

## Constance Duncan: Translating Women's Leadership and Internationalism in Asia and Australia, 1922–1958

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**Abstract:** Emerging notions of what constituted exceptional leadership by women in the 1930s and 1940s suggested that experience gained from work in major women's organisations, coupled with a commitment to a sense of service, would create women leaders who would be forthright, practical, sensitive and humane. Constance Duncan emerged from this network of women's associations with a strong sense that women must engage with the affairs of the world. Her work in Asia and Australia both modelled ways that women could initiate and maintain intercultural connections and find ways to understand Australian issues within international frameworks. She was well known for her efforts in public broadcasting and education, but professionally she also found solutions for refugees and women in difficult situations that were practical, sensitive, humane and progressive.

**Keywords:** YWCA, Student Christian Movement, Christian communism, internationalism, women's leadership, women's policy, refugees, Japan, Korea, League of Nations, United Nations

Constance Duncan (1896–1970) developed her leadership skills in international organisations both in Australia and in Asia. During her lifetime she would rise in the ranks of the Australian Student Christian Movement and spend almost a decade working for the YWCA in Japan. She was also employed as the secretary of the League of Nations Union and the Bureau of Social and International Affairs, and was a member of the United Peace Council as well as a host of women's organisations, including the National Council of Women and the YWCA. From these experiences, she brought international perspectives to her analysis and policy recommendations on domestic issues in Australia. After the World War II, she was appointed to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and worked in Korea; she maintained her commitment to internationalism until the end of her life. Throughout this time, her internationalism ran parallel with her feminism across a range of organisations that were expansive enough for her to pursue both interests in Australia and overseas.

Duncan was an educated woman; schooled at Hessle College in Camberwell, she was dux of her class in history in 1910.<sup>1</sup> She studied at the University of Melbourne and completed a BA (Hons) in 1917 and a Masters degree in 1922. Renate Howe argues that this period was very important for Duncan, as the relative absence of men during the war allowed ‘for an extraordinary flowering of women’s leadership’.<sup>2</sup> Duncan became an office bearer in the Australian Student Christian Movement (ASCM) and in the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). Both organisations had a strong internationalist outlook, connecting people and thought around the world. In the immediate post-war period, their focus was on the pressing need to find solutions to social problems. Through involvement in these organisations Duncan would both recognise her potential, obtaining posts overseas, and find avenues to further her education (such as studying in Japan and, later, at the London School of Economics). Angela Woollacott, Sarah Paddle, Fiona Paisley, and Renate Howe have all explored the benefits that women such as Duncan gained from working in Asia, including associating with women such as Eleanor Hinder in China and others who were influential in the Pan Pacific and South East Asian Women’s Association.<sup>3</sup> Recent scholarship has emphasised Duncan’s experience in this regard. Renate Howe has explored the skills and international connections that Duncan and other women such as Katie Fell (who also worked in Japan) established in the Australian Student Christian Movement and women’s Christian organisations. Howe argues that the connections with similarly educated, activist women in other countries helped reduce the sense of isolation experienced by the small number of women students studying in Australian universities.<sup>4</sup> Hilary Summy, for her part, has explored Duncan’s transition from being a foreign secretary in the YWCA in Japan to taking a role as an active policy adviser in Australia.<sup>5</sup>

Duncan’s leadership grew out of her considerable experience within the international organisations that actively discussed ‘big’ social issues. She was a key figure in these movements: one of the select few who represented them through international postings and at significant conferences. She mixed with women (and men) from a wide range of nations and developed strong convictions on internationalism and respect for people from other countries. Gabrielle Radziwill commented in the 1930s that: ‘During recent years women’s organizations have contributed greatly to the forming of public opinion on international questions, and the fostering of international understanding’.<sup>6</sup> Hilary Summy has recently argued that this was particularly true of Duncan, who ‘was part of an intellectual movement that considered an educated public to be of paramount importance in future Australia–Japan relations and international relations generally’.<sup>7</sup>

