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"Politics, Money, and Distrust: French-American Alliances in the International Campaign for Women's Equal Rights, 1925–1930."

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Practiced Citizenship

Women, Gender, and the State in Modern France

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5. Maria Vérone (*left*), Alva Belmont (*standing*), and Alice Paul (*right*) meeting at the American University Women's Club (now Reid Hall), 4 rue de Chevreuse, Paris, April 19, 1925. © World Wide Photo. Image from Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

Politics, Money, and Distrust

*French-American Alliances in
the International Campaign for
Women's Equal Rights, 1925-1930*

SARA L. KIMBLE

On April 19, 1925, the French feminist lawyer Maria Vérone met with two American feminist leaders of the National Woman's Party (NWP), Alva Belmont and Alice Paul, to plot the next phase of the international women's rights movement. On that cool spring day Vérone was a guest of Belmont and Paul for tea at the American University Women's Club in Paris (fig. 5). Belmont made France, where she had been educated as a girl, her permanent home in 1924.¹ Paul arrived in Paris after a trip to London, where she had met with Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Lady Margaret Rhondda, and other suffrage leaders to form the International Advisory Committee for the NWP. Their meetings in Paris during the spring and summer of 1925 were designed to extend the reach of the NWP's international committee beyond its main London branch.²

The international expansion of the NWP grew from its political triumph with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution (1920) that granted voting rights to U.S. women. In 1923 the NWP announced new goals to secure nationwide equality in the form of an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) under the U.S. Constitution, and it pledged to internationalize its campaign for equality.³ Belmont and Paul also called for an international parliament of women designed to bring together varied organizations as a united movement to end "present world-wide subjection of women" by facilitating women's

autonomy “so that women shall control life as much as men control life.”⁴ They seemed convinced that unity of purpose could bring rapid results and prompt the “evolution” of modern law from antiquated laws, for the “relics of ancient customs and musty tradition” inherited from English common law and the Napoleonic Code needed eradication.⁵ In practice the Americans’ international action had several prongs, including providing support for women’s suffrage campaigns in places like Puerto Rico and, as we shall see, in France.⁶

In the mid-1920s the French and the American leaders often met at the American University Women’s Club to discuss how to promote women’s rights.⁷ With French as their common language, the Americans made alliances with the peace activist Gabrielle Duchêne, the suffrage leader Germaine Malaterre-Sellier, and elite women in publishing and the arts, namely Anthippe Couchoud and Fanny Bunand-Sévastos.⁸ Maria Vérone, who arose from humble origins, was an intellectual powerhouse in this group, and she would prove to be one of the Americans’ most valuable political allies in France.

Vérone’s militant activism for women’s suffrage and her career as both an activist lawyer and a legal journalist contributed to her reputation as an idealistic, incorruptible, articulate, and passionate feminist. In the early 1920s the NWP women eagerly applauded Vérone’s exploits in the political press and promoted her activism in their newspaper, *Equal Rights*.⁹ By the time of their 1925 meeting, Vérone’s commitment to deploying international law to secure women’s equal rights was already in evidence. Vérone was an experienced international negotiator, active with the International Council of Women (ICW) and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), and an advocate for the peace and disarmament movement and women’s equality in employment. She claimed a revolutionary and antiroyalist family heritage, learned political skills as a teenager from her free-thinker father, and demonstrated for the anticlerical cause while working as a young teacher. Beginning in 1913 she had been involved in international women’s rights through the IWSA, traveled within Europe and into French North Africa, eagerly engaged in international friendships.¹⁰ She reportedly wore a button with the revolutionary motto *Vivre libre ou mourir*.¹¹

Unlike the other contributions to this volume, this history does not directly engage with questions of social rights, but the primary figures in this Franco-American alliance were rooted in social thought and action. Campaigns for social rights were foundational in the political development of Maria Vérone and Alice Paul. Vérone's political youth was also steeped among mutualists and socialists from the 1890s through 1913. With these affiliations, she engaged with issues such as the quality of urban housing and corruption in city government and participated in consumer co-ops. Vérone experienced financial insecurity after the death of her father and again later, as a single mother.¹² After she joined the *Ligue française de droits des femmes* (LFDF) in 1904, her activism focused explicitly on women's socioeconomic needs, and political issues, including suffrage, societal respect for girls and mothers, state financial support for children born out of wedlock, reform of the juvenile justice system, expansion of women's employment opportunities, and equal pay.¹³ Vérone's political and legal work aimed to undercut the structures that kept the patriarchal family form (male as breadwinner, female as dependent) in place. Her involvement in questions of married women's independent nationality indicated her willingness to disrupt notions of normative family life as she emphasized women's agency to form, dissolve, and remake the family unit.¹⁴

Alice Paul (1885–1977) studied at the School of Philanthropy (later merged with Columbia University) and had served as a social worker among immigrants in New York (1905–7) and in a British settlement (1907–10). She joined the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) after hearing a persuasive speech by Christabel Pankhurst on women's suffrage. Before 1914 both Vérone and Paul turned from direct involvement in socioeconomic problems and social rights to reform work on a larger, structural level, a process facilitated by their academic studies of law (Vérone) and sociology, economics, and law (Paul).¹⁵ They wanted to emancipate women from a variety of dependencies (financial, civil, political, psychological) that were the conventional core of gender relations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The most ambitious campaign undertaken during the interwar era by this loosely connected international group of allies was in support

of the Americans' Equal Rights Treaty, or ERT. The ERT contained one article: "The Contracting States agree that upon ratification of the Treaty, men and women shall have equal rights throughout the territory subject to their respective jurisdictions."¹⁶ The ERT was a legal agreement modeled on the ERA, both "born of the same idea, namely that the whole sex must cast aside its bondage in order to secure equal opportunity for any woman anywhere."¹⁷ The ERT was a means through which all "unequal laws will be made equal" within each nation.¹⁸ It was designed for implementation by an international body, such as the League of Nations, to serve as the vehicle for overturning the gender-specific limitations on citizenship. The concept of the ERT appears to have been proposed by Lady Rhondda to Alice Paul in correspondence in 1926 and the precise terminology finalized in 1927.¹⁹ Doris Stevens (1888–1963), the energetic paid NWP organizer, later explained the ERT's purpose in Paris: "We want the grand principle of human freedom [*liberté humaine*] to be accepted as a fundamental principle in international law."²⁰ Despite these lofty ideals, however, Stevens's leadership in this campaign for equality later in Latin America was plagued by her attitude of superiority, an uncritical view of imperialism, and an authoritarian style.²¹ In what follows, I analyze the history of the ERT in France that preceded the Latin American venture.

