



Introduction

Dario Fazzi and Anya Luscombe

In the immediate aftermath of World War II, from the pages of her widely syndicated “My Day” columns, former US first lady Eleanor Roosevelt set out her own views of diplomacy. Taking stock of her uncle Theodore’s famous dictum, she emphasized the relevance of “speaking softly” while managing international affairs. “The art of diplomacy,” she argued, “was meant to teach us to do what has to be done truthfully, in straightforward fashion, but with courtesy and consideration for those with whom we deal.” This exercise of empathy required for Eleanor “a certain amount of imagination and the ability to put oneself in the other fellow’s place.”¹ To her, the possibility of building a lasting peace and a prosperous future depended on the consolidation of a basic, common understanding among human beings, one that could counterbalance simultaneously the rise of hyper-individualism and the threats posed by authoritarian statism.² Individuals, she argued, “should care about other human beings all over

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the world regardless of race, creed, or color, and should be determined that they will not seek for purely personal advantage.”³

Such a radical and idealistic view of diplomacy was a double-edged sword to Eleanor Roosevelt’s reputation. Like-minded liberals and peace advocates praised her efforts and utterances; humanitarians of various nature still celebrate her legacy nowadays. And yet, political conservatives and the champions of national security poured scorn on her; economic isolationists and nationalists of any sort still dismiss her views as unrealistic and naïve at best, preposterous and detrimental at worst.⁴ This volume casts a new light on this seemingly irreconcilable debate, in order to reconsider Eleanor Roosevelt’s views on and approach to diplomacy under a broader and more nuanced perspective.

In this regard, a necessary preliminary consideration is that, mostly due to her unique status, Eleanor Roosevelt’s diplomatic conduct was as much public as it was private. Her diplomatic actions constantly reverberated into the public sphere and perfectly mirrored Nicholas J. Cull’s now classic taxonomies.⁵ Her diplomatic endeavors and her engagement with foreign publics, in general, were usually preceded by careful listening to the counterparts, whose preferences, interests, and considerations she considered fully legitimate. In many instances, the pursuit of public diplomacy meant to her the promotion of mutually advantageous, when not universally acceptable, principles. And she employed cultural differences adroitly, by creating space for cross-pollination that ended up favoring rather than hampering the whole diplomatic process.⁶ At the same time, she carried out her diplomacy first and foremost through a close net of personal and powerful contacts: throughout her life, she maintained direct access to key positions of power, cultivated influential friendships, and built around her an extensive network of national and international decision-makers and gatekeepers.⁷ A curious heterogony of ends, though, made so that her personal and private diplomacy seldom helped her advancing her own public political agenda.⁸

In spite of the fact that more than 200 academic works, including biographies, encyclopedias, and companions, have scrutinized, contextualized, criticized, and assessed practically any aspect of Eleanor Roosevelt’s life, her views on foreign policy in general and diplomacy in particular remain not only rather under-researched but also a matter of debate among historians. Jason Berger’s first comprehensive analysis of the matter, which is now almost forty-year-old, had the merit to point to the continuity of Eleanor Roosevelt’s entanglements with foreign affairs.⁹ The promotion

of human welfare, the defense of (American) democracy, and the international safeguard of freedom constantly topped, according to Berger, her foreign policy agenda. By contrast, Joan Hoff is of the idea that Eleanor Roosevelt's thinking on foreign policy was volatile, inconsistent, and wavering, as she spent most of her public life rather unsuccessfully trying to find an equilibrium between idealism and pragmatism.¹⁰ Quite obviously, she often needed to be politically cautious because of her public role and, most importantly, because of her husband's political objectives and maneuvers. This made her, as Blanche Wiesen Cook paradoxically argues, "a practical idealist."¹¹ Other scholars, however, have tried to reconcile these two interpretations and have placed Eleanor Roosevelt at the center of a complex reconfiguration and deep transformation of pre-war New Dealism into post-war liberalism.¹² In so doing, these authors have depicted Eleanor Roosevelt as a facilitator, an intermediary whose public utterances popularized the American visions for a post-war world order. This book contributes to this debate by considering Eleanor Roosevelt not just as a passive interpreter of global changes, but as part and parcel of them, a protagonist whose moves, ideas, and opinions were directly aimed at shaping—symbolically and practically—foreign affairs.