The transnationalism encouraged by the ASCM and YWCA allowed Duncan to think expansively and to perform leadership roles (as YWCA foreign secretary in Japan) as quite a young woman. Being a foreign secretary for an established Christian women's organisation was a socially acceptable role for a young Australian woman who wished to work overseas, but her choice of what was then known as the Far East was more unusual. Duncan focused her attention on Asia at a time when the White Australia Policy influenced both public opinion and government policy.<sup>8</sup> As Angela Woollacott argues, at a 'time when Australia's official stance on immigration, the White Australia policy, was explicitly framed to exclude Asians, women who sought to learn more about Asian women's lives and to cooperate with them on women's issues were consciously at odds with their cultural context'.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, as Renate Howe points out, Duncan decided to live and work in Japan at a time when post-war Australian attitudes were still hostile in the wake of Prime Minister Billy Hughes' confrontation with Japanese representatives at Versailles.<sup>10</sup>

On the other hand, Japan was probably an intriguing and exciting place to be for a feminist in the 1920s and 1930s. Women's groups mobilised for a massive relief effort after the 1923 earthquake that killed 100,000 people in Tokyo. And, throughout the 1920s, Japanese women activists maintained energetic campaigns for women's suffrage, ensuring that there was lively debate, activism and strong connection with the international women's movement.<sup>11</sup> Karen Garner argues that 'Western influence in the Chinese and Japanese YWCAs, therefore, weighed heavily until the 1930s, when the forces of nationalism challenged traditional YWCA relationships, just as nationalism, as well as fascism and communism, also ruptured the world political order'.<sup>12</sup> This 'rupture', as Barbara Moloney has recently shown, meant that those Japanese feminists who had openly identified with international pacifist goals were increasingly seen as 'suspect' and, by the late 1930s, they had 'adjusted their tactics', arguing that 'gaining full citizenship for service to the wartime state would allow women to leverage their nation-state-focused identity to the transnational service of humanity'.<sup>13</sup>

This complex political situation leading up to World War II undermined the apparent simplicity of internationalist, pacifist feminist discourse. Whereas nationalist discourse purposely erected barriers between the people of Australia and Japan, the internationalist discourse of the YWCA and ASCM in which Duncan immersed herself, espoused the removal of such barriers, advocating pacifism, educational transfer, debate, dialogue and the need to support and understand each other. Duncan believed that new bodies such as the League of Nations offered formal avenues to implement practical

strategies to increase international cooperation on a grander scale than she had experienced in the YWCA and ASCM. She would thus spend years working in the League of Nations Union and in the United Peace Council (which she helped to found in 1935) to promote world peace. This was one of a number of ideas that drew explicit support from many Australian women's groups (in 1936 these included the National Council of Women, the YWCA and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union).<sup>14</sup> But these were turbulent times, and internationalist sentiment, even within the women's movement in Australia, was, like its Japanese counterparts, increasingly viewed with suspicion.

Duncan could give expert analysis on the situation in the Asia-Pacific region, having lived in Japan and toured other parts of Asia such as occupied Manchuria, and she was keen to share her outlook with women in Australia. Her commitment to educating the Australian public was one of the remarkable aspects of Duncan's leadership, although the content of her educational message was variously received over the course of her career. Duncan was well known within the women's movement and gained a weekly radio slot in the women's hour on the ABC when she returned from Japan. In the late 1930s, however, her views on peace and anti-fascism came to be seen as controversial.

Duncan had visited, and briefly taught in, the Soviet Union in 1935, and had been impressed by what she saw.<sup>15</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick argues, however, that, 'despite this, the label of "fellow traveller" does not really fit Duncan, a Christian feminist pacifist of prickly temperament, fully capable of independent political stances'.<sup>16</sup> In general, Duncan looked to the League of Nations to fight for disadvantaged groups and to find a path through global turmoil. As Leila Rupp and Carol Miller have shown, women's international organisations continually lobbied the League of Nations on social and humanitarian issues, which, 'though not considered the most pressing issues in the interwar period ... were, in fact, where the League achieved its greatest successes'.<sup>17</sup>

Duncan, who was immersed in this world, translated the need for social justice to the Australian arena as the tragedies of the international situation for European Jews became evident. She was outspoken in the defence of Jewish refugees on the *Dunera*, and she worked with the Victorian International Refugee Emergency Council, through which she campaigned earnestly to stop the vilification of refugees. On air, she made critical appraisals of British foreign policy, earning a public profile, and this, along with the fact that she had apparently given talks to organisations such as the Movement Against War and Fascism (apparently closely associated with the Communist Party)

and belonged to the Bureau of International Affairs (which was seen to be more supportive of the League of Nations than of British foreign policy) led some of the key figures, such as W.J. Clearly and others who monitored the content on the ABC, to label Duncan's diverse range of political activism and belief 'Christian communism'.<sup>18</sup> As Renate Howe has shown in her study of the ASCM, other social progressives who took social justice issues, such as the need for adequate housing, to the press were also branded 'Christian communists'.<sup>19</sup>

The ABC removed Duncan from the airwaves, only reinstating her after popular protests forced the issue. Even then, she was given a monthly rather than a weekly slot.<sup>20</sup> Summy has shown that Duncan's supporters, such as E.C. Dyason from the Bureau of Social and International Affairs, argued strongly for Duncan to be moved into the Austral-Asiatic Department in order to capitalise on her knowledge of Asia and broadcasting in Asia, but this never eventuated.<sup>21</sup> Nevertheless, Duncan's career was not entirely stymied by the suspicion of her 'Christian communism'. Perhaps she was lucky that the assertions were kept in the confidential file at the ABC, but they would re-emerge publicly when she entered the more mainstream political scene. In the eyes of the public, she was respected and influential in women's circles and had a constant media presence in the late 1930s both on radio, doing 'radio talks', and in the newspapers that reported her numerous addresses at the meetings and special events of women's organisations. Voices in the mainstream press called for more women to stir up debate in the political domain and to educate the public to think in different ways. As one woman wrote in 1938, men who criticised women's desire to 'represent half the population of the world' did not understand that:

Women desire fervently to serve not only the limited domestic circle but the family of mankind. We look out on the appalling muddle in the world today and feel that the leadership of man alone has tragically failed. The voice of women in the councils of the world could not possibly make things worse. We believe that women stand even more firmly and courageously than men for the only principles that can cure our national and social ills. Anyone who seeks to do great work must look for criticism. Let us not be discouraged or turned aside from our course when we meet it.<sup>22</sup>

Duncan was continually invited to speak on a range of topics that challenged women to think about the international situation, the need for peace, the problems of occupied Manchuria, and the importance of supporting the League of Nations.

Duncan also used her reputation as an international ‘expert’ and her position as director of the Victorian International Refugee Emergency Council to convince Australian-born women that refugees should not be treated with suspicion but rather with kindness. If refugees were working in backyard industries, she argued, the blame should lie with the Australian community: ‘Sweating went on long before the refugees began to arrive’, she said. ‘We are partly to blame because we have made no effort to acquaint white aliens with our language or our labour laws. The conditions governing the entrance of refugees make it impossible for any, except desirable immigrants, to come’. Her audience, the Country Women’s Association, rather enthusiastically took up the resulting resolution moved by their president that ‘the association do all in its power to help and succour women refugees from all countries ... [and] that, in the country domestics could be absorbed’.<sup>23</sup> The need for good ‘help’ in the home continued to resonate with women in the 1940s.

During the war years, under the Labor government, Duncan applied for, and got, positions in the government sector; between 1942 and 1945, she was a welfare officer in the Commonwealth Department of Labour and National Service, with a special focus on working mothers and their children. In these positions, she was able to unite interests developed over her years in the YWCA, ASCM, and the League of Nations Union, and sought to influence the government on problems experienced by Australia’s ‘forgotten’ workers and their children: the working mothers, the munition workers, and unmarried mothers. In her work in the Department of Labour and National Service, Duncan assessed the paucity of childcare places for working mothers and looked for international solutions to improve the situation, suggesting a model designed to cope with the needs of any mother working in war-related industry. In principle, she thought that ‘children’s centres’ should run from 6am to 9pm and, unless mothers could be exempted from night-shift, would have to run 24 hours a day. These centres would be truly children’s centres, catering for a range of ages, as well as providing after-school care, an evening meal and a sickbay if a sick child had to stay home from school.<sup>24</sup> By 1943, one experimental wartime children’s centre was running in Brunswick along the lines prescribed by Duncan. It was funded by both state and federal governments, as well as by several women’s organisations, and provided a crèche for young children, hot lunches for school-aged children, and after-school and holiday care in a nearby facility.<sup>25</sup> Two other centres in Footscray and Carlton also extended their hours and services. By January 1944, the demand for places meant that centres were crowded and children were turned away when a centre was full:

The centre [at Footscray] held up to eighty children, and if space were available there would easily be eighty more applications. Miss Constance Duncan, secretary of the Wartime child centres committee, said yesterday that the situation was most distressing. When she visited the centre she talked to mothers, who said that they did not know how they would be able to continue working, as there was no one to look after the children. All the mothers are in war work, many of them canning food or making cans.<sup>26</sup>

While school provided care for older children during some shifts, mothers vied for places for their younger children at these crèches:

Of the children at present at Footscray, 20 are aged less than 2 and 60 are between the ages of 2 and 5. Unless more space can be made available it will be impossible to take more children, for there is insufficient space for additional ones to sleep during their midday rest.<sup>27</sup>

The logistics of war work raised women's concerns more visibly in public debate but the issue of mothers going out to work was still a matter of controversy evoking some public criticism. Duncan's brief was to ensure that children were not neglected but, despite this, there was a persistent undercurrent of opinion (often from Catholic organisations) that saw state-funded child-care as anathema to Australian ideals of home and family and democracy itself.<sup>28</sup>

The years 1943–1944 had been significant for Duncan: immersed as she was in issues that touched on women, work and family, her values matched the political ideals of the League of Women Voters, a Christian-based organisation requiring that its: 'Candidates must be non-party and pledged to a five-point programme of mother, child, family, home, and health'. As early as 1937, this league mentioned Duncan as having 'Parliamentary capacity'.<sup>29</sup> By the time she decided to stand as an independent candidate for the federal seat of Balaclava, Duncan was a well-known personality in Melbourne: perhaps too well known. During the election campaign, rumours circulated that subtly undermined her public persona. She dealt with these rumours in a public meeting, presenting the stories as highly amusing: 'She said that she had heard she was called a Communist, a pacifist, anti-British, and a Japanese spy. Another elector had asked if she were really married and why she did not call herself by her married name'.<sup>30</sup> Duncan was an unmarried woman by choice and, in the wartime setting, this particular combination of rumours suggested that her identity as a 'single' woman covered something covert and that her political connections were questionable. Such rumours could be quite

subtle and yet undermine her politically, questioning her probity as well as her commitment to the war effort, her country and the British Empire.<sup>31</sup>

Although electioneering stirred up smear campaigns such as Duncan endured, there were strong calls in the press, particularly from women journalists, for proper recognition of the demonstrable qualities of leading women working in women's organisations. Elizabeth Wilmot claimed in the *Women's Weekly* in 1940: 'Every city in the Commonwealth can point to public-spirited women in progressive movements who've made their voices heard. These movements have achieved quite enough to show their leaders can get things done'.<sup>32</sup> In her article, 'If Women Ran Australia', she called on readers to imagine the benefits of a women-only federal cabinet. In particular she felt women would offer: 'A "new broom" outlook to public affairs'. She believed women would make reforms that men shied away from, and would find practical solutions to any problems. Women would be 'scrupulously honest' but most of all they would be valuable because of their practical nature:

women work outside their homes but they have never lost touch with the practical details of daily living. Therefore any new legislation would always be viewed as it affects the family unit, as it touches the down-to-earth problems of every man's existence. Woman's control would never be remote control. It would be right there on your doorstep.<sup>33</sup>