The Equal Rights Treaty effort was important as an attempt to renegotiate the social and sexual contract using the power of supranational structures. Susan Becker argues that the NWP wanted to act in the international sphere due to an assumption that the status of women of all classes and all countries was interrelated. Moreover the NWP women were cognizant of the influence that male-dominated international bodies such as the International Labour Organization and League of Nations could have over women's positions, and they intended to revitalize the international women's movement.²² Women's involvement in the League convinced official League representatives that "the position of women in society could be construed as a problem for international attention" and thus "irrevocably challenged the notion that the status of women was a purely 'national' issue," according to

Carol Miller.²³ Feminist agency gave substance to the international agreements that eventually came into effect, particularly with events such as the League's Committee on the Status of Women (est. 1933).²⁴ This history underscores the potential power of citizens to act in discursive and material ways despite their formal exclusion from political rights (in the French case) or international bodies (in the case of the Americans' marginalization at the League of Nations). The campaign for an ERT also reveals the value these early feminists placed on international law as a means to redress the imbalance of power between men and women. This example of women's political involvement during the interwar era was also part of the broader historical trajectory of private women's organizations demanding equal rights for women through international law.²⁵

The French had an important relationship to concepts of universal equality and international action. The 1878 Congrès des femmes claimed equality for all women.²⁶ This equality was a universalization of rights based on a generalization of European women's experiences as normative, regardless of differences such as race, religion, or structures of colonial power. France cemented its reputation as a home for human rights with both political action and rhetoric, surprising the world with its Senate's refusal to grant women's suffrage.²⁷ Martin Thomas notes that by rejecting women's claim for voting rights, "Republican universalism excluded women from the centres of power just as systematically as it excluded colonial subjects."²⁸ French suffragists expected that they would see suffrage after the First World War, when so many women had sacrificed for the nation and many other nations had enacted this fundamental reform. Sîan Reynolds writes that French women, including Vérone, engaged with international political affairs at the League of Nations with a kind of "desperate energy" that correlated to their displacement from national politics within the hexagon.²⁹

Women's rights advocates were among the supporters of the League, a logical extension of their commitments to peace and diplomacy and against war, militarism, and violent nationalism. Comprehensive legal action to advance women's rights was a core strategy. In Rome in

1923, at the IWSA conference, Maria Vérone and a Scottish barrister, Chrystal Macmillan, proposed a convention to secure the independent nationality of married women, one of the earliest treaties by women on behalf of women.³⁰ In Santiago, Pan-American women lobbied delegates at the International Conference of the American States and secured resolutions to study the means of abolishing women's legal incapacities, advance women's education, and incorporate female delegates in future conferences.³¹ The potential for securing women's equality through constitutional law had been successfully demonstrated in the Soviet Union and Scandinavia in the 1920s, a strategy the NWP publicized and pursued.³²

This chapter is devoted to exploring the activities, motivations, and limitations of the often fragile and uneven Franco-American alliance as its members pursued gender equality in law. The presented evidence highlights the importance of taking seriously a shifting place of equality and rights in the interwar period, changing power dynamics between the national and international bodies at the nexus of international law, where the definitions of citizenship and human rights were debated and hammered into new forms. Moreover this history of intertwined activity around women's rights reinforces the significance of intellectual exchange in the struggle for the expansion of *les droits de l'homme* to encompass a broader notion of the human political subject.

The ERT's history in the Pan-American women's rights movement in the 1930s has been documented, but not so its earlier history in France.³³ In 1928 Doris Stevens formally announced the ERT in February in Havana, then carried it to Paris in August for its European launch. Paul Smith finds "no evidence" that the connections between the NWP and the LFDF "went any further than" one meeting on October 30, 1928.³⁴ By contrast, I have found evidence of direct interactions between Vérone and NWP leaders Paul and Stevens from at least 1925 until Vérone's death in 1938. I have also discovered that Vérone had an important supporting role in the American demonstration on August 28, 1928, in Rambouillet but her actions were not as described by either the press or subsequent scholars.³⁵ Consultation with French- and English-language archival material in comparison with published sources

provides the opportunity to establish greater precision for an analysis of the relationship between militant women's rights activists from the United States and France on their engagement with questions of gender in citizenship, political tactics, and international law in ways that begin to untangle the intertwined histories of women's rights movements.³⁶

This analysis of women assumed to be similarly situated reveals multiple trajectories of power that illuminate the complex challenges of enacting seemingly unifying ideals in an economically and politically stratified world.³⁷ The differences between the French and the Americans mattered to their transatlantic partnership such that their plans to forge an international "sisterhood" appear driven by competition and mistrust as well as by idealism and intermittent cooperation. Nevertheless they promoted claims for gender equality, raising questions about its continued denial and paving the way for further debate and eventual reforms.

This chapter is divided into three main themes. First, there is a narrative of political activity by women who emerged from the United States and France for the express purpose of coordinating an effort to speak to political authorities about legal equality. Second, there are debates among these rights activists over definitions, ideas, and strategies for how to best challenge the system of male dominance and female subordination. In this context, female activists demonstrated their capacity to act as citizens—that is, as peers engaged in a public space—despite the fact that their nations denied them full rights.³⁸ Third, these historic actors participated in a movement of "feminist internationalism," as they demanded that international law serve to grant equal political and civil rights to women.³⁹ On the surface of this Franco-American collaboration effort, activists claimed a common pursuit of women's rights on the international stage. An examination of the way power operated in this alliance reveals fault lines at the nexus of liberal rights, nationalism, and capitalism just under the surface of equanimity.

1925–1926: Forging Transatlantic Alliances in Paris

In principle France was fertile soil in which to nurture an international campaign for women's liberal rights. The French enjoyed a historic

affinity with human rights that was rooted in revolutionary events and enlarged through subsequent representations. Even so, this seemingly homegrown affinity benefited from international exchanges such as the inspirational influence of the American Revolution on the Marquis de Condorcet and *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* (1789).⁴⁰ In turn, nationalism was the vehicle for advancement of *les droits de l'homme* where the universality of its meaning was tested repeatedly by differences in religion, race, and gender. The concepts within the slogan *liberté, égalité et fraternité* facilitated the advance of civil, religious, and political freedom through revolutionary reconstructions of the French government and society (in 1789, 1830, 1848, and 1871). In the history of French-American interwar alliances, we see profound tensions between assumptions of the universality of rights and the restraining power of cultural and national specificity.

To build the Paris branch of the NWP, Alva Belmont and Alice Paul contacted several of the most powerful local women's rights leaders, including Gabrielle Duchêne, Germaine Malaterre-Sellier, and Maria Vérone. Duchêne (1870–1954) was a pacifist, communist sympathizer, and advocate for women's equal political rights, concerned that women must shape the legislation that affected their lives as workers and mothers.⁴¹ She also headed the 4,500-member French section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a "key player" in the antimilitarist, antifascist movement.⁴² Malaterre-Sellier (1889–1967) was the head of the Paris chapter of the Union française pour la suffrage des femmes (UFSF), the principal organ of the suffrage movement, which boasted twelve thousand members within five years of its founding in 1914. She engaged internationally as the leader of the Alliance internationale pour le suffrage et l'action civique et politique des femmes, vice president of the Union féminine pour la Société des Nations (est. 1920), and a leader in the Alliance-affiliated federation of women's organization, the Conseil national des femmes françaises (CNFF).⁴³ In 1914 the CNFF included 100,000 members across a variety of associations.⁴⁴ Vérone (1874–1938) was president of the oldest women's rights association in France, the mixed-sex LFDF, founded in 1882. She became one of the first female attorneys in France, chaired

of the voting rights division of the CNFF, and served as the leader on legal questions within the ICW and IWSA. These Frenchwomen had broad experience in international women's rights organizations, as well as political influence within France itself.

If the press can be believed, the Franco-American women's alliance of 1925 focused on "the equality between men and women in labor legislation as well as all other legislation" affecting public life and work.⁴⁵ In a preliminary action, Duchêne, Malaterre-Sellier, and Vêrone authored a letter addressed to Carey Thomas, Bryn Mawr's president emerita, asserting their allegiance to legal equality with the statement: "Sex should never, in our opinion, be a basis for legislation."⁴⁶ This action was undoubtedly performed at the request of the Americans, and consequently the French were drawn into the controversial debate on strict gender equality that threatened to unravel the decades of protective labor legislation that shielded working women from some degree of exploitation, while re-entrenching gender differences. French laws had advanced protective labor legislation for women that restricted women's working hours (1892) and constrained other conditions of labor that "represented a nod to a more gendered vision of the industrial world wherein male work was the norm and women's deviant."⁴⁷ Many French women's rights organizations had advocated for "protective" legislation, especially for mothers, that was based, in part, on the affective vocation of women.⁴⁸ Solidarism and maternalism were ideologies that proved effective in France to justify the expansion of the state into the private sphere to provide social rights within the developing welfare state.⁴⁹ In order to align with these Americans the French were asked to publicly depart from their long-held positions.

The NWP's strict definition of equality alienated those who supported politics based in maternal protections and civic maternalism.⁵⁰ Any cementing of gender difference in law, based on women's inferiority and dependence, was precisely what the liberal feminists, including the NWP, opposed.⁵¹ The radical goal of the ERT was the worldwide application of laws that treated men and women equally. While sidestepping questions of the application in colonial contexts altogether, the egalitarian activists insisted on the simple equality of men and

women under the law in their nations, to place women under the same legal standards as those established for men.

1926: American Feminist Action in France

The NWP contributed to the fracturing of the international women's rights movement over the question of whether to pursue women's rights via strict gender equality or accept the reification of gender difference and the restrictions on women's economic choices that occurred when they secured "protective" rights. At the 1926 Conference of the International Alliance for Women's Suffrage and Equal Citizenship (henceforth, the Alliance), the congress split over a resolution calling for "no special regulations for women's work different from regulations for men." While a majority of the Alliance voted in favor of equality in principle, they were countered by a multinational dissenting minority group who insisted upon the necessity of developing "legislative protection for working mothers and their children."⁵² At this meeting the NWP also lost its bid for formal affiliation with the Alliance in a vote of 123 to 48, due in part to the controversy over special protections.⁵³ The mainstream French press characterized the NWP as an "extremist" group whose definition of equality was so radical that they would even support "the accession of women to the priesthood."⁵⁴

Unable to join the Alliance, Belmont turned to France as a site to demonstrate the NWP's power to effect political change.⁵⁵ She believed that the Americans could unite all French suffrage associations to win voting rights for women. Presumably Paris would then serve as a headquarters for future action within Europe.⁵⁶ Belmont imagined the creation of a "union mondiale des femmes" designed to realize equal rights for men and women. The NWP hoped to lead and "revitalize the international women's movement."⁵⁷

NWP archival sources show that after the 1926 Alliance meeting, Belmont and her American associates attempted to launch a binational suffrage movement to secure voting rights for French women. Stevens, Belmont's industrious assistant, "ran herself ragged" attempting to locate a suitable place for headquarters in Paris from which they could "conduct work for suffrage for French women" at the head of a

“federation of all French suffrage societies.”⁵⁸ At the outset, however, one NWP member, Mary Winsor, gave critical misinformation to Stevens about the political strategies of several French suffrage associations that influenced decision-making on this union. Winsor urged that the influential organizations headed by Maria Vérone (LFDF) and Cécile Brunschvicg (UFSF) should be kept “away from any offer that Mrs Belmont might make” on the grounds that these French leaders “both disapproved of the street work.”⁵⁹ Winsor recommended that the Americans find alternative suffrage associations such as Marthe Bray’s Ligue d’action féminine pour le suffrage, an “action league” that used humorous propaganda to win working-class support.⁶⁰ They also considered the suitability of Elisabeth Fonsèque’s Société pour l’amélioration du sort de la femme.⁶¹ These two groups had modest memberships (estimates of five hundred for Bray’s, one thousand for Fonsèque’s), and thus these organizations were likely more agile than the venerable UFSF and LFDF.⁶² Most importantly, Bray praised the Americans’ militant political tactics as “un bel exemple” and called for the “necessity of action” by the French.⁶³ As reported by the NWP, Bray was ready “to take advantage of Mrs. Belmont’s offer, and [was] dreadfully afraid it might fall thro’; because of the opposition of Vérone and Brunschvicg’s societies.”⁶⁴

There were several potential reasons why the Americans wanted to align themselves with the most radical elements of the French suffrage movement even if they did not represent the largest organizations. The American NWP and the British Women’s Social and Political Union were infamous in part because of their willingness to engage in street demonstrations and prison hunger strikes and other high-profile activities in an effort to sway the public. Both Bray and Vérone were attracted to these controversial publicity efforts.⁶⁵ The LFDF under Vérone’s presidency (1919–38) embraced militant tactics that brought confrontation, arrests, and public attention.⁶⁶ Her militancy prompted police surveillance.⁶⁷ In 1922 Vérone became known by the moniker “Madame Quand-Même” after her outburst from the gallery, “Vive la république quand même,” when the Senate voted 156 *contre* 134, rejecting the opportunity to debate women’s voting rights.⁶⁸ Her

political strategies were applauded by her American counterparts while they troubled her co-nationalists.⁶⁹

By contrast, Brunschvicg was known for her *féminisme féminin*, meaning that she supported moderate political tactics designed to avoid alienating the modicum of pro-suffrage public opinion. Brunschvicg's arguments, like those of her feminine counterpart Marguerite Durand, valued gender difference and political alliances that disincentivized militancy.⁷⁰ The influential UFSF boasted a membership of perhaps 100,000 by 1928 and secured affiliation with the Radical Party. The UFSF supported pro-suffrage candidates, paraded in poster-decorated buses, and published a politically moderate newspaper, *La Française* (1906–34). Brunschvicg accepted a program of gradual enfranchisement (initially, only local suffrage) rather than hold out for equal voting rights.⁷¹ Oddly enough, the Americans confused the French organizations and erroneously conflated Vêrone's militant position with Brunschvicg's cautious one.⁷²

Conflict over leadership may have been a more intractable problem. Belmont wished to unite the French under her authority, which seems to have been unlikely to accommodate French leaders' desires to command their own national movement. The French suffrage leaders themselves had difficult relations and failed to unify their political strategy.⁷³ These internal divisions disrupted the plan for the Paris headquarters and stalled the coordination efforts to confront the status quo.

The American proposal to unite French suffragists came at a critical time. In 1926 the French voting rights advocates attempted to overcome the intransigence of the senators who refused to debate or pass the voting rights bill approved by the Chamber of Deputies in 1919. Even a proposal for the municipal vote (approved in the Chamber in May 1925) was repulsed by the Radical Party-dominated Senate.⁷⁴ Obstructionism in the Senate was fueled by opposition to gender equality and a masculine definition of the abstract individual that excluded women from this seemingly universal category because of the "stubborn particularity of their sex."⁷⁵ Citizenship in France was gendered male in ways that limited the application of the Rights of Man to women.⁷⁶ Additionally republicans feared that women, many

of whom had been educated by Church schools, would vote for Catholic interests and thus undermine the secular republic.⁷⁷ In an attempt to break the juggernaut in the French Senate, Belmont donated 50,000 francs to the French suffrage movement.⁷⁸ The funds arrived at a moment of national financial crisis due to skyrocketing inflation rates and immediately benefited the foundering pro-suffrage newspaper *La Française*.⁷⁹ This mainstream feminist newspaper subsequently survived another eight years.⁸⁰ Activists could not know then that the French Senate would obstruct every suffrage bill approved in the Chamber of Deputies (in 1928, 1932, and 1938).⁸¹

Belmont's donation brought the NWP closer to Vérone and the LFDF despite the fact that the money we know about benefited the UFSF. Vérone enlarged her relationship with the NWP by publicizing their activities in her newspaper columns, and inviting the Americans to join public events. In December 1926, for example, Stevens lectured on gender equality in the workplace at a high-profile LFDF event.⁸² Stevens's egalitarian politics were well matched at the LFDF's meeting where resolutions were approved on gender equality in studies of occupational diseases, sick pay rates for women equivalent to their regular pay, and demands for the implementation of "equal pay for equal work."⁸³ Paul attested that the NWP activism in Paris resulted in "exceedingly good" publicity that subsequently bolstered their fundraising power among other Americans in France.⁸⁴ By contrast, *La Française* did not increase its scanty press coverage of American efforts.⁸⁵ The collaboration between Stevens and Vérone confirms Martha Davis's claim that the NWP preferred to align themselves with a "network of more radical and confrontational allies" as well as those with egalitarian sensibilities.⁸⁶ No evidence has yet been located, however, to confirm the establishment of an American-directed headquarters for political action in Paris that had been proposed in the summer of 1926.

The contribution of American money to the French parallels a larger tendency within interwar feminism by which privileged women acted out of a sense of sympathy, protectiveness, or responsibility for their "little sisters." Antoinette Burton argues that British women who took an interest in Indian women out of a sense of responsibility for their

“colonial sisters,” and thus participated in “imperial feminism,” consequently reified the assumptions of the imperial culture in which they lived.⁸⁷ Marie Sandell finds that during the interwar period, women from enfranchised nations assumed a mentoring attitude and offered advice and even money to activists in other nations. In 1921, for instance, Indian women received \$500 from a fund managed by Carrie Chapman Catt to aid their suffrage movement.⁸⁸ Sandell asserts that even as women’s rights activists became more aware of inequalities worldwide, Anglo-Saxon and Nordic women wanted to maintain their dominance within the international organizations. Letters exchanged among ICW leaders reveal prejudice at the expense of the French and other so-called Latin countries characterized as “backward” in terms of societal development in comparison to their “Germanic” counterparts.⁸⁹

The expressions of cultural superiority are also evident among the Americans of the NWP in some of their commentary on the French. In a published interview Belmont declared that women from “England, America, Sweden, [and] Norway” who were the “farthest along” in the women’s movement “ought to help the women of nations less advanced.”⁹⁰ This obligation required both money and labor, and it was tied to what Belmont and Paul considered a historic “evolution” away from national isolationism toward internationalism. One NWP member, Katharine Anthony, characterized the French women’s rights movement as “lagging” in “vitality” due to defects in the supposed French national character and psychological weaknesses that, she claimed, had been observed by Mary Wollstonecraft in the eighteenth century. The “decorum” and lassitude of the French suffrage movement, Anthony asserted, were consequences of women’s failure to ally themselves with other women due to a deference to “coquetry” and interest in the “opposite sex.” Anthony claimed that the French lacked emotional unity as a class of women, a bond that served the English and Americans.⁹¹ Moreover the Americans hoped to inspire Frenchwomen by their own stories of militancy so that the French would “devise equally effective measures for winning their own suffrage fight.”⁹² This also raises questions about the ways binary notions of superiority and inferiority influenced French-American alliances in international

feminism. This thread of criticism, akin to victim-blaming, made the singular praise for women like V rone, for her “vitality,” energy, and willingness to risk arrest for feminist causes, all the more striking.⁹³ Clearly, assumptions about “national character” colored these relations as the Americans adopted an attitude of superiority toward the French and promoted their own tactics as the winning ones.

The Americans were not alone in their efforts to universalize their experience. Notions of national, cultural, and racial superiority were widespread within women’s rights movements in this era. Indeed, many French feminists also universalized their own experiences and, with some important exceptions (notably Hubertine Auclert), were infrequently critical of the impact of European colonization.⁹⁴ As I have argued elsewhere, V rone had complicated views of women’s emancipation in the case of French colonies.⁹⁵ She acknowledged that European imperialism brought with it problems such as alcoholism, prostitution, derogatory representations in literature, and exploitation of child labor in the manufacturing of goods exported for the European market.⁹⁶ V rone supported the growth of indigenous women’s associations in French colonies but opined, from her encounters with the Kabyle (Berber) community in northern Algeria, that girls and women would be, in aggregate, better off under French secular laws and educated in secular schools than under religious law or in religious schools of any denomination. She insisted that the French legislature owed an equal number of schools to boys and girls of Algeria.⁹⁷ While she condemned the social costs of colonialism, she nevertheless maintained that secular, republican laws had potential protective and emancipatory power (e.g., over family abandonment, illegitimate children, and compulsory education). She argued that all women merited the rights of citizenship.⁹⁸ In other words, V rone’s feminist internationalism was rooted in the social rights legacy of French republicanism.

The International Feminist Agenda, the Equal Rights Treaty, and the League of Nations

In February 1928 Stevens pronounced the birth of “international feminism” and introduced the Equal Rights Treaty project in Havana

before thousands of women at the Pan American Conference of Women: “If men can act internationally, we said, so can women. More and more the acts of humankind are being defined and determined globally. We have entered the international field to stay. Womankind admits no limits to her partnership with mankind. We mean to be citizens of the world together. No one shall fetter us or bind us to a tiny claim stake. Our homestead is the world.”⁹⁹ Stevens returned to Europe (on Paul’s instructions and Belmont’s funds) to “confer” with feminist leaders, garner support for the international women’s rights campaign, and launch the ERT in Paris.¹⁰⁰ In 1928, as head of the Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW), Stevens endeavored to see the imposition of women’s equal rights from “above” while she also intended to mobilize grassroots activism. It was a risky and ambitious strategy.

1928: Protests at Rambouillet and the Debate over Militancy

The formal launch of the ERT in Europe by militant action occurred at Rambouillet in the summer of 1928. Stevens chose this moment in hopes of capitalizing on the international attention focused on the Kellogg-Briand antiwar negotiations. Yet neither Stevens nor her French allies, including UFSF activist Malaterre-Sellier, could secure a meeting with French President Aristide Briand during this historic political event.¹⁰¹ Thus frustrated, Stevens and fellow activists from the NWP’s Council on International Action pursued the Kellogg-Briand delegates to the forested town of Rambouillet, sixty-eight kilometers from Paris, in the hopes of a meeting.¹⁰² The protesters, led by Stevens, included Americans Harriet Pickering and NWP treasurer Betty Gram Swing, the French artist Fanny Bunand-Sévastos, and two French representatives of the LFDF: the lawyer Yvonne Netter and treasurer Madame Auscaler.¹⁰³ On August 28, in a street protest outside the president’s chateau, the activists displayed a large banner stating “Nous demandons un traité nous donnant des droits égaux” (We demand an equal rights treaty), waved national flags, and requested an audience with Briand (fig. 6).¹⁰⁴ Protesters hoped to present copies of the ERT to European delegates, each one tied with decorative ribbons in the color



6. An international delegation of women demonstrating for an Equal Rights Treaty in Rambouillet, France, on August 28, 1928. Copy at Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.

of each country's flag, a symbolic reminder that the nation remained the foundation of the world order.¹⁰⁵ Contrary to claims issued in press releases by the IACW, Vérone did not attend the demonstration. She publicized her support, apologetic for missing the event: "I strongly regret that my absence from Paris prevented me from accompanying these protesters."¹⁰⁶

The exaggerated press accounts of the protest obscure its specific character. Perhaps the women "stormed the gates [of the] presidential palace" and "were borne off, struggling" with police.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the women "threatened" the security of the plenipotentiaries' meeting as they formed a "well-organized 'advance.'"¹⁰⁸ Perhaps the French police "tore up their petition" (that requested a meeting with Briand).¹⁰⁹ Stevens's private recollections suggest that the demonstration was brief, peaceful, and never posed a danger to the ensconced officials.¹¹⁰ In fact she wrote the following to her colleague: "Of course we did none of the things the press said—such as 'kicking & struggling, etc.' & such

as ‘crashing’ the gate. . . . We merely asked to have our request for an audience sent in. The plain clothes man at the gate tore it & threw it to the ground without reading it. We then offered a copy & asked him if we might give it to the concierge in the lodge a hundred yards away. Thereupon he arrested us.”¹¹¹ Gendarmes detained the non-French protesters, including Stevens, Pickering, and Swing, for lack of proper residency papers (*permis de séjour*).¹¹² Attorney Netter protested their six-hour-long detention.¹¹³ Stevens was angered by the loss of their flags and disappointed that they were prevented from presenting officials with a copy of the treaty.¹¹⁴

Vérone, observing events from a distance, urged her readers to perceive the American women as powerful, influential figures on matters of international relations and policy.¹¹⁵ She defended women’s rights to exercise free speech, to assemble, and to appeal to political representatives for their rights. She posited that in this case, women’s demonstrations in the international context validated their political power on the national level. Granted, this statement may have been a rhetorical tactic to dispel the impression that the Rambouillet action was ineffectual.¹¹⁶ At Vérone’s request, Prime Minister Raymond Poincaré defended these women’s right to protest and thus validated them as political actors.¹¹⁷ Vérone’s ability to rouse Poincaré into action signals her own domestic political clout.

Vérone valued civil disobedience, and the Rambouillet events prompted her to call attention to the efficacy of bold political tactics.¹¹⁸ She reassured Stevens of her solidarity, stating that she preferred to risk prison than to accept a compromise on women’s rights.¹¹⁹ In an interview she declared the need for direct action in the face of ongoing Senate intransigence: “We [French] were not agitators, nor cowards, it was from sentiment and reason that we claimed our rights. We lost ground. We now want to change the method. What do we have to lose?” Malaterre-Sellier endorsed Vérone’s call for action, saying, “We must redouble our activity” in the face of Senate obstinacy; she favored “grandes manifestations” in the streets.¹²⁰ UFSF president Brunschvicg did not initially condemn or condone the militancy displayed at Rambouillet. Yet a few months later she announced that French women

were “too timorous, too timid, too inert” and that the French suffrage movement suffered from a lack of direct political action.¹²¹

In the historiography, the Rambouillet protest was significant because, according to Leila Rupp, the event “rekindled the debate over militant tactics within the international women’s movement.”¹²² We know that NWP benefactors and allies were alienated by the demonstration. Belmont was so irate about the arrests at Rambouillet that she threatened to withdraw her financial support from Stevens and the larger organization. The Welsh suffragist Rhondda (of the Six Points Group), hitherto an ally, admonished Stevens that militant action should be a last, not a first, resort.¹²³ Historians have not appreciated, however, that the French chose to applaud American militancy at Rambouillet and consequently they also reconsidered the effectiveness of direct action. Stevens was immediately reassured upon reading the French press reports that the Rambouillet protest “roused the sympathy of the French public, which is a great achievement. French . . . support to an international cause is the greatest thing that can be desired.”¹²⁴ The demonstration illustrated how the “average” female citizen could assert her views on international relations, in this case proposing political change to authorities. The events reinforced an association between women’s political action and the French tradition of human rights, diplomatic finesse, and cultural leadership.

The Rambouillet affair was also an opportunity to reinforce political messages about equality and women’s political power.¹²⁵ In her widely circulating column in *L’Oeuvre*, Véroine publicly endorsed the Americans’ Equal Rights Treaty because it called for “civil equality, political equality, economic equality, *voilà*, the cause to which intelligent, devoted, and generous women have committed themselves.” She valued the NWP’s strategy of appealing to world authority as a means of influencing reform on a national level: “The Americans, who have not yet conquered absolute equality, know the fight; they have decided to appeal to the entire world for [the cause] of women’s liberation.”¹²⁶ Here Véroine acknowledged both Americans’ global ambition and the reality that they had not yet achieved the constitutional equality that they had proposed via the ERA.

The relationship between American and French feminists was characterized by a desire for cooperation and intense national competition in the pursuit of articulating a vision of women's "international citizenship." In October 1928 at a meeting of the LFDF, Stevens declared that international law was the best safeguard for women's rights as a form of "human liberty" to be enshrined "as a fundamental principle of international law."¹²⁷ International legal action, she argued, was "the only answer" to the worldwide subordination of women in an interdependent world.¹²⁸ This unifying message was undercut, however, by Blanche Baralt, a literature professor and NWP member, who predicted that "the last shall be first and perhaps we [women of the Americas] may receive complete liberty and justice sooner than the venerable nations of the old world whose women have had to struggle so long. . . . Women of France, you have for centuries held up high the torch of civilization and idealism, will you allow it to be so?"¹²⁹ Baralt's comments contrasted a conventional, static "old Europe" versus a dynamic "New World." Thus, ironically Baralt provoked national competition in the name of international progress. She also evoked notions of national hierarchical differences that placed the Americans above the French while ostensibly promoting global sisterhood.

Seemingly undeterred by such tensions, V rone seized this moment to urge Stevens to partner on a tour to promote the ERT in France, Belgium, and Switzerland.¹³⁰ This would have been a unique collaboration to bring attention to equal rights for women in these Western European countries. Even though Stevens had come to France in 1928 specifically to campaign for the ERT, she declined V rone's invitation and abruptly turned over control of the treaty campaign to a disinterested Rhondda in February 1929. Moreover, in the summer of 1929 Stevens temporarily suspended her political action on the grounds that she was not welcome, observing that she should "tend [her] own garden [in the Americas] and not try to join with European action."¹³¹ Diane Hill suggests that Stevens was then concerned about potentially antagonizing her European allies.¹³² Rhondda had warned Stevens away from participating in the imminent debate on the married women's nationality campaign in Europe out of fear that Stevens

would “antagonize all the supporters of the old International Feminist bodies & [would] be accused of butting in & be regarded as the black sheep of the movement.”¹³³ Nevertheless Belmont and Stevens were determined to secure American participation in The Hague Codification of International Law Conference (1930) of the League, where married women’s rights would be debated, in part so they could test the potential of the ERT.¹³⁴ By doing so they intervened in an already decades-old campaign in which Chrystal Macmillan and Maria Vérone were veterans. The abrupt change of plans around the ERT and the strained relations over women’s nationality that developed raise the question of whether these transatlantic alliances were grounded in mutual understanding and appreciation, or rather in expediency.

*1930: Working Independently and
Collaboratively toward a Common Goal*

The activists who campaigned for women’s legal equality made a radical claim for the inherent personhood of women. If the legal subject, the “person,” could be rendered a gender-neutral term, then this would permit women to claim all the rights and responsibilities of citizenship articulated for men.¹³⁵ The campaign for married women’s independent nationality rights at The Hague Codification of International Law Conference provided an opportunity for legal experts to assert their vision of women as persons, equal to men, meriting equal treatment under national and international laws. Vérone (representing the ICW) appealed to The Hague conference delegates to respect women’s autonomy in nationality: “to prove that woman is no longer a chattel which the owner may dispose of as he thinks best, but a human being who, like a man is entitled to justice, freedom, independence, and I would say, the primary right of the human being: the right to a fatherland.”¹³⁶ In her statements to the League Vérone articulated a central claim of feminist internationalism: that women have fundamental rights based on their personhood.

The Hague conference responded to the fact that the status of women’s independent nationality varied during the interwar years, when some countries reformed or abolished marital naturalization and

expatriation while others retained it. From its founding year in 1916, the NWP opposed the 1907 U.S. law that differentiated male and female rights to citizenship after marriage to a foreigner and consequentially compelled women to relinquish their citizenship. This discriminatory law personally affected several members of the NWP.¹³⁷ Rather than drawing on these cases, however, Stevens made a literary argument, that the story of Dalila, as represented in Milton's seventeenth-century poem "Samson Agonistes," demonstrates the patriotism of a women who sacrificed her private love to benefit a public commitment to her own people. This interpretation depends on seeing Dalila as compelled to change her "nationality" by external forces.¹³⁸

Ultimately the Codification Conference resolved to study the possibility of introducing the "principle of equality of the sexes in matters of nationality" while leaving intact the principle that the nationality of individuals within marriage should follow that of the male (where not already modified).¹³⁹ Vêrone concluded that this nonbinding decision moved the international debate in the direction of equality, namely, an express wish that nations respect women's consent in nationality concerns, a proposal that each nation should study the feasibility of egalitarian nationality laws, and a plan to send the question to a future League commission. By contrast, Stevens and Paul refused to support any agreement that failed to advance equality for women across the board, and they badgered U.S. delegates with calls, telegrams, and visits to urge them not to ratify the codification agreement.¹⁴⁰ Vêrone disliked the Americans' disruptive actions and she called publicly for all feminists to unite.¹⁴¹ There is no doubt that the alliance of Vêrone, Stevens, and Paul was sorely tested by their difference of opinions on how to proceed on married women's nationality rights.

Candice Lewis Bredbenner argues that the Codification Conference "was a pivotal event in the history of women's nationality rights" that challenged countries to define and defend their positions and "fostered the coalescence of an international feminist movement for independent citizenship."¹⁴² Ellen DuBois and Catherine Jacques each conclude that the conference was important because the feminist analysis articulated at the time was the product of more than a

decade of thought on the matter and underscored the centrality of marriage to the legal inequalities that women suffered.¹⁴³ Beatrice McKenzie asserts that the NWP itself gained credibility and influence as a result of Stevens's participation at The Hague event.¹⁴⁴ The ways the feminists behaved toward one another, however, did not benefit the trajectory of their otherwise shared transatlantic equal rights campaign. When Stevens (with the IACW) secured an endorsement for equal nationality at the 1933 Montevideo International Conference of American States, she flaunted the fact that the "New World" leaders endorsed gender equality in contrast to the perceived timidity and chauvinism of the "Old World" Europeans, a fulfillment of Baralt's predictions.¹⁴⁵

Simultaneously, between 1930 and 1933 women's political action for equal nationality rights had moved forward in Europe. Women's activism led to the creation of the League of Nations' Consultative Committee on Nationality, composed of two delegates from each of eight international associations, including V rone as ICW representative and Paul for the IACW. This committee met in Geneva beginning in the summer of 1931 to authorize these nonstate actors to advise the League on critical questions of women's rights.¹⁴⁶ V rone, who was largely responsible for writing the committee's reports, urged that "the principle of equality must be laid down in international legislation."¹⁴⁷ Paul and V rone worked together on the Consultative Committee reports in 1931 and 1932 and they pressured the League to create and commit funds to form the Commission of Experts on the Legal Status of Women in 1933.¹⁴⁸ This commission was charged with studying the legal condition of women worldwide and codifying women's legal rights.¹⁴⁹ The forerunner of the better-known United Nations' Committee on the Status of Women, it was among the most significant outcomes of this cooperation.¹⁵⁰ By 1935 the Alliance, among other organizations, supported the ERT "in principle," though questions on how to apply equality remained unresolved.¹⁵¹ This historic trajectory of the ERT in Europe reveals the multiple channels through which civic engagement, political power, and, occasionally, national prejudice proceeded.¹⁵²

The extended history of the ERT in the 1930s is beyond the scope of this chapter; suffice it to say that the campaign for gender equality launched by these activists remained tremendously rocky. Briefly stated, the ERT project was adopted by the Equal Rights International organization, headed by Rhondda and staffed by members from Britain, Holland, Australia, and the United States.¹⁵³ In 1934, however, the relationship between Rhondda and Paul ruptured, apparently due to frustrations on the American side that although they possessed the power of the purse this did not grant them authority over others' actions.¹⁵⁴ In 1935 the French and British coordinated their efforts to secure equality for working women through the Open Door International, an organization dedicated to the "emancipation of the woman worker."¹⁵⁵ Andrée Lehmann, a lawyer and Vêrone's second at the LFDF, established a French branch of the organization and made Vêrone the vice president.¹⁵⁶ Lehmann defended working women's rights in a climate of increasing hostility. She lamented that French women were "always being asked to serve" but were "denied independence and security." She insisted, "The struggle to ensure woman's right to earn will be a hard one, and women need to revise all their methods, or all that they have gained will be taken from them. The professional women must realize their solidarity with other women, and cease to look on themselves as brilliant exceptions."¹⁵⁷ Such themes of solidarity and suggestions of resolute methods spoken by a French feminist to an Anglo-American audience seem to echo the LFDF experience of the 1920s. Members of the Open Door International articulated their struggle to emancipate working women from discrimination and an oppressive system of gender inequality as simultaneously national and transnational. Their experiences in the early twentieth century had cemented the necessity of this multilevel approach.

Conclusion

This snapshot of French-American cross-fertilization among women's rights advocates confirms that the French suffrage movement, particularly the UFSF, benefited from American money and that political action within the French context provided the Americans with a

modest increase in publicity and exposure. The support each offered, however, did not yield the intended results. Responding to suggestions that Anglo-American feminism had eclipsed the French version, V rone would later insist that egalitarian feminism was “born in France” despite what “many misinformed people think.” In a radio speech V rone defined French feminism as “a philosophical doctrine based on the equality of all human beings, and its aim is to establish equality between the sexes in all spheres, civil, political, intellectual economic and social,” which, she insisted, was not imported. This was the shared egalitarian ideology that she hoped would be applied in law worldwide through the League’s actions.¹⁵⁸

The history examined in this chapter underscores women’s desire to participate in international decision-making and their capacity to engage in comprehensive legal and comparative research and advocacy on women’s status through their associations. In turn, the activism among feminists to secure individual equal rights through international law at The Hague and in Geneva reveals the importance of women’s voices in the emerging “international society” where interconnectivity contributed to “functioning internationalism,” or the opportunity for associations and private actors to contribute to social and humanitarian needs.¹⁵⁹ French and American reformers pursued international law as a mechanism to improve women’s sociopolitical roles and status, and they drafted the very proposals that provided language for the international agreements that eventually took effect. The kind of work these reformers undertook in the area of international law required collaborative research and coordination that was not sponsored by universities or governments but rather was performed by politically motivated and educated women operating mostly as volunteers within their associations. Such international networking was part of the modern movement of feminisms that has fostered a globally interconnected movement.

Alice Paul, Doris Stevens, Germaine Malaterre-Sellier, and C cile Brunschvicg lived to see (though Alva Belmont and Maria V rone would not) women’s equal voting rights granted in France in 1944 and women’s equality formally established in the 1946 Constitution of the

French Fourth Republic (1946–58) and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948). This history should draw our attention to the potential power of citizens to act despite their formal exclusion from political rights (in the French case) or international bodies (in the case of the Americans' absence from the League of Nations). Moreover, these early feminists valued international law as a means to redress the imbalance of power between men and women.¹⁶⁰

Inequality in the twentieth century sustained multiple modern processes that differentiated between the rights of men and women, adults and children, the colonizers and the colonized, as well as along other lines, such as race and religion.¹⁶¹ The Equal Rights Treaty was a blunt instrument to attempt to redraw the social and sexual contracts through the narrow notion of gender equality.¹⁶² Its fate in Europe reveals the lack of a consensus on the application of equality to diverse human subjects, a problem currently relevant in controversies around gender *parité* in political representation and equal pay in employment.¹⁶³

The debates on women's rights that engaged the French and Americans also illuminate the activists' commitment to opening political spaces for the reconsideration of rights. The emphasis on "women's rights" per se, however, exposes the assumption that the "person" was a gendered subject. The American insistence on equality under the law through the ERT attempted to de-gender the political subject but in so doing failed to address the material reality of intersectional human identity and experience. The debate itself signifies the importance of grappling with the definition of "equal citizenship" for these female activists who, though marginalized in their own nations, used international forums to articulate visions for a more gender-neutral body politic. By seeking international dialogue as the privileged site for legal change and subsequent enforcement, these feminist activists questioned the power of the nation-state as the final authority to resolve problems such as inequality in citizenship. Activists gained authority through their international engagements before they ultimately returned to separate nations to pursue specific reforms, a pattern that reveals the enduring significance of the nation and its laws in the context of emergent internationalism.

One purpose of this volume is to interrogate the relationship between the women portrayed in these pages and the nature of the gender system and gender inequality in the modern period in France. The feminists portrayed here regarded the law under which they lived as antiquated and out of step with modern women's capabilities, with international trends, and with the experiences of men and women in their private lives. Feminists assumed that equality was their birthright as humans in the Western liberal democratic tradition and their activism challenged the status quo of legal inequality. Such activism emerged from their conviction that women must participate in decision-making at all levels governing the contours of their lives. Undoubtedly, their ideology of international gender equality had limitations and blind spots, especially related to the differences regarding maternity, gender identity, and colonial subjectivity. Nevertheless, international law, their preferred vehicle for reform, reflected within it the potential to grant to citizens equal treatment under the law based on concepts rooted in the Enlightenment and French and American revolutionary traditions.

Notes

1. "Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont Dies at Paris Home," *New York Times*, January 26, 1933; Katheryn P. Viens, "Belmont, Alva Erskine Smith Vanderbilt," *American National Biography Online*, Oxford University Press, 2000.
2. In 1925 Alice Paul met with Elizabeth Robins, Viscountess Rhondra, Dr. Louisa Martindale, Virginia Crawford, Dorothy Evans, Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Alison Neilans, Florence Underwood, and Miss Barry. (See photograph at U.S. Library of Congress, <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mnwp.159031>).
3. U.S. House of Representatives, Equal Rights Amendment [the Mott Amendment], H.J. Res. 75, 68th Congress, 1st session, December 13, 1923.
4. Alice Paul in *An International Parliament of Women: Resolutions Adopted at the National Conference of the Woman's Party, November 17, 1923* (Washington DC: National Woman's Party, 1923), 3.
5. Paul in *An International Parliament of Women*, 3-4; Jane Norman Smith, "For the Equal Rights Treaty" [address to Pan-American Conference], *Equal Rights*, February 25, 1928, 21-22.
6. Susan Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment: American Feminism between the Wars* (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), 164.

7. "1925. Main Events," Doris Stevens Papers (hereafter DSP), box 48, folder 2, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University (hereafter SL). See also *Equal Rights* 1925 issues: March 28, 51; June 20, 145; July 18, 177; August 15, 209, 211.
8. Mme. Anthippe Couchoