad in Latin America remained important to Miriam Leslie later in her career, too, as she was to personally travel to Mexico City in September 1887 in order to arrange for a new, in-situ publication of a Spanish-American newspaper, according to reports from *Godey's Lady's Book* (1887), among others.³²⁰ However, this newspaper never came to fruition.

The sensibility towards non-English speaking communities and identifying them as lucrative business sectors was something that Leslie continued. Before Miriam Leslie took over business of the Leslie Publishing House after her husband's death in 1880, next to the *El Mundo Nuevo/La América Ilustrada* another non-English publication was part of the Leslie syndicate. By selling his *New York Journal of Romance* in 1857, Frank Leslie, in August of the same year, utilized the profits of this sale to institute *Frank Leslie's Illustirte Zeitung*, a German-language edition of his *Illustrated Newspaper*³²¹ that he himself claimed to reach 50,000 readers within one year of its creation.³²² Targeted at a German-speaking audience, the newspaper proved successful domestically as well as internationally in Europe.³²³ Miriam Leslie's knowledge in German that she had acquired as a child must have sensitized her to the lucrative German-speaking market. As the German-speaking population within the United States was a tightly connected, culturally cohesive minority, adding a publication to the thriving market of German newspapers was a strategic business tactic in order to profit from this market. Even as the Leslie Publishing House at the end of the nineteenth century gradually sold and discontinued its once broad variety of newspapers and journals, Leslie realized the importance of the then sole non-English publication *Illustirte Zeitung* that remained part of the syndicate until 1889,³²⁴ when Leslie left the Publishing House as chief proprietor and decided to sell her "weeklies" to W.J. Arkell, head of the Judge Publishing Company.³²⁵ As evident by her multiple engagements in various forms of employing her education and multilingual upbringing, Leslie was not only fluent in the languages she spoke but also turned them into a valuable business asset that enabled her to further her transnational career.

³²⁰ "American Notes" 331, or "The Truth" 3.

³²¹ See Huntzicker, "Picturing the News" 315.

³²² See Brown, *Beyond the Lines* 26.

³²³ As Wilhelm Joest recognized in 1888: "Vor allem sind hier die auch in Europa wohlbekannten und beliebten 'Frank Leslie's Illustirte Zeitung' und das von Udo Brachvogel redigierte 'New-Yorker Belletristische Journal' mit dem 'Sonntags-Journal,' von denen ersteres in einer Auflage von 25,000 Exemplaren erscheint, zu nennen" (Joest, *Außereuropäische Presse* 45).

³²⁴ See Stern, *Purple Passage* 190. It was taken over and continued publication until its demise in 1894 (see *ibid.*).

³²⁵ Stern, *Queen of Publisher's Row* 154-5.

Alice Dixon Le Plongeon: Multilingualism as Source of Information

Beyond their photographs, the Le Plongeon family were the first American explorers to communicate with local guides, workers, and government officials in their own language, as Lawrence Desmond acknowledges.³²⁶ Le Plongeon was fluent in French – not only because of but partly due to her marriage to Augustus Le Plongeon, who was French. Apart from French, of which Le Plongeon had “a good command,”³²⁷ she further was able to speak and write Spanish as well as Yucatec Maya.³²⁸ She helped her husband Augustus Le Plongeon organize, proofread, and edit his materials for publication.³²⁹

Proof of Le Plongeon’s Spanish abilities beyond regular, personal communications³³⁰ can be seen in her writing as it was influenced by a number of Spanish resources, e.g. the report of José Barolomé del Grenado Baeza, a cura (or pastor) of the parish of Yaxcabá in the heart of Yucatán as an answer to a questionnaire by the bishop,³³¹ which Le Plongeon cites in her manuscript *Yucatán* when writing about pre-Conquest people of Yucatán, who “prior to their intercourse with the white man [...] were a bet[t]er people than they are now.”³³² It proved useful to Le Plongeon as a source for backing her ethnographical elaborations, as the manuscript describes the subsistence, customs, and the way of life of the inhabitants in his parish, corroborating information on agricultural production as well as details of racial composition of the people, economic stratification, literacy and language, labor arrangements, and non-Christian religious practices.³³³ Apart from Baeza’s report, Le Plongeon also used for her unpublished “Yucatán: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities” accounts from Spanish friars and chroniclers such as Garcilasso de la Vega’s *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*

³²⁶ See Evans, *Romancing the Maya* 129.

³²⁷ Desmond, *Yucatán* 235.

³²⁸ Desmond mentions in his process of transcribing Le Plongeon’s diary that he, with the help of Beth Guynn, special collections cataloger and rare photographs specialist at the Getty Research Institute, unraveled the meaning of many of Le Plongeon’s scribbles in English, Spanish, French, and Yucatec Maya (see Desmond, *Yucatán* xxv). Also, Le Plongeon’s diary from her stay in Yucatán 1874-1876 contain loose notes and a list of Maya phrases with corresponding Spanish translations (between front cover), a document in Maya signed by Doroteo Ryan; and other miscellaneous notes (see “Loose Notes from Diary,” 1875-1878, ADPP VI/14). Also, later in Le Plongeon’s unpublished manuscript “Yucatán” she recalls dialogues being “continued in Maya tongue” (ADLP, “Yucatán” 62, ADPP VI/17-19).

³²⁹ For example, Le Plongeon aided her husband for his article “The Monuments of Mayax, and Their Historical Teachings” (see Desmond, *Yucatán* 254).

³³⁰ As Carillo y Ancona congratulated her on the publication of *Here and There in Yucatan*, writing her in Spanish: “Doy á Señora las mas expresivas gracias por ésta fineza y la felicito por el aumento de sus glorias literárias con la publicacion de éste libro” (Carillo y Ancona, “Letter to Alice Le Plongeon,” 24 Dec 1886, ADPP VI/3).

³³¹ “What Three Centuries of Experience Teaches” 19. No English translation of the report had been available before 1921 (see “What Three Centuries of Experience Teaches” 19).

³³² ADLP, “Yucatán” 124, ADPP VI/17-19.

³³³ See Alexander, *Yaxcabá and the Caste War of Yucatán* 51.

(1609),³³⁴ Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas's (1549-1626) magnum opus *Historia General* for Yucatán,³³⁵ Diego López de Cogolludo's *Historia de Yucatán* (1688),³³⁶ and others. Le Plongeon continuously used Spanish sources for her articles. For example, she used Agustín de Zárate's book *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de las Provincias del Peru* (1577) for her article on "Pizarro's Death and Funeral" (1889) to back her contention that Pizarro had been buried in Peru.³³⁷

While Le Plongeon seemed at ease using Spanish resources in order to influence her own writing right from the beginning of her career, she also relied on the simultaneous Spanish-French edition of Landa's *Las Cosas de Yucatán* (1864) by Brasseur de Bourbourg for her work. Bourbourg had encountered Landa's account in the archives of the Real Academia de la Historia in 1863 and published an incomplete version the following year.³³⁸ Le Plongeon utilized Bourbourg's edition of Landa's *Las Cosas* on many occasions, e.g. in *Here and There in Yucatan*, in "Notes on Yucatan," as well as her unpublished manuscript "Yucatán: Its Ancient Palaces and Modern Cities." Bourbourg's edition, however, was seen as problematic for various reasons: already at the time of its publication, Bourbourg's translation was met with criticism from many scholars.³³⁹

While Le Plongeon during her life never ventured a translation project similar in scope to Leslie's two major contributions or Zelia Nuttall's bilingual publication efforts, Le Plongeon did present one of the first English partial translations of Landa's *Las Cosas de*

³³⁴ For example, Le Plongeon uses de la Vega's account in her diffusionist interpretation of Maya statues: "Possibly the inhabitants of Aké kept a chronological series of statues of their kings and priests, as the Egyptians did in their temple of Amun at Thebes, according to Herodotus; and, later, the Incas in their Temple of the Sun at Cuzco, according to Garcilasso de la Vega, in his 'Comentarios Reales' [III, ch. 23]" (ADLP, "Yucatán" 43, ADPP VI/17-19).

³³⁵ Le Plongeon cites Tordesillas's description "De el Fuego de la Pelota" of the Mesoamerican ball game called Tlachtli from his *Historia General* in the manuscript (see ADLP, "Yucatán" 266-7, ADPP VI/17-19); the same description was used by Anne Carey Maudslay in her travel account *Glimpse at Guatemala* (Maudslay, *Glimpse* 205-6).

³³⁶ Le Plongeon utilized Cogolludo's account in her article "How History Repeats Itself" (after 1873) as well as for *Here and There*.

³³⁷ See Desmond, *Yucatán* 265.

³³⁸ Stuart, "Glyph Drawings" 23-6.

³³⁹ In his *Critical Remarks*, Daniel Brinton takes a strong position, asserting: "The well-known peculiarities of the Abbé Brasseur, however, the freedom with which he dealt with his authorities, and the license he allowed his imagination, have always cast an atmosphere of uncertainty about his work" (Brinton, "Critical Remarks" 1). Already before Brinton, Philipp J.J. Valentini was acutely aware of Brasseur de Bourbourg's mistakes and taking freedoms in his translation (see Valentini, "Landa Alphabet" passim). Also, in the foreword of an unpublished English translation of Landa's *Relación* Charles Bowditch voiced his concerns about Bourbourg's translation by saying: "Although this manuscript has been published before now by Brasseur de Bourbourg [...], since the copy is not accurate, but has in it important alterations, nor is it complete, as we shall remark upon in the proper place, we have, therefore, though that Americanists would see with pleasure a new edition of that manuscript carefully collated with the original" (Landa, "Relación" seq. 6). Due to Bowditch's translation as unpublished in nature William Gates' translation as *Yucatan Before and After the Conquest* (1937) is the first translation available in English.

Yucatán in a popular fashion with her article concerning “Baptism in America Before the Spanish Conquest” published in *Harper's Bazaar* (1885), preceding William Gates's complete English translation of Landa's account in 1937. Her article is a reading of one particular chapter in Landa's book dealing with pre-Columbian baptism. Despite presenting an English audience with this critical historical text, the article remains a difficult piece as Le Plongeon includes her own diffusionistic perspectives,³⁴⁰ as well as potentially misreading the original.³⁴¹

Le Plongeon's publications were not as multilingual as those of Zelia Nuttall and Drummond-Hay. Despite this, she maximized her publications' outreach by reprinting and releasing existing chapters as standalone publications, e.g. Le Plongeon's article “Beautiful Cozumel” that was published in *The New York Tribune* or the article “Remarkable Wells and Caverns” in the *Scientific American Supplement* that she later included, alongside other previously published articles, as a chapter in her well-received *Here and There in Yucatan* (1886).³⁴² In connection with this, as Jean-Marie Lutes elaborated, a “periodical text's status as *text* is itself unstable.”³⁴³ This “massification” of texts impacted the reading and writing practices of turn-of-the-century Americans in the way that it also altered the very nature of the periodical's ephemerality: “With redundancy of circulation, a single disposable text could end up hanging around for quite some time.”³⁴⁴ That also had effects on the reprinting business as a stable multiplier for income generation. For Le Plongeon, these articles presented an opportunity to multiply her income in order to provide for the scholarly publications that necessitate larger funds and amounts of money with less income return. These strategies would later become even more important for Lady Drummond-Hay, who had to manage a vast syndication network in order to gain versatile income.

³⁴⁰ Le Plongeon includes in her reading: “The Epact of the Egyptians, 1322 B.C., fell on the 15th of July, and the Ulobol Kin of the Mayas fell on July 11, lasting till the 16th. This is a curious coincidence [...]” (ADLP, “Baptism” 553).

³⁴¹ As an example, one statement by Le Plongeon in her article: “The parents and those who were to take part in the ceremony had to fast for three days” (ibid.). However, both Spanish and French in the available Bourbourg version specifically read: “Tres dias antes de la fiesta ayunavan los padres de los mochachos y los oficiales, abstiniendose de las mugeres [sic]” (Landa, *Relation* 146) in Spanish and in French: “Durant les trois jours précédant la fête, les pères des enfants jeûnaient ainsi que ces officiers, s'abstenant d'user de leurs femmes” (Landa, *Relation* 147). Both versions clearly state that the fathers of the children to be baptized had to abstain from their wives and not a fasting of the parents.

³⁴² Also, Le Plongeon included her articles “Beautiful Cozumel” from in the *New York Tribune* (1880s), “The Lost Literature of the Mayas” from *Literary Life* (1886) and others as chapters in the collection. Le Plongeon remarked on this in the preface of *Here and There*: “At different times I have published in papers and magazines, various articles on these subjects, some being reproduced in English periodicals. It is in compliance with the request of friends that a few of those articles have been brought together in this little volume, which is now cast adrift to sink or swim, as its fate may be” (ADLP, *Here and There* ii).

³⁴³ Lutes, “Beyond the Bounds of the Book” 339.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

In summary, there appears a sharp divide in Le Plongeon's multilingual sources and inspirations, e.g. the accounts of Landa, Cogolludo, Grenado Baeza, Herrera y Tordesillas, and others on the one hand, and Le Plongeon's monolingual publications output on the other. Le Plongeon only published in English and despite her profound knowledge in French, Spanish, and Maya, she never produced any books, articles, or speeches in languages other than English.³⁴⁵ As financial issues for Le Plongeon, e.g. financing their lifestyles, travels and publications for her and her husband, demanded multiple sources for the maximization of income, Le Plongeon's monolingual output needs to be seen in context. Presumably, Le Plongeon considered the Anglophone and in particular the American market to yield more income than what she considered from a possible engagement in the Spanish-speaking market.

Zelia Nuttall: Strategic Publications in the Old and New World

As previously addressed, Nuttall spent her early youth in Europe, living in Germany, England, Switzerland, and other states, which helped her learn the many languages she was fluent in: according to Ross Parmenter, Nuttall spoke French,³⁴⁶ German,³⁴⁷ and regularly "kept up her German and Italian, and she read Shakespeare."³⁴⁸ Similarly to Alice Le Plongeon, Nuttall's abilities in Spanish enabled her to read documents by Spanish chronicles and friars that she ultimately utilized to back her own scientific reasoning and as sources for her work, e.g. Bernadino de Sahagún's *Historia General*, Diego Durán's *Historia de las Indias*, and Bernal Diaz's *Histoirade la Nueva España*. Nuttall's Spanish skills enabled her to study, translate and subsequently publish materials pertaining to Drake's circumnavigation in her book *New Light on Drake* (1914).

Throughout Nuttall's entire career, source material as well as publications in Spanish remained a central element. Not only did Nuttall publish several articles solely in Spanish in the last years of her career, in 1928, a surge occurred in Nuttall's Spanish as well as English (albeit unconnected) publications due to her shift in focus to reviving an ancient American tradition of the "shadowless moment" marking the beginning of a new year in Central America. Her English articles comprise "The New Year of Tropical American Indigenes" in

³⁴⁵ With the sole exception of the obituary for her husband Augustus Le Plongeon in 1908.

³⁴⁶ Parmenter, "Recovery" 40.

³⁴⁷ Ibid. 63.

³⁴⁸ Ibid. 67. Also, Parmenter concludes that Nuttall "had lived in Europe and knew four foreign languages" (ibid. 76).

the *Bulletin of the Pan-American Union* and “Reviving Ancient American Ceremony” in *El Palacio*; her Spanish article is “El Año Nuevo de los Aztecas” in *Revista Semanal*.³⁴⁹

Her abilities to tap into multilingual source material, not only in Spanish but also in French and German, are also reflected in Nuttall’s multilingual publications throughout her career, with which she sought to address a wider audience, gain a greater readership, and ultimately achieve a greater impact of her research in publications in the academic community; in Nuttall’s oeuvre, there are to be found publications in English, Spanish, German, and French. Despite various standalone English as well as single and unrelated articles in non-English languages,³⁵⁰ the most important aspect of Nuttall’s multilingual publication network is the fact that she pursued a form of double publication: in many cases, Nuttall published an article in one language and managed to publish in a second subsequently. For example, Nuttall’s article “The Gardens of Ancient Mexico,” published in the *Journal of the International Garden Club* in 1918, was published in Spanish as “Los Jardines del Antiguo Mexico” in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Antonio Alzate* in 1920. Later, in 1927, Nuttall published her article “Fresh Light on Ancient American Civilizations and Calendars” in the journal *Man*, and, using her knowledge of French, placed the French version “Nouvelles Lumières Sur Les Civilisations Américaines et le Système du Calendrier” in the *International Congress de Americanistes* in 1920. Even in the later stages of her career, Nuttall adhered to this form of publication when she published her paper on wild maize in Mexico as “Wilder Mais in Mexiko” with the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* in 1929 and later as “A Contribution to the History of Wild Maize in Mexico” with the *Journal of Heredity* in 1930, reprinted in the newspaper *El Palacio* (1931).³⁵¹

This strategy allowed Nuttall to open her research and publications to a greater (scientific) audience. Another important aspect of such a multilingual and transnational publishing network can be best seen in Nuttall’s contestation with the renowned German Mexicanist Eduard Seler on a piece of feather work that caused the year-long contestation, or

³⁴⁹ Usually following a form of double publication, Nuttall managed to publish articles in three different languages relating to the shadowless moment – or zenith: Nuttall published her Spanish paper “La Observación del Paso del Sol al Zenit” as *Publicación por la Secretaría de Educación Pública* in 1928, and subsequently the English version “The Cult of the Sun at its Zenith in Ancient Mexico” in 1930, and lastly the German version “Die mythologische Bedeutung des Sonnendurchgangs durch den Zenit und die Art seiner Beobachtung bei den Ureinwohnern des tropischen Amerika” in *El Mexico Antiguo* (1931).

³⁵⁰ For example, Nuttall’s 1900 article “Pläne Altamerikanischer Hauptstädte” in *Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Geographischen Kongresses* of Berlin in 1899, or her 1925 Spanish article “El cultivo de Arboles Frutales en Coyoacán a fines del siglo XVIII” published in *México Forestal*.

³⁵¹ Another late example is the twofold publication concerning the ruins of Monte Albán as “Cuauhtemoc’s Tomb at Monte Alban” in *El Palacio* and “Sobre un Monumento en Monte Alban de Gran Importancia” in the *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, both in 1932.

“Feather War,” between Nuttall and Seler that lasted over two decades across the Atlantic and that deeply influenced their relationship.³⁵² Also, Parmenter argues that it was due to her command of German that she got into contact with the Seler protégée Franz Boas, “who had gained his doctorate in geography the [...] at Kiel University and been a junior colleague of Eduard Seler at the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin.”³⁵³

The original piece was published by Nuttall in 1888 in German as “Das Prachtstück Altmexikanischer Federarbeit aus der Zeit Montezumas im Wiener Museum” in *Berichte des Königlichen Zoologischen und Anthropologischen Museum* (No. 7) in Dresden. As Parmenter argues, by being published in Germany, Nuttall’s headdress paper had more impact than if it had only appeared in the United States; and the corresponding repercussions it stirred abroad were to continue for five years.³⁵⁴ Nuttall herself was aware of the importance of a multilingual publication, yet she seemed to be reluctant due to anticipated clashes with colleagues.³⁵⁵ Nevertheless, Nuttall published it in the same year as “Standard or Head-Dress? An Historical Essay on a Relic of Ancient Mexico” in the *Peabody Museum Papers* in Cambridge. Following Seler’s rebuttal, Nuttall again utilized her double strategy in multilingual publication and issued an answer first in German as “Mittheilungen über einen altmexikanischen Federschild” in *Ambras. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* (1891) and later – infused with new information – the slightly delayed but complementary English version “On Ancient Mexican Shields” in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* in 1892.

In summary, apart from using her multilingual abilities as important resource for her research, Nuttall’s publications tried to reach audiences beyond national limitations and

³⁵² Ross Parmenter, in describing the lost-lasting academic dispute Nuttall and Seler referred to it as the “Feather War” (Parmenter, “Recovery” 203). This contestation continued to last over a period of almost two decades, about which can be summarized that Seler “repeatedly he cut her work apart in public, and in her retorts she showed her skill in retaliation by how she sliced back” (ibid.). The Seler-Nuttall-Contestation began in 1888, only two years after Nuttall had made her first mark in the academic scene with her paper “The Terra-Cotta Heads of Teotihuacan.” In 1888, Nuttall published her paper on an ancient American feather piece entitled “Standard or Head-Dress.” In it, Nuttall described the feather piece to be a headdress and not as assumed before a standard. It marked one of Nuttall’s the first major publications, but this paper would also accompany her for almost two decades, inciting a harsh public debate with the famous German Americanist Eduard Seler of the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin, who defended the view that this was a standard. This was to cause a contestation between the academic centers for American archaeology in America and Germany, respectively (see Parmenter, “Glimpses” 89). The opposing views on the feather versus shield debate had widespread effects in the scientific community, dividing it between supporting and opposing camps. The decisive advantage came to Nuttall in 1890 when her research in Florence enabled her to bring the first of the two to light, the *Codex Magliabecchiano*; with its discovery, Nuttall had the opportunity to prove, through one of its drawings, that she was right and the German wrong about the purpose of the Vienna feather piece: It *was*, as she claimed, a headdress and not a standard (ibid. 90).

³⁵³ Parmenter, “Recovery” 160.

³⁵⁴ See ibid. 175.

³⁵⁵ Nuttall explains in a letter: “Were it not for the Peabody Museum and its curator who, I know, relies on me, I would feel tempted to foreswear all publication – for to publish, in my case, has each time meant to have annoyance” (ibid. 170).

affiliations. This allowed Nuttall to penetrate national borders and find new pathways for disseminating information and knowledge through multilingual publication.

Lady Drummond-Hay: A Polyglot with a Global News Syndicate

Lady Drummond-Hay was in many ways a polyglot, her English accent lending itself to the rapid fire of a newspaper woman who can speak six languages.³⁵⁶ In 1945, Drummond-Hay, looking back on the last decades in politics and happenings all over the world, contemplated her prolific language abilities:

With all the Conferences, and Potsdams, and war news, I have a great deal to do, and most part of the mornings are taken up translating newspaper and things from three or four European languages, which mercifully I learned when young. My husband (who died in 1926) and I between us, used to speak twelve languages including such odd ones as Swedish, Arabic, some Turkish, French of course, German, Spanish, Portuguese etc. So now it comes in very useful.³⁵⁷

With a natural ability to easily learn languages,³⁵⁸ Drummond-Hay is also expressive about the importance of other language skills: “I also worked hard at school, and particularly read all the books I could about foreign countries, and worked really HARD at French. [...] Any language really does, so long as you have a language besides English,”³⁵⁹ even describing her abilities in French as being close to her native English.³⁶⁰ Even after her demotion from being an active journalist to assisting to Karl-Henry von Wiegand in 1940, when speaking about her duties as assistant to von Wiegand, Drummond-Hay explains about the use of her varied language skills:

I am busy all day long, and have all the translating of Spanish, French, Portuguese, and any other language that comes up, as well as interpreting etc. and everything else that goes with the job. I am of course an accredited Foreign Correspondent in my own right and with my

³⁵⁶ See Schlaeger, “Stormy Petrel” 2. The interview with Drummond-Hay in the Schlaeger article is used by Mulligan later to exemplify good interview tactics (see Mulligan, *Experiences in Journalism* 70).

³⁵⁷ LDH, “Letter to A.W. Nygren,” 08 Aug 1945, KHWP LVII/MNO.

³⁵⁸ Drummond-Hay remarks: “I did, however, brush up my Spanish in Los Angeles, as it is easy to do so there, and it is always useful. I always wanted to learn twelve languages, you know, but I am afraid that now I must be content with fewer, though I learn as easily as a parrot” (LDH, “Letter to Sir Reginald St. Johnston,” 25 May 1944, KHWP LVII/STU).

³⁵⁹ LDH, “Letter to June Putnam,” 20 Jul 1945, KHWP LVII/PQR.

³⁶⁰ Drummond-Hay remarks in a letter: “Yes, I do know French, just as well as I know English – to read, write, to think in, and even dream in! I have lived in France a great deal, and in countires [sic] where French is the polite language, so that it is a second language to me, and I do not have to think whether I am speaking French or English” (LDH, “Letter to June [Putnam],” 18 Jul 1944, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General).

own credentials, and Assistant to the Chief Foreign Correspondent of the big American Organisation.³⁶¹

From the very beginning of Drummond-Hay's career, her abilities in multiple languages not only enabled her to consume information from sources with varied language backgrounds,³⁶² her language skills also put her in the position of being able to disperse information in many languages, thereby reaching a greater audience – particularly English, German and French-speaking audiences. Drummond-Hay's comfortableness in various languages enabled her, for example, to conduct an interview with Italo Balbo in 1935 in Italian³⁶³ that was then not only printed in Drummond-Hay's major publication organ *The Sphere*, but also in the English *Britannia and Eve*,³⁶⁴ and also, shortened, as "Italie wil geen oorlog zegt Maarschalk Balbo" in the Dutch paper *Utrechts Nieuwsblad*.³⁶⁵ Apart from interviews with statesmen, dictators, and people of interest, Drummond-Hay also published her efforts in learning to fly in multiple countries and languages.³⁶⁶

In 1927, Drummond-Hay published a set of seven articles focusing on China in *The Sphere* that can be labeled as the China Series 1927. Reporting not only on political affairs (e.g. "Diplomacy and Mah-jong in Peking" or "Suspense in the Legation Quarter"), or light travel writing (e.g. "The Land of Feasts and Sing-Song"), Drummond-Hay expressly focused on the role of the woman in the Chinese state, e.g. "The New Woman of Modern China," "Women of the Harem in China," and "The Slavery of Chinese Womanhood." The latter

³⁶¹ LDH, "Letter to Lady Alice St. Johnston," 06 May 1945, KHWP LVII/STU. After WWII, Drummond-Hay described the necessity of varied language abilities as a key aspect in finding a suitable successor as assistant to von Wiegand: "It is difficult here and now to find anyone to do my work, as it has to be a journalist and calls for at least French, Spanish, Portuguese, and often German as so many Swiss use German" (LDH, "Letter to Humphrey Drummond-Hay," 22 Jul 1945, KHWP LVII/DEF).

³⁶² Drummond-Hay's personal library feature publications in English, German, French, Italian, e.g. Winston Churchill's *The World Crisis* (1915), Edvard Beneš's *Une Nouvelle Phase de la Lutte pour l'Equilibre Européen* (1934), Emily Shareefa of Wazan's *My Life Story* (1911), *China siegt: Gedanken und Reiseindrücke über das revolutionäre Reich der Mitte* by Erich von Salzmänn, Friedrich A. Fischer von Poturzyn's *Südatlantikflug* (1934), Dante Maria Tuninetti's *Il Mistero di Cufra* (1931), etc. (see "List of Books," KHWP LVI/Biographical).

³⁶³ The title of the manuscript within the Karl-Henry von Wiegand Collection is "Intervista del Maresciallo Balbo con Lady Drummond-Hay," 15 Oct 1935, 8 p. KHWP LVI/Speeches-Balbo.

³⁶⁴ Parts of the interview Drummond-Hay had used in her article in "Balbo the Magnificent" (1934) and also in "A Talk With Marshall Balbo: The Man who Led Italy's Army Armada and who is now Governor of Libya" (1934).

³⁶⁵ The Dutch article appeared in the *Utrechts Nieuwsblad* on October 28, 1928. Correspondence relating to the interview was – at least partly – in French (see "Telegram," 26 Sep 1935, KHWP LVI/Italo Balbo), the interview itself was conducted in Italian, which for Drummond-Hay's international outreach she explains that she had "spent hours agreeing and disagreeing the meaning or double-meaning of words in Italian and English" (LDH, "Letter to Charles Sutton," 15 Oct 1935, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General). As the interview was to be published in the Italian press, carefully weighing the words were to the utmost importance to Balbo according to Drummond-Hay: "He therefore asked me most specially to see that the interview should be carefully translated, and reproduced in whole, not in part." (LDH, "Letter to Mahmoud," 20 Oct 1935, KHWP LVI/Correspondence-General).

³⁶⁶ Her article "I Learn to Fly" (1930) was published in an abridged version as "Ich lerne Fliegen" in the German magazine *Die Dame* in the same year.

article was published, in a German version, in the Austrian newspaper *Wiener Neue Freie Presse*. Also from the China Series 1927, Drummond-Hay published in England and also distributed an article titled “The ‘Little Peach Blossom’ Enjoys Herself: The ‘Emancipated Woman’ in China”³⁶⁷ in the German newspaper *Berliner Tageblatt*.

Drummond-Hay’s knowledge of German also allowed her to conduct a German-language interview with German politician Gustav Stresemann in 1925 (plus writing up a correction draft to be authorized) and have it published in English in the *Daily Express*,³⁶⁸ in addition to conducting an interview Austrian Chancellor Dollfuss.³⁶⁹ Although both interviews were published only in English, her language skills in German allowed her to conduct these interviews effortlessly. Therefore, the utterances of her interview partners did not need to be translated to her; she could directly write them down to work with them. This reduced information loss and inaccuracies caused by a language gap in the process of writing.

Another topic conjoined with Drummond-Hay’s interest in the Near East, which again details her views on feminism, is her articles focusing on women in the harems. Early engagement as early as 1924 showed her emotional state of mind while describing the circumstances in mentioned harems (e.g. “My Harem Thrill,” *Daily Express*, 07 Jul 1924). Drummond-Hay continuously reported on the conditions (e.g. “The Lure of the Harem,” *The Sphere*, 07 Jan 1927) in English, but also issued a detailed report in French about Moroccan harems titled “Lettres du Maroc: Le dernier harems,” published in the Belgian magazine *La Revue Belge* in 1934.³⁷⁰ Drummond-Hay’s desire for an international audience and transnationally published journalistic pieces is evident in that the article “The New Harem” that she published in the English newspaper *Daily Express* on June 30, 1924, was also relayed to the Asian market with its publication in the *Singapore Free Press and Mercantile Advertiser* on August 8 of the same year. Drummond-Hay also published her article on “Women of the Harem in China” (1927) in *The Sphere* as well as a Portuguese version “O Matrimonio na China” in the Brazilian newspaper *Acervo Folha* (1928).

Another exemplification of the influence being a polyglot had on Drummond-Hay’s publication syndicate can be seen in her article “Land of the Quaker Sheikhs.” She published this article alongside her weekly column “World Affairs” towards the end March 1930 in her

³⁶⁷ The original German title was: “Die ‘kleine Pfirsichblüte’ amüsiert sich: Die ‘Emanzipierte’ in China.”

³⁶⁸ See “Der Reichsaußenminister empfing heute den Korrespondenten des Daily Express,” KWHP LVI/LDH-Speeches-Stresemann).

³⁶⁹ LDH, “Interview with Chancellor Dollfuss” 338.

³⁷⁰ It was also advertised in other French publications, such as in the Algerian newspaper *L’Africain. Hebdomadaire illustré* (see “Bibliographie” 4).

major publication organ *The Sphere*. She then published it at the beginning of May in the French magazine *Le Miroir du Monde* as “Un Séjour Chez Les ‘Cheiks Trembleurs.’”³⁷¹ Five months later, Drummond-Hay managed to publish it in the, at that time recently merged, magazine *Mentor–World Traveler*, again in English. These examples show the variety in her publication syndicate that Drummond-Hay had achieved over the years, which allowed her to address a wider audience and distribute her articles in a greater circulation, thereby gaining greater public influence and visibility.

Not only did Drummond-Hay use her varied language skills to convey her articles and information to a broader language community, like Zelia Nuttall, she was also interested in distributing her articles in a variety of different magazines within one country for republication and greater financial gain, like Alice Le Plongeon.³⁷² One of Drummond-Hay’s early publications, “Education in Egypt” published in *The Asiatic Review* (1924), was picked up generously³⁷³ and for which she most likely used the then up-to-date French *Statistique Scolaire de l’Egypte* (1924-5).³⁷⁴ Also, similarly to Nuttall who distributed her articles between the Old and New World, Drummond-Hay used her syndication network to publish articles in multiple countries, e.g. her articles about a Catholic mass held aboard the LZ-129 *Hindenburg* during her 1936 transatlantic flight, strategically published on both sides of the Atlantic ocean: in the *New York Times* in the United States and simultaneously in the *Daily Express* in Great Britain.³⁷⁵ It was a deliberate strategy in order to efficiently maximize the outreach of her journalistic work, even internationally. As an example of this strategy, in 1930, Drummond-Hay was approached to contribute to a South American newspaper, enlisting an internationally renowned journalist in order to “encourage British Trade in South

³⁷¹ About the magazine, Roxanne Panchasi explains that this “illustrated magazine was published weekly from March 1930 through December 1937. It then fused with *Le Monde illustré*, eventually becoming known only by the latter title in 1945. The magazine subsequently merged with other publications several times, with name changes at every turn from *France-Illustration* in 1948 to *Nouveau Femina* in 1956 (Panchasi, *Future Tense* 166 (FN 1)).

³⁷² For example, part of Drummond-Hay’s “World Affairs” column in *The Sphere* from August 09, 1930 is titled “The Lion licks his Wounds” and is a slightly different version of her article “Is the British Empire Dying?” published in *Business News* (1930).

³⁷³ For example, it was quoted as an abridged version in “Notes on Current Topics” of the American publication *The Moslem World* in 1925.

³⁷⁴ The *Statistique* was a triennial publication of the Egyptian Ministry of Finance, running from 1907 to 1951 (see Abecassis, “Alexandrie” 13) and was in the inventory of Drummond-Hay’s library (see “List of Books,” KHWP LVI/LDH-Biographical-File).

³⁷⁵ In the United States, Drummond-Hay published the article as “Mass Will Be Said in the Hindenburg” with the *New York Times*, and in Great Britain as “Mass to be Sung in Air Over the Atlantic” in the *Daily Express*. Another example of this strategy is Drummond-Hay’s article “Japan’s Mission: A Revealing Talk with the Apostle of Nippon to the Gentiles of Geneva” that she published *The Sphere* (1933) and that contains the same information as her previously article “Matsuoka Claims For Japan ‘A World Spiritual Mission’” published in the *New York Times*.

America.”³⁷⁶ As she had already published articles in papers devoted to economy, trade and politics, e.g. *Business News*, Drummond-Hay was aware of the narrow topic that would limit her ability to republish the contents somewhere else: “I am not disposed to write for little, as it is stuff that cannot easily be disposed of in other papers.”³⁷⁷

³⁷⁶ LDH, “Letter to KHW,” 15 Dec 1930, KHWP IX/1930.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

CONCLUSION

When all is said and done, the rescuing of women's pasts must remain our primary concern: we owe that not only to the women who have gone before us but to future generations of feminist historians, as Deirdre Beddoe once postulated.¹ Concordantly, this study is an attempt in the direction of this trajectory that transnational perspectives can provide a suitable lens for the re-evaluation of women in history who transgressed both pre-ascribed gender roles as well as traveled beyond national boundaries on their path to professionalization.

The starting point of this dissertation is the understanding that the writing of women's history, particularly influenced by Second-Wave feminism, has been greatly influenced by a national focus on women. However, with the rise of intersectional analyses and a feminist perspective on travel writing, new approaches directed their attention to analyzing interconnectedness on various levels, particularly as experiences in transcontinental and transnational traveling began moving into the focus of attention. Therefore, this dissertation concentrates on such interconnectedness with a focus on the professionalization of women in history. As this historical process was not merely different for women in contrast to men but also exhibits differences within the group of women, this dissertation selected four women to be exemplary for the differences within this group.

Tackling this issue and contextualizing these women within a greater narrative and by utilizing a transnational approach for the study of women's history, the aim of this dissertation was to show the interconnectedness between traveling and professionalism of women at the *fin de siècle*. This dissertation searches for the effects of mobility and the ability to travel for the protagonists who lived unique and diverse careers and lives, sharing commonalities in relation to their mobility and their professionalism.

These can be traced back to their early lives: the four women of this study were exposed to circumstances that were highly influenced by travel as well as an educational background that favored the learning of languages. Miriam Leslie grew up in the multicultural hotspot New Orleans, Lady Drummond-Hay traveled to South Africa and studied multiple languages, and Zelia Nuttall's childhood was similar to a Grand Tour of the eighteenth century. These experiences laid the foundations for their later careers. This gendered education that was deemed appropriate for women in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, i.e. learning modern languages, was one of the major factors in enabling the protagonists to develop their successful careers as journalists, writers, archaeologists,

¹ Beddoe, "Introduction" 108.

historians, editors, etc. The multilingual environments and lives the protagonists in this study were subject to had a significant influence in their successful careers, in acquiring and disseminating information in vast and pluralized networks, syndicates, and publications in different languages. The ability to speak, write and communicate in several languages was a major asset for the careers of the protagonists. While all of them used their knowledge in multiple languages to access information or converse with locals during their travels, there is a discrepancy in the utilization of their multilingual skills. Alice Le Plongeon as well as Miriam Leslie, who despite having successfully translated a French play and a travelogue into English, never published in any language other than English. It seems that most likely that they assumed the English-speaking market to be the most important and profitable. In contrast, both Zelia Nuttall as well as Lady Drummond-Hay considered the publication of articles in multiple languages to be highly important to their careers, as it enabled them to distribute their material to a greater audience and thereby increasing their impact as well as to maximize their output, solidifying their international positions at the top of their respective fields.

Venturing into a professional line of work, at the beginning of their careers these women assumed gender-appropriate positions as helpmates, working as editorial or photographic assistants like Miriam Leslie and Alice Le Plongeon, but also engaging in botany like Zelia Nuttall or writing human interest stories like Lady Drummond-Hay. All of these positions were devoid of any ability to travel and did not – quite literally – provide enough space for development for these women. Instead, with the combination of travel and the applicability of their language abilities, new trajectories opened up for the protagonists. The women traveled to diverse regions in nations across the world and were implicated in various international affairs in the Americas, Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific.

Despite all women being highly mobile, differences emerged over the course of this study. Lady Drummond-Hay was occupied with international travels across the Atlantic in 1928 from Europe to America and circumnavigated the globe aboard the *Graf Zeppelin* in 1929 while distributing her international news in various outlet, Alice Dixon Le Plongeon traveled across the Atlantic from England into the jungles of Yucatán, and Miriam Leslie traveled across the American continent, in the Caribbean and back and forth across the Atlantic. In addition, it could be shown that while Zelia Nuttall during her travels avoided zones of conflict as they interfered with her research during the Mexican Revolution and Mariam Leslie traveled save and already explored areas in the Atlantic realm, Alice Le Plongeon and Lady Drummond-Hay deliberately went into zones of conflict, the Caste War,

Great Syrian Revolt, Spanish Civil War, Second World War, etc. During their travels, the women could successfully develop their skills or add a dimension to their learned skills, e.g. Le Plongeon who transitioned from studio photography to expeditionary photography. Moreover, the protagonists utilized their travelistic experiences as stimulus for a variety of genres, e.g. travel writing, ethnographic studies, literature, political journalism and interviews. At the same time, these travels influenced the protagonists on various levels regarding their respective national identities. Miriam Leslie identified as an American woman, yet complicated her identity with her nostalgia for the Southern way of life in antebellum America, Alice Le Plongeon despite being British viewed herself as American citizen, and while Zelia Nuttall defied any particular national affiliation altogether, Lady Drummond-Hay remained a British cosmopolitan with an American partner and an ever-growing appreciation for to the United States.

Traveling to other countries and often into contact zones also had specific effects on the protagonists' ways to codify their travelistic experiences in their respective works. As an example, the aesthetic of the picturesque served as a means to put these experiences into writing. Miriam Leslie's descriptions of nineteenth-century Havana were influenced by the European tradition of the picturesque, similarly Alice Le Plongeon's images of the ruins of the Yucatán peninsula. Zelia Nuttall's Janus-faced perspective on the women of Central America oscillated between either disdainful or appreciative and for Drummond-Hay the picturesque mode had evolved into a mere term to characterize an fuzzy sense of foreignness.

As was explored in this study, the Atlantic presented a special zone for the protagonists that produced complex relationships and transformations. The ocean connected not only academic and knowledge hubs on either side of its shores, it also linked the four women to the Old and the New Worlds in terms of critical relationships, academic feuds, and contestations. For Zelia Nuttall, this manifested in her pursuit to retrieve presumed lost or unknown documents of pre-Columbian civilizations that were ransacked by the European colonial powers and appropriated to European institutions. Interpreting the Atlantic as a central aspect of her writing, for Alice Le Plongeon the Atlantic was loaded with mythology and an area which saw the spread of human civilization throughout the world and used it as a setting in her literary work that was influenced by her views on hyperdiffusion. The Atlantic as a specific reason entailed constant travels back and forth between the two shores as well as serving as inspiration and source for their writing, e.g. Miriam Leslie's frequent travels or adaptations of French plays for an American audience, or Lady Drummond-Hay, for whom such transatlantic crossings were the beginning of her aerial career.

Living such a mobile life, however, not only enabled their respective careers or by adding geographical mobility caused a significant change or development. It also meant a burden for these women. This thesis also highlighted the complications of being constant travelers that came at a cost for the women. Constant mobility had drawbacks for the protagonists, experiencing a sense of feeling uprooted or disconnected. Zelia Nuttall felt connected to Mexico's history and archeology on various levels, yet remained detached from establishing meaningful relationships with people of that country. Lady Drummond-Hay wrote in her letters to her partner Karl-Henry von Wiegand and her friends that she never found a place to call home. Aside from questions of identity, constant travel also meant a heavy financial burden for the protagonists, e.g. Miriam Leslie's transcontinental journey in 1877 that almost ruined her. This was heightened by the fact that some of the women in this study faced insufficient reimbursement for their work and a lack of paid positions that the women could take. Alice Le Plongeon and her husband were forced to live off income Augustus Le Plongeon had gained in his previous position. Zelia Nuttall was forced to spend almost her entire family fortune in order to finance her research, the acquisition of her home and her travels. Furthermore, travel also meant being exposed to health risks and proved strenuous for their health situation. Miriam Leslie suffered from exhaustion and illnesses, Alice Le Plongeon contracted fever in the jungles of Yucatan and Lady Drummond-Hay suffered from a severe medical incident that was a major factor for ending her career.

Throughout this thesis, it became clear that mobility influenced the women in this study consequentially and deeply, intertwining geographical mobility with the success of the professional work in their respective disciplines of the protagonists. In particular, traditional gender roles that followed a divide between the public sphere for men and the domestic or private sphere for women were insufficient for the development of these four women. Their ability to travel, alone and together with partners, meant the possibility to transgress from these roles and furthermore engage in fields of knowledge production. The women in this study occupied different positions as journalists, editors, historians, ethnographers, archaeologists, anthropologists, etc. that were related to their ability to travel. Such diverse occupations and lives entailed a negotiation of social roles which had to be violated on many occasions in order for them to successfully contribute to their disciplines.

The parallelism of social roles that were characteristic of the protagonists' lives that was connected to their ability to travel. For some the complicity with traditional female roles was only a thin veneer, like for Miriam Leslie who disowned her role as mere wife and adjunct to her husband E.G. Squier and who rejected the ideal of female domesticity and of caring for

a home by living in a hotel that allowed for the free ability to travel instead. For Alice Le Plongeon the aspect of wearing men's clothing abroad affected her notion of surpassing her domestic female role back home, where she translated this transgression into engaging in public speaking roles. In contrast to Le Plongeon, neither Miriam Leslie nor Zelia Nuttall saw the necessity to shed traditional female clothing as an act to assert transgressiveness like the archaeologist Jane Dieulafoy. Nuttall negotiated her roles not in terms of clothing but as a single mother who cared for her child while engaging in travel and research. Lady Drummond-Hay could inhabit her role as an autonomous, traveling public figure and political journalist while accommodating a more traditional female role in her relationship with her partner von Wiegand.

Furthermore, this study highlighted that the professional careers and activities were sometimes complicated by political and national ideologies and policies. Traveling abroad in multinational contexts also put the protagonists at risk of clashing with conflicts; with critics from other countries and being caught up in international affairs between two nations and their political agendas, e.g. in the incident of Alice and Augustus Le Plongeon and the Chacmool statue that both could not export to the United States and which was appropriated by government officials as a national symbol for Mexico's governance and autonomy against foreign influences, or Zelia Nuttall's involvement in the International School of Ethnology as well as the public contestation between her as an American researcher and Leopoldo Batres in his function as Mexican state official. Lady Drummond-Hay faced criticism over entering a branch of journalism that was predominantly male-dominated within Great Britain in the 1930s, but was celebrated for this achievement abroad in the United States. On a different level, the women in this study were unified in the different levels of networks and relationships the protagonists shared in their careers and the benefactors that helped them in achieving publications, fostering excursions, financing, etc., which shows a link between these benefactors and the professionalization of women. As an example, Phoebe Apperston Hearst not only aided Alice Le Plongeon's publications but also financed Zelia Nuttall; in turn, William Randolph Hearst, son of Phoebe Apperston Hearst, supported Lady Drummond-Hay and her journalistic development.

What became apparent over the course of this dissertation is that these international careers were just one trajectory of women's path to professionalization. As an example, diverting from depictions of the history of archaeology and its personages as a mere sequence of success stories, newer research on Le Plongeon "reminds us that archaeology, more than a history of successes and failures of theories, is a set of practices, techniques (photography

among others), and human interactions occurring in the field.”² More than that, there was no monolithic avenue for women’s professionalization during that time frame. Women had to go through various cycles of professionalization. The influence of travel was but one of these trajectories in overcoming gendered restrictions on becoming a professional in their respective field. Zelia Nuttall is an example of a woman engaging professionally in archaeological and anthropological research, yet never attaining a paid position, which was an early indicator of professionalization in the discipline. That went hand in hand with the institutionalization of the discipline. As institutes were created around the world, specifically in America and Europe, these had professorships and chairs for their respective fields that were paid for and thusly asserted a professional facade.

At the intersection of such gendered discrimination and the ability to travel, for the protagonists, as well as for other women who aspired to enter the professional realm, this study elaborated on the inseparability of professionalism and a stance on feminism and suffragism during the timeframe. All of the protagonists championed women’s rights on a general scale; Miriam Leslie in identifying a “wave of progress” for women’s rights as well as Drummond-Hay who advocated for women’s rights in Britain and praised American society for their progressiveness on the cause. Yet, from an intersectional standpoint for both championing the women’s cause ended at national as well as racial and classist borders. On her travels, Leslie used problematic language about women abroad and Lady Drummond-Hay faced criticism of championing trickle-down feminism. In contrast, for Alice Le Plongeon traveling to the region of Yucatán sensitized her to women’s issues abroad, while Zelia Nuttall displayed the least amount of associating with women’s rights and displayed a certain amount of equanimity towards the cause. Summarizing, despite feeling connected to women abroad in the sense of feeling a connection on the basis of being a woman, all the protagonists were complicit in a transnational negligence of women’s rights.

While their respective careers were significantly enabled or improved by the ability to travel, the ending of their careers were equally marked by their ability to travel, or more exactly, their inability to travel. For some of the protagonists the ability to travel was limited by health issues. Miriam Leslie was limited in her ability to travel after health problems in 1890, as well as Drummond-Hay who, after a medical incident in 1937, was forced to give up extensive travel and in combination with her internment during the Second World War ultimately caused her to lose her ability to work as an international journalist. For others, like Zelia Nuttall factors such as old age limited the ability to travel and caused a focusing on

² Ruiz, “Review of *Yucatán Through Her Eyes*” 122.

regional topics in her research, or for Alice Le Plongeon who was immobilized after her return to the United States where she exhausted her field notes and input and transitioned to a literary use of her travelistic experiences.

Throughout the thesis, many secondary characters emerged alongside the four women whose mobile professional careers were exemplary of a larger issue. These women, e.g. Gertrude Lowthian Bell, Elizabeth Gertrude Britton, Rossika Schwimmer, Marian Storm, Jane Dieulafoy, or Julia Margaret Cameron made important contributions to their respective disciplines that were much more connected to their geographical mobility and ability to travel than previously analyzed within the historiographical awareness that depends on such cases. As much as this transnational approach to the study of women's careers at the fin de siècle yielded new insights, there are inherent limitations to such an approach. Tying together protagonists with such vastly different pathways from archaeology to journalism enabled this study to view the greater extent of influence of mobility for these women. Yet, it shows interdisciplinary limitations concerning the way this study could explore more intricate relationships of how travel influenced women in a specific discipline. Particularly, the commonalities and differences between the four major protagonists and the subsidiary characters need to be explored further in the future.

The continuation of research on women in history and their impact on their societies remains a kernel for women's studies, as was stated in the introduction of this thesis. The rescuing of women's pasts from historical oblivion is owed not only to the generations of researchers but also to the future of research itself. If this study could provide a piece in this great puzzle, it was a worthwhile endeavor.

List of Illustrations

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List of Abbreviations

ADLP	Alice Dixon Le Plongeon (1851-1910)
ALP	Augustus Le Plongeon (1825-1908)
DSP	Doris Stevens Papers, 1884-1983. Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MAS. Call No: MC546.
KHW	Karl-Henry von Wiegand (1874-1961)
KHWP	Karl H. von Wiegand Papers, 1911-1961. Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University, Stanford. Call No. 75092.
LDH	Lady Grace (Hay) Drummond-Hay (1886-1946)
LES	Miriam Florence (Mrs.) Frank Leslie (1836-1914)
LGD	Lawrence Gustave Desmond Papers Relating to Augustus and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon. 2013.M.12. Getty Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
ADPP	Augustus and Alice Dixon Le Plongeon Papers, 1763-1937, Bulk 1860-1910. 2004.M18. Getty Research Library, Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.
MSP	Madeleine Stern Papers, 1932-1972 [1942-1968]. DG0936. De Grummond Collection, McCain Library and Archives, University of Southern Mississippi, Hattiesburg.
NZP	Nuttall, Zelia (1857-1933), Papers 1886-1912. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge.
WA	"World Affairs," column by Lady Drummond-Hay in <i>The Sphere</i>
ZN	Zelia Magdalena Nuttall (1857-1933)
NYT	<i>New York Times</i>
FLIN	<i>Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper</i>

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