Duncan's election promises showed an intention to be a 'new broom'. She declared that 'Australia needed truth and honesty in politics and an overhaul of parliamentary privileges' as well as a well-structured post-war plan that would include full employment, a national health service, a child welfare scheme and national control of the liquor trade.<sup>34</sup> Replying to questions, Duncan said, 'she would give all her time to Parliament, and did not regard membership as a part-time job'. While the war offered women opportunities to stand for parliament and other distinguished positions, there was also open hostility to women's leadership. As Gladys Marks, an academic and leading figure in the NSW National Council of Women, reminded readers in 1944:

Only last week the Premier refused a request to allow girls to enter the Public service by the door now open to boys, and to improve the status of women in the service—on the plea that the time is inopportune (oh brave new order!). And only last week Mr Ifould stated that public prejudice precluded the appointment of women to responsible administrative positions, though they were fully qualified.<sup>35</sup>



In the electoral arena, too, women candidates, particularly independent candidates, campaigned without the backing and networks of the two major parties. In the small local electorates of the Australian political system, the much larger networks provided by the national and international women's movement were not effective. Duncan was not elected to parliament but she continued to influence national wartime policy in her work for the public service.

Duncan maintained her outspoken commitment to a number of political and controversial causes during the 1940s. Local issues intersected with international issues in the final years of the war and Duncan joined the non-Jewish Palestine Committee in 1943, which campaigned for a Palestinian homeland for Jews, 'expressing horror at the atrocities committed against Jews in Europe and asking that in this critical hour the gates of Palestine should be opened wide to Jewish immigration'.<sup>36</sup> The following year, the committee assisted in planning a scheme to bring to Australia 300 Jewish children, victims of the Holocaust. They explained to the press that most of the children would be trained to be farm workers.<sup>37</sup> By 1945, however, the committee had come to recognise the need to discuss the 'the best means of combating the growth of anti-foreign sentiment in Australia, which, the chairman said, seemed to be directed against foreigners in general'.<sup>38</sup>

Tackling controversial topics maintained Duncan's interest in effecting change through public education and by publicly questioning assumptions about how women should live their every-day lives. Her interest in improving women's conditions was evident in a report she wrote in 1944 for the National Health and Research Council 'which advocated for a programme of maternal and child welfare, further support services for mothers, better pay for domestic workers, crèches, subsidised kindergarten training colleges and uniform divorce laws'.<sup>39</sup> Her critiques of maternal work in the home were reported across the country. The *West Australian* homed in on her call for adequate preparation for marriage for men and women, claiming that 'intelligent young women' saw 'the price of having a large family [a]s domestic drudgery, bad health, mental stagnation and financial worry'.<sup>40</sup> In a report in the *Hobart Mercury*, Arthur Calwell, minister for information, said 'he particularly supported Miss Duncan's stressing of the need for help in the home. The lot of the young mother without adequate help in the home was very arduous and Australia must give all the help possible'. Senator Cameron, however, felt that the report did not go far enough: 'women would still refuse to bring babies into the world until they had some protection from war. The more intelligent women became the more reluctant they became to rear children to be used as gun fodder'.<sup>41</sup> Duncan was probably more radical than

Cameron credited. In December 1944, she argued that ‘girls’ with illegitimate babies should be encouraged and supported to keep their babies:

All authorities are agreed that not only is it beneficial from the baby’s point of view that the mother should keep the child, but to ensure the rehabilitation of the girl it is essential that she assumes responsibility for her baby.

She went on to suggest that unmarried mothers could be paid a maintenance allowance to assist them for the first twelve months of their child’s life, and then be supported in a hostel that would provide care for the children during the day while they took employment and maintained their children either in whole or in part.<sup>42</sup>

Duncan was appointed in 1946 to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration as welfare officer for the South-West Pacific, working in Korea as a liaison officer with the American and Soviet armies.<sup>43</sup> The *Sydney Morning Herald* reported with some interest that she was one of the first women not of Asian descent to enter Korea after nearly 50 years of Japanese occupation. When she did so, she broke ‘ancient’ tradition by attending a dinner given by Korean leaders for members of the UNRRA mission that would, traditionally, have excluded women.<sup>44</sup> Her reports to Australian newspapers on life in Korea after Japanese occupation sought to increase cross-cultural understanding in the Australian community and she continued to provide international perspectives for the women with whom she worked.

In particular, Duncan wrote about the leadership qualities of women she had met in Korea, urging Australians to recognise their talent and provide training and opportunities for them. Korean women had learnt much from surviving occupation during the war, she wrote: ‘Life under Japanese occupation has taught them to make do, and they possess business and organising ability and the determination to press for Korea’s independence’. She praised Dr Helen Kimm for her ‘great fight’ against the Japanese occupation, describing her as a ‘great statesman’. Kimm, she noted, had a PhD from Columbia University and was head of Ewha: the US Methodist-run higher education provider in Korea (the only one in the country). She realised that Australians would be interested to hear about the pathway that these women had taken to achieve positions of significant leadership and she profiled several in detail, such as:<sup>45</sup>

Miss Pak II Duk, a former educationist, who was attached to the public relations department of the Military Government and who went to USA

last year to attend a conference of international women, and politically minded Miss Louisa Im, principal of a women's college, who is a great educationist.<sup>46</sup>

But she especially emphasised the value of cross-cultural education, pointing to the case of Mrs Hong Oak Soon, who, having studied post-graduate nursing in Australia just before the war through the sponsorship of the Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union (PWMU), was charged with creating a modern, national nursing service. The *Argus* reported:

“No investment by a mission ever paid a better dividend than the sending of Mrs Hong to Australia,” said Miss Duncan, who praised [Hong's] moral courage, drive, tact, vision, and organising ability. As Director of Nursing Affairs for Southern Korea, Mrs Hong, who is the mother of two children, travels by air through the American occupation zone, visiting and supervising the Institutes of Modern Nursing Arts, which have been established under the scheme. “It would be grand if we as a country could provide opportunities for more Korean women—for social science workers, teachers, and nurses—to come here to widen their experience and to benefit from contacts,” Miss Duncan added.<sup>47</sup>

Duncan herself had developed her leadership skills according to a similar internationalist model. As she pointed out, many of the outstanding women she met in Korea were themselves educators, already providing more women with the opportunities to learn and lead. Their other connections with Columbia University, the Methodist Church and the PWMU provided specialist training and networks that expanded their capacities further.

Upon her return to Australia, Duncan aimed to engage Australian students concerning the need to connect with their counterparts in Asia, leading a tutorial group at the 1949 ASCM Conference on ‘Australia's Responsibility in the Pacific’.<sup>48</sup> She herself campaigned vigorously to raise funds for International House, which opened in 1958. This new college, affiliated with the University of Melbourne, provided residential accommodation for international and Australian students and acted as a cross-cultural hub, with events designed to increase inter-cultural contact. In the era of the Colombo plan, when students from Asia studied at Australian universities and other educational providers such as technical colleges, Duncan's hope that Australia might provide more educational opportunities to women in Asia seemed at last achievable.<sup>49</sup>

Post-war reconstruction presented continuing opportunities for Duncan. She worked as a resettlement officer for the Australian Council of Churches, which allowed her to further her work with refugees and displaced persons. The government recognised her expertise on Asian policy matters by appointing her in 1947 to the Commonwealth Advisory Committee on the Japanese Peace Settlement.<sup>50</sup> This committee was formed to advise the government on ‘what line of action should be taken at the British Empire Peace Conference on 26 August that year’.<sup>51</sup> In 1949, she was appointed federal and New South Wales state secretary of the Australian National Committee for the United Nations.<sup>52</sup> And some of her earlier women’s policy proposals also bore fruit: in 1951 she was selected organiser of the Victorian Home Help Scheme with a salary of more than £725 per annum.<sup>53</sup>

Diane Langmore notes that Duncan was remembered as an ‘imposing woman’ with a loud booming voice, little time for people who did not live up to her expectations and a disarming mix of ‘warmth, compassion, humour and thoughtfulness’.<sup>54</sup> She had developed important skills from her involvement in the women’s movement. Years of service in Japan and Korea developed her facility in Asian languages and her understanding of diversity within the Asian region, and yet her leadership skills cannot be summed up simply as an accumulation of knowledge. As Summy has noted, ‘she was a true internationalist in a period of provincialism’.<sup>55</sup> Duncan developed international connections and capacities that enabled her to work from significant positions both in Australia and in Asia to make structural, lasting change possible. Like other remarkable women internationalists of her generation, Duncan was part of a movement that rejected the notion that nationalism was natural, choosing instead to construct international collective identities within the international women’s movement.<sup>56</sup> Furthermore, working within organisations such as the YWCA and ASCM enabled Duncan and other women to live and work overseas, modelling independent lifestyles for women that by-passed the family unit. Perhaps more importantly, they also modelled ways of establishing inter-cultural connections and relations, not only to the young women they taught, but also to other women in Australia who followed their careers with interest.

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<sup>1</sup> Hesse College, Camberwell, *Argus*, 19 December 1910.

<sup>2</sup> Renate Howe, *A Century of Influence: The Australian Student Christian Movement 1896–1996* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2010), 147.

<sup>3</sup> Angela Woollacott, ‘Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminisms: Australian Women’s Activism in the 1920s–30s’, in *Feminisms and Internationalism*, eds Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott (Oxford: Blackwell 1999),

81–101; Fiona Paisley, *Loving Protection? Australian Feminism and Aboriginal Women's Rights 1919–1939* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2000); Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997); Renate Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism in the Asia-Pacific region 1890s–1920s', *Australian Feminist Studies* 16, no. 36 (November 2001): 311–24; Meredith Foley and Heather Radi, 'Hinder, Eleanor Mary (1893–1963)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, <http://adb.anu.edu/biography/hinder-eleanor-mary-6678/text11515>.

<sup>4</sup> Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', 316.

<sup>5</sup> Howe, *A Century of Influence*; see also, Hilary Summy, 'From Missionary to Ministerial Adviser: Constance Duncan and Australia–Japan Relations 1922–1947', *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 54, no. 1 (March 2008): 28–43.

<sup>6</sup> Gabrielle Radziwill to Lady Aberdeen, 20 November 1931, HLA, 85–334(1), LB, cited in Rupp, 220–1.

<sup>7</sup> Summy, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', 321.

<sup>9</sup> Woollacott, 'Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminisms', 81–101, cited in Howe, 2001, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', 321.

<sup>10</sup> Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', 321.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Molony, 'From "Mothers of Humanity" to "Assisting the Emperor": Gendered Belonging in the Wartime Rhetoric of Japanese Feminist Ichikawa Fusae', *Pacific Historical Review* 80, no. 1 (February 2011): 1–27.

<sup>12</sup> Karen Garner, 'Global Feminism and Postwar Reconstruction: The World YWCA Visitation to Occupied Japan, 1947', *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 198–9.

<sup>13</sup> Molony, 'From "Mothers of Humanity" to "Assisting the Emperor"', 20.

<sup>14</sup> Summy, 39.

<sup>15</sup> Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Australian Visitors to the Soviet Union: The Soviet Side', in *Political Tourists: Travellers to the Soviet Union from Australia in the 1920s–1940s*, eds Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008), 2, 9, 26–7, 34, n. 49.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 49.

<sup>17</sup> See Rupp, 222, and Carol Miller, "'Geneva—The Key to Equality': Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations', *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 219–45.

<sup>18</sup> Lesley Johnson, *The Unseen Voice: A Cultural Study of Early Australian Radio*, (London: Routledge, 1988), 181–2.

<sup>19</sup> Howe, *A Century of Influence*, 201–03. For women's role in the international outreach of the SCM, see also, Howe, 'The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism', 311.

<sup>20</sup> Johnson, *The Unseen Voice*, 181–2.

<sup>21</sup> Summy shows that she did miss out on at least one prospective job. Summy, 40–1.

<sup>22</sup> Letter from C.B., 'Women in World Affairs', *Courier Mail*, 15 June 1938, 5.

<sup>23</sup> 'Will Help Refugees', *Argus*, 23 June 1939, 14.

<sup>24</sup> Letter draft from Constance Duncan to Mr Baxter, 3 March 1942, 'Establishment and Control of Children's Centres for War Workers', Wartime Children's Centres, Correspondence with the Australian Association for Pre-school Child Development, MS B3533/1, 12333/6/1, National Archives of Australia (NAA).

<sup>25</sup> This initiative, interestingly, was also denounced by the Catholic lobby groups as being anti-family and thereby communist. For a fuller description of the Brunswick Children's Centre, see Ellen Warne, 'A Daily Scramble: Working Mothers' Access to Child Care in World War Two', in *Double Shift: Working Mothers and Social Change in Australia*, eds Patricia Grimshaw, John Murphy and Belinda Probert (Melbourne: Circa, 2005), 118–32; Lynne Davis, 'The Brunswick Children's Centre: A Forgotten Model Children's Service?' *Australian Journal of Early Childhood* 34 (May 1988): 153–66; and also Kate Darian Smith, *On the Home Front: Melbourne in Wartime, 1939–1945* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1990).

<sup>26</sup> 'Wartime Kindergartens Kept Busy', *Argus*, 6 January 1944, 6.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Warne, 'A Daily Scramble', 121.

<sup>29</sup> 'Women Candidates for Parliament', *Advertiser*, 16 July 1937, 10. Contemporary news reports did not explicitly state that Duncan had backing from the LWE or other women's organisations such as the Women Citizens' League.

<sup>30</sup> 'Rumours Amuse Woman Candidate', *Argus*, 14 August 1943, 5.

<sup>31</sup> Howe, *A Century of Influence*, 237.

<sup>32</sup> Elizabeth Wilmot, 'If Women Ran Australia', *Australian Women's Weekly*, 27 January 1940, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Wilmot, 'If Women Ran Australia', 2.

<sup>34</sup> 'Woman Candidate for Balaclava', *Argus*, 4 August 1943, 4.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from Gladys Marks, 'Rhodes and Women', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 3 October 1944, 2; and also 25 September 1944, 4.

<sup>36</sup> 'National Home for Jews', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 12 May 1943, 6.

<sup>37</sup> 'Jewish Appeal: Child Rescue Scheme: Nazi Victims to Come Here', *West Australian*, 25 July 1944.

<sup>38</sup> 'Anti-Foreign Sentiment: The Jewish Problem', *West Australian*, 18 October 1945, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Diane Langmore, 'Duncan, Ada Constance (1896–1970)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Vol. 14 (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1996), 48–9.

<sup>40</sup> 'Married Life: Price of Having Large Family', *West Australian*, 12 December 1944, 6.

<sup>41</sup> 'Two Views on Maternal Welfare Report', *Mercury*, 11 December 1933, 7.

<sup>42</sup> 'Problem of Illegitimate Children', *Mercury*, 9 December 1944, 4.

<sup>43</sup> See Letters to Constance Duncan 1943–1949, S-1252-0000-0130, held in the UNRRA archives, UN Archives and Records Management Section, New York.

<sup>44</sup> 'UNRRA Worker in Korea: Only Woman in Mission', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 5 March 1946, 7.

<sup>45</sup> All quotes in this paragraph are from 'Women of Korea Will Build Country's Future', *Argus*, 6 January 1947, 7.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Student Christian Conference’, *Sydney Morning Herald*, 26 January 1949, 2.

<sup>49</sup> For ASCM endorsement of the Colombo plan, see Howe, *A Century of Influence*, 305.

<sup>50</sup> Summy, 42.

<sup>51</sup> ‘Committee to Advise on Japanese Treaty’, *Canberra Times*, 13 August 1947, 2.

<sup>52</sup> Summy, 43 n. 93.

<sup>53</sup> ‘To Organise Home Help Scheme in Victoria’, *Advertiser*, 1 June 1951, 11. See also ‘Grandmothers—There’s a Career here for You’, *Argus*, 13 July 1951, 8.

<sup>54</sup> Langmore, 48–9.

<sup>55</sup> Summy, 43.

<sup>56</sup> For a more involved discussion of this notion of collective international identity, see Rupp, 226–7.