What this volume reveals, in the end, is Eleanor Roosevelt's distinctive version of citizen diplomacy. The main compass for her diplomatic action, indeed, was a peculiar conception of international affairs, one in which she universalized the role of the citizen. In this context, the concept of "citizen diplomacy" is not necessarily related to the presence of structural exchanges among private citizens from different countries, but it rests more with the efforts that single individuals and organized groups make, in order to foster mutual collaboration and understanding at a global level.¹³ "Citizen diplomacy," thus, refers here primarily to the idea that all citizens function as representatives of their nation to the world. It is therefore a concept stressing more those individual or collective attempts made by common citizens to overcome the limits of formal, official, and state-to-state diplomacy, rather than leaning toward what Jessica Gienow-Hecht has defined as nation branding, where the main objective of the diplomatic action ultimately lies in the active promotion of the public image of a given country abroad.¹⁴ With respect to this, the analysis of Eleanor Roosevelt's citizen diplomacy proposed by this volume takes on Justin Hart's invitation to historicize public diplomacy, keep it separate from nation branding, and read it in its contemporary context, in order to bring back to the fore the real purposes and motivations of any diplomatic agent,

from common citizens to nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) and governmental agencies.¹⁵

The historical backdrop against which Eleanor Roosevelt advanced her citizen diplomacy was a genuinely progressive one. Born in 1884, Eleanor was a wealthy knickerbocker whose lineage descended, on her father's side, from the Oyster Bay-based, Republican branch of the Roosevelt family. On her mother's, her origins linked her up with the renowned and patriotic Livingston family.¹⁶ As both her mother and father died when she was still a child, it was her paternal uncle Teddy who became her main role model.¹⁷ A civil servant and a rancher, colonel of his own regiment in the Spanish-American War, a talented politician and a terrific campaigner, intransigent on financial matters, and a progressive reformist on environmental and social issues, Theodore's life, ideas, and achievements were to Eleanor an example of commitment, passion, and sense of duty.¹⁸

In her formative years, Eleanor was infused with liberal worldviews. She studied in England, where she attended a French-speaking finishing school led by the intriguing Mlle Marie Souvestre. Her schoolmistress imbued Eleanor with a love of history, arts, theater, and music; more importantly, Souvestre invited her to reject strict Victorian social norms, challenge stratified gender roles, and fight against injustice, exploitation, and disenfranchisement.¹⁹

Back to the US in the early 1900s, Eleanor started putting the noblesse oblige principle into practice and busied herself with community works and volunteering. She paid numerous visits to sweatshops, warehouses, and garment factories so to gain firsthand experience of children's, women's, workers', and immigrants' marginality. She even took her fiancée Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), a distant cousin of hers, to a tour of some of the worst tenement houses of New York City.²⁰ For a short period after her marriage in 1905, family duties took Eleanor away from her social activism: mothering her six children and taking care of her households became her main tasks. But a few years later, two major changes contributed to revamping Eleanor's public engagement. First of all, in the early 1910s, FDR's political career took off, as he was first elected as New York State Senator in 1910 and then appointed by President Woodrow Wilson as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1913. This meant for Eleanor being catapulted in a world that was familiar to her—her uncle had served twice as US president by then—even if she did not fully perceive it as her own, filled as it was with formal receptions, fashionable gatherings, and recurrent meetings with policymakers and socialites of all

sorts. Pragmatically, she took the most out of her new role and began broadening her personal network and cultivating her own political interests.²¹ Second, the outbreak of the Great War pushed her back to the streets, volunteering for the American Red Cross, the Navy Relief Association, and for various hospitals and canteens of the federal capital.²² Eventually, she became “an accomplished, widely known, and admired public figure in her own right,” one who was able to set her own agenda and fight for her own social and political priorities.²³

Throughout the 1920s, Eleanor Roosevelt transformed herself into a shrewd politician, an efficient campaigner, and a terrific organizer.²⁴ She officially joined the Democratic Party and the National League of Women Voters with the aim to foster women’s political participation.²⁵ She also became of a member of the Women’s Trade Union League and the bipartisan New York Women’s City Club. She learned how to reach out to different audiences by mastering a variety of communication strategies, “which included the use of radio broadcasts, newsletters, and magazines, in addition to such well-tested methods as public debates, speeches, fundraisers, and community events.”²⁶ This also gave her the opportunity to cultivate several pivotal and long-lasting personal contacts, many of which developed into trusted friendships, as the ones with Rose Schneiderman, Elizabeth Read, Esther Lape, Nancy Cook, Marion Dickerman, Clarence Pickett, Clark Eichelberger, Walter White, and Caroline O’Day, all of whom infused into her a constant drive for social reform. As she wrote in 1923, she shared with like-minded progressive and (liberal) democrats a genuine concern “with welfare and interests of the people at large, and less with the growth of big business interests.”²⁷

This inclination to advocate for the underdogs also characterized her years at the White House. She made out of the first ladyship, a constitutionally powerless and theoretically marginal position, one of the best offices from which to push for her progressive agenda. She incessantly traveled across the country to closely observe the consequences of the Great Depression.²⁸ She personally supervised, coordinated, and funded homestead and child-feeding programs in the coal mining areas of Pennsylvania and West Virginia, with the aim to transform them into successful examples of participatory and communitarian democracy.²⁹ She continued to capitalize on all the various forms of media communication available to her at the time to reach ordinary American men and women, urging them to write to her to keep her informed of their troubles and answering their questions.³⁰ On several occasions, she condemned racial

segregation as inconsistent with the principles of American Republicanism.³¹ She kept defending human dignity and fighting for minorities' rights even when this meant colliding with her husband's necessarily pragmatic political agenda.³²

After FDR's death, she continued to carry out the progressive and liberal legacy of the New Deal both at home and abroad. While serving as an official representative at the newly established United Nations (UN) or reaching out to the people through her columns, public speeches, lectures, and radio and TV programs, she kept defending the linchpins of American liberalism. Throughout this time, she frequently voiced her concern that America's race relations policies were badly affecting her country's standing in the world: "Much of the feeling [at the UN] is that of the colored races against the white race. We are classed with the Colonial Powers as having exploited them...I think we have to reckon with this in our whole world outlook because we will need friends badly and it is surprising how few we have."³³

Eleanor Roosevelt's life, thus, is chiefly a testament to public engagement. Scholars have variously argued about the naïveté of her pronouncements; nevertheless, Eleanor Roosevelt represented for many a voice of liberation, a beacon of progressivism and liberalism that casted its light for decades. It is therefore no surprise that American people still tend to consider Eleanor as one of the leading figures of the twentieth century, a liberator, or a role model.³⁴

Scholars have also tended to focus on Eleanor Roosevelt's role as a First Lady in light of supporting her husband, looking at her contributions as a woman, wife, and mother, and less so as a politician and activist. For example, Tamara Hareven argued that Eleanor Roosevelt "never visualized herself as an influential leader but as a woman performing a citizen's duty to the democratic community."³⁵ Her ability to serve as a role model for women and her desire to encourage women to be active citizens is interesting and worthy of examination; as Congressman William Ryan of New York said in a 1963 memorial address, "she became the symbol of the new role women were to play in the world."³⁶ However, her gender and femininity (or lack of it) is not the only element of her personality that deserves attention. At the same time, it is striking to notice that when pundits, commentators, and scholars assess Eleanor Roosevelt's contribution to world politics, they draw their attention almost exclusively on the role she played in the drafting of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Her rich and complex views on global citizenship, democracy, civic

awareness, and education go well beyond the pages of that document, and well beyond the traditional schemes of state-centered diplomacy. Accordingly, this edited volume aims to provide a multifaceted, and yet preliminary, account of Eleanor Roosevelt's all-encompassing ideas on democracy and diplomacy. In doing so, the chapters in this book stress the various efforts she made, in order to support internationalism on a global scale and simultaneously further a peculiar interpretation of world affairs, which she saw as fair and equal cooperation among people, not merely among nation-states, based on common understanding and mutually beneficial crossings.

Furthermore, reconstructing Eleanor Roosevelt's involvement in diplomacy is particularly timely and compelling nowadays, especially from a historiographical point of view. In the past few decades, indeed, scholars have redefined diplomatic history by broadening its theoretical scope and extending its empirical boundaries. Environments, cross-cultural interactions and encounters, transnational flows, individual inputs, and societal efforts have progressively become part and parcel of a new historical narrative.³⁷ In particular, such an extensive body of scholarship has tended to de-emphasize the role of the nation-state as the sole agency molding international affairs. Authors have recognized that exchanges across borders have been and continue to be shaped by many non-state actors who use their public prominence, personal experiences and contacts, intellect and tact for the benefit of the public interest. Eleanor Roosevelt, who as her biographer Blanche Wiesen Cook says, "touched the imagination of people everywhere, because she included in her vision people of all economic and social classes," is among the most prominent examples of these actors.³⁸

The book presents therefore chapters that tackle the various elements of Eleanor Roosevelt's citizen diplomacy. Chapter "[The Great National and Transnational Communicator: Eleanor Roosevelt's Use of Radio to Promote Peace and Understanding](#)" by Anya Luscombe is centered on the former first lady's ability to reach out to different national publics, and especially the European ones, through her masterly use of radio. In it, Luscombe explains that Eleanor Roosevelt's broadcasts, whose perceived success is proven by the hundreds of letters of admiration she received, while part and parcel of America's Cold War battle to win over the hearts and minds of foreign audiences also contributed to spreading a message of peace, cooperation, and mutual understanding. This sort of *empathic* diplomacy, at times complementary, at times openly at odds with

Washington's official policy, served in the end the purpose of normalizing high politics to the benefit of the common citizen and convincing people of the authenticity of American progress.

The following three chapters focus on a particular feature of Eleanor Roosevelt's citizen diplomacy, very much intertwined with her personal character, that is, her passion for travel. Her numerous visits to foreign countries, indeed, both conducted in official and unofficial capacity, further expanded the outreach of America's public diplomacy. During the war, as chapter "[“Mrs. Roosevelt Goes on Tour”: Eleanor Roosevelt's Soft Diplomacy During World War II](#)" by Raffaella Baritono suggests, FDR gambled on her appeal in order to boost the morale of American troops overseas and reassure US allies at the same time. Here, Baritono suggestively highlights Eleanor's idiosyncrasies as an official diplomat. Her personal opinions, rarely silenced, received a lot of (bi-partisan) criticism at home and on several occasions caused a considerable amount of friction between American officials and foreign counterparts abroad, especially on such thorny issues as race and colonialism.

Chapter "[Eleanor Roosevelt in Yugoslavia Between Wedge Strategy and Cold War Internationalism](#)" by Carla Konta brings to the fore Eleanor Roosevelt's personal diplomatic style by uncovering the relatively unknown story of her tour of Tito's Yugoslavia. Through that experience, which Konta interprets as instrumental to Washington's "wedge" strategy between the Balkan state and Moscow, it is possible to recognize some of Eleanor's most distinctive diplomatic traits: a genuine interest in poor and dispossessed people; a reluctance toward official gatherings, which she, nevertheless, oftentimes, turned to her advantage; her reliance on personal networks; her active promotion of the UN mission and image, which after 1948 naturally accompanied her everywhere she went.

Then, chapter "[Behind the Iron Curtain: Eleanor Roosevelt's Visit to Poland in 1960](#)" by Halina Parafianowicz gives fascinating insights into Eleanor Roosevelt's excursions behind the iron curtain, recounting the story of her participation in the 15th Plenary Assembly of the World Federation of the United Nations Associations (WFUNA) and her visit to Poland in the fall of 1960. Further elaborating on the impressions and achievements of her trips to Russia, which have been accounted in great details by Eleanor's friend and biographer Joseph Lash, Parafianowicz explains how, in Eleanor Roosevelt's own words, trips of this sort were fundamental to "build a bridge of understanding and good will" in an era

otherwise characterized by rising tensions, mistrust, and Manichean divides.

The second part of the volume focuses on Eleanor Roosevelt's interest in such global issues as human rights, education, and democracy and some of the obstacles that she, as a pragmatic diplomat, aimed to overcome. It was in the appeal to universal principles that she traced the roots of global citizenship, and it was in these principles that she found a common denominator through which to spur citizens into action. Chapter "[Liberalism Meets Radicalism: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Internationalization of the Black Liberation Struggle](#)" by Tim Kies stresses the relevance that race relations had in codifying Eleanor Roosevelt's transnational message to the citizens of the world. Here, Kies emphasizes Eleanor's difficulties and ambiguity in dealing with what was the greatest contradiction of America's Cold War public diplomacy: the unremitting tension between the ambition of spreading freedom worldwide, while being burdened by racial segregation at home. The limits of Eleanor Roosevelt's diplomacy are evident in this field, whereas her positive role in advancing women's empowerment transpire from the following three chapters.

The first one, chapter "[Dancing Barefoot and Politicizing Dance at the White House: Eleanor Roosevelt and Martha Graham's Collaboration During the Rise of Fascism in Europe](#)" written by Camelia Lenart, stresses Eleanor Roosevelt's intimate love for arts instrumentally and interprets it as a way to endorse and publicize modernity and modernism. In fulfilling her mission as public educator, Lenart argues, Eleanor Roosevelt also employed the power of silent messages, metaphors, and live performances—like Martha Graham's ones, which are at the center of Lenart's analysis—knowing that they might crucially contribute to moving citizens' conscience and awareness and overcoming class, gender, and racial barriers. The second one, chapter "[“I Know What You Are Doing for Other People Too”: Dutch Journalist Mary Pos Reaches Out to Eleanor Roosevelt](#)" by Babs Boter, is on the relationship between Eleanor Roosevelt and Dutch journalist Mary Pos. In it, Boter highlights how Eleanor's worldviews were, oftentimes, appropriated, (re)negotiated, and translated into terms that sounded familiar to foreign audiences by the many cultural mediators, like Pos, that she encountered throughout her life. The third one, chapter "[Eleanor Roosevelt's Autofabrication as Gendered Premediation of a Female Presidency](#)" by Sara Polak, is an exploration into Eleanor Roosevelt's political persona. Here, Polak argues

that Eleanor, while serving as US First Lady, was able to transform an apparently powerless position into a highly influential one, and that this also helped the (auto)fabrication of FDR's quasi-epic presidency.

Finally, chapter “[Eleanor Roosevelt and the Nature: Bridging Conservationism with Environmentalism](#)” by Dario Fazzi concludes the book with a journey into one of the less explored traits of Eleanor Roosevelt's personality, namely her environmentalism. In this chapter, Fazzi reveals how Eleanor's own understanding of nature bridged the gap between traditional conservationism and modern environmentalism, by questioning the long-term sustainability of humans' consumption and exploitation of natural resources and, more importantly, by inviting people to act, transnationally, in defense of the global ecosystem.

All the chapters, then, revolve around the basic assumption that it was the very notion of citizenship endorsed and promoted by Eleanor Roosevelt that entailed a performative diplomatic role. In fact, in an influential booklet published in 1940 and suggestively titled “The Moral Basis of Democracy,” she wrote that good, democratic citizens must “model themselves on the best and most unselfish life,” should be oriented to the pursuit of the common good, and should, above all, fully recognize and appreciate their own individual responsibility. Making the citizens of the world aware of such a great responsibility was one of Eleanor Roosevelt's main missions as public educator, but fulfilling the duties that descended from it became the main driver of her diplomacy.

NOTES

1. Roosevelt, Eleanor. 1945. My Day, August 24, 1945. https://www2.gwu.edu/~erpapers/myday/displaydoc.cfm?_y=1945&_f=md000112. Accessed March 5, 2019.
2. See Chafe, William H. 1992. Biographical Sketch. In *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, eds. Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, 7. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
3. See Roosevelt, Eleanor. 1938. *If You Ask Me*. New York: Appleton-Century, quoted in Bilsborrow, Eleanor J. 1957. *The Philosophy of Social Reform in the Speeches of Eleanor Roosevelt*. Denver: University of Denver, Ph.D. Dissertation, 43.
4. To explore some of the positive assessments of Eleanor Roosevelt's achievements, see among the others Black, Allida M. 1996. *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Shaping of Postwar Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press; Glendon, Mary Ann. 2001. *A World Made*

New: Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. New York: Random House; Henry, Richard. 2010. *Eleanor Roosevelt and Adlai Stevenson*. New York: Palgrave; O'Farrell, Brigid. 2010. *She Was One of Us: Eleanor Roosevelt and the American Worker*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press; Binker Mary Jo and Brigid O'Farrell. 2014. This Is What Ken Burns Neglected to Tell You About Eleanor Roosevelt. *History News Network*, December 7. <https://historynewsnetwork.org/article/157795>, accessed March 5, 2019; Fazzi, Dario. 2016. *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Anti-Nuclear Movement: The Voice of Conscience*. New York: Palgrave. Of particular relevance here are the experiences of some contemporary women who shared their encounters with and opinions on Eleanor Roosevelt in Klemesrud, Judy. 1984. Assessing Eleanor Roosevelt as a Feminist. *The New York Times*, November 5.

Finally, see also Transcript, Secretary Hillary Rodham Clinton, 2018. Remarks at Bonavero Institute of Human Rights. Oxford: Oxford University, October 9. https://www.law.ox.ac.uk/sites/files/oxlaw/keynote_speech_by_secretary_hillary_clinton_20181009_0.pdf. Accessed March 5, 2019. Among those who criticized Eleanor Roosevelt, particularly worth mentioning is the troubled relations she had with both Arthur Vandenberg and John Foster Dulles, see Atkins, Ann. 2011. *Eleanor Roosevelt Unleashed: A Life of Soul Searching and Self Discovery. From Depression and Betrayal to "First Lady of the World"*. Paoli: Flash History Press; an overview of Eleanor Roosevelt's critics is given by Koch, Cynthia. 2016. They Hated Eleanor, Too. Commentary, The Franklin Delano Roosevelt Foundation at Adams House, Harvard College, August 20. <http://fdrfoundation.org/they-hated-eleanor-too/>. Accessed March 5, 2019. Finally, one of the most recent critical publications is Kidd, Geraldine. 2018. *Eleanor Roosevelt: Palestine, Israel and Human Rights*. New York: Routledge.

5. See Cull, Nicholas J. 2008. Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 616, 1: 31–54 and Cull, Nicholas J. 2009. *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the Past*. Los Angeles: Figueroa Press.
6. In this regard, Eleanor Roosevelt may be considered a forerunner of the so-called new public diplomacy; see Melissen Jan (ed.) 2005. *The New Public Diplomacy*. New York: Palgrave.
7. On "private diplomacy," see Scott-Smith, Giles. 2014. Introduction: Private Diplomacy, Making the Citizen Visible. *New Global Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ngs-2014-0012>
8. One of the most brilliant examples of this difference between her goals and her achievements is represented by the negotiations concerning the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which Eleanor Roosevelt led as

- chair of the Third Committee of the United Nations. Eleanor Roosevelt's main goal was to achieve a binding treaty, enforcing human rights globally. The international and domestic political situations though, and the balance of power within the UN led her to accept the Declaration—and its purely moral value—as the best outcome possible. See Roosevelt, Mrs. Franklin D. *The Struggle for Human Rights* (also known as, “The Struggle for the Rights of Man”), Paris, Sorbonne, September 28, 1948 (publication released February 1949). In *The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, Volume 1: the Human Rights Years, 1945–1948*, ed. Allida Black. 2010, 900. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
9. Berger, Jason. 1981. *A New Deal for the World: Eleanor Roosevelt and American Foreign Policy*. New York: Columbia University Press.
 10. Hoff, Joan. 2001. Foreign Policy. In *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia*, eds. Beasley, Maurine H., Holly C. Shulman, Henry R. Beasley, 195. Westport: Greenwood Press.
 11. See Cook, Blanche Wiesen. 1984. Turn Toward Peace: ER and Foreign Affairs. In *Without Precedent. The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, ed. Hoff-Wilson, Joan and Marjorie Lightman, 109. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
 12. Black, Allida M. *Casting Her Own Shadow*; Glendon, Mary Ann. *A World Made New*; Borgwardt, Elizabeth. 2005. *A New Deal for the World: America's Vision for Human Rights*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
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 14. Davidson, William D. and Joseph V. Montville. Winter 1981–1982. Foreign Policy According to Freud. *Foreign Policy*, 45: 145–157. See also Warner, Gale, and Michael Shuman. 1987. *Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet-American Relations*. New York: Continuum; Kelley, John Robert. 2010. The New Diplomacy: Evolution of a Revolution. *Diplomacy and Statecraft*. Vol. 21, 2: 286–305. On the concept of “nation branding,” see Gienow-Hecht, Jessica C. E. 2016. Nation Branding. In *Explaining the History of American Foreign Relations, 3rd Edition*, eds. Costigliola, Frank, and Michael J. Hogan. New York: Cambridge University Press; and Viktorin, Carolin et al., eds. 2018. *Nation Branding in Modern History*. New York: Berghahn Books.
 15. Hart, Justin. 2018. Historicizing the Relationship between Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy. In Viktorin, Carolin, et al., eds. *Nation Branding in Modern History*.

16. Cook, Blanche Wiesen. 1992. *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One. The Early Years, 1884–1933*. New York: Penguin: 21–22.
17. Burns, James MacGregor, and Susan Dunn. 2001. *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America*. New York: Groove Press.
18. Ricard Serge, ed., 2011. *A Companion to Theodore Roosevelt*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing.
19. Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One*, 102–124.
20. O’Farrell, Brigid. *She Was One of Us*, 6–10.
21. Black, Allida M. *Casting Her Own Shadow*, 8.
22. See Chafe, Biographical Sketch, 6.
23. Israels Perry, Elisabeth. 1984. Training for Public Life: ER and Women’s Political Networks in the 1920s. In *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, eds. Hoff-Wilson, Joan, and Marjorie Lightman, 44.
24. Fenster, Julie M. 2009. *FDR’s Shadow: Louis Howe, The Force that Shaped Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt*. New York: St. Martin’s Griffin. Scharf, Lois. ER and Feminism. In *Without Precedent: The Life and Career of Eleanor Roosevelt*, eds. Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, 226.
25. Burns, James MacGregor, and Susan Dunn. 2001. *The Three Roosevelts: Patrician Leaders Who Transformed America*. New York: Groove Press: 172 and 186.
26. Beasley, Maurine H. 2010. *Eleanor Roosevelt. Transformative First Lady*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas: 77. Phillips, Julieanne. League of Women Voters. In *The Eleanor Roosevelt Encyclopedia*, eds. Beasley, Maurine H. Holly Cowan Shulman, and Henry R. Beasley, 314–316. Westport: Greenwood Press.
27. Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt. Transformative First Lady*, 35; Eshet, Dan. 2010. *Fundamental Freedoms. Eleanor Roosevelt and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights*. Brookline: Facing History and Ourselves National Foundation.
28. Black, *Casting Her Own Shadow*, 23–28.
29. For a detailed account of the Arthurdale project and Eleanor Roosevelt’s role in it, see Hoffman, Nancy. 2001. *Eleanor Roosevelt and the Arthurdale Experiment*. North Haven: Linnet Books. See also Austin, Allan W. *Quaker Brotherhood: Interracial Activism and the American Friends Service Committee, 1917–1950*. 2012. Champaign: University of Illinois Press. Along with a few Quaker friends of hers, she also developed Norvelt, a self-sufficient community in Pennsylvania that was supposed to provide housing and services, and an alternative to unemployment and misery, to the coal miners and poor people in the area. Norvelt was named as such after EleaNOR RooseVELT. See Kelly, Timothy, Margaret Power, and Michael

Cary. 2016. *Hope in Hard Times: Norvelt and the Struggle for Community During the Great Depression*. University Park: Penn State University Press. See also Eleanor Roosevelt to W.W. Alexander, January 22, 1938, in Roosevelt Institute for American Studies (RIAS), *The Paper of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945*, Reel 1, 00002. In another letter to Alexander, who was Arthur Dale's administrator at the Department of Agriculture, she presented the story of a boy living in the homestead community whose family could not afford his training, and she admitted: "I have placed several other children from there [Arthur Dale] in various capacities in Washington and they all seem to make good. If you think there is any chance, I will pay his transportation and give him enough money to live on until he gets his first pay check." Eleanor Roosevelt to W.W. Alexander, January 11, 1940, RIAS, *The Paper of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945*, Reel 1, 00008. On her financial involvement, see Bernard Baruch to Eleanor Roosevelt, December 18, 1934, RIAS, *The Paper of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933–1945*, Reel 1, 00220.

See also Chafe, Biographical Sketch, 18.

30. Beasley, *Eleanor Roosevelt. Transformative First Lady*.
31. Roosevelt, Eleanor. The Negro and Social Change. In *Courage in a Dangerous World. The Political Writings of Eleanor Roosevelt*, ed. Allida M. Black, 1999. 34–37. New York: Columbia University Press. See also Abramowitz, Mildred W. 1971. *Eleanor Roosevelt and Federal Responsibility and Responsiveness to Youth, the Negro, and Others in Time of Depression*. New York University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 141–183; and Cooper, Melissa. 2017. Reframing Eleanor Roosevelt's Influence in the 1930s Anti-Lynching Movement around a "New Philosophy of Government." *European Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 12, 1. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.4000/ejas.11914>
32. Zangrando Joanna Schneider, and Robert Zangrando. ER and Black Civil Rights. In *Without Precedent*, eds. Joan Hoff-Wilson and Marjorie Lightman, 88; and Lash, Joseph P. 1971. *Eleanor and Franklin*. New York: Norton & Company.
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36. Ryan, Rep. William. 1963. Memorial Addresses in the House of Representatives. Together with Tributes on the Life and Ideals of Anna Eleanor Roosevelt. March 18. 88th Congress, 1st Session House Document No 152, 17–18.
37. In this regard, see the publications listed on <https://newdiplomatichistory.org/literature/>. Accessed March 5, 2019.
38. Cook, *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume One*, 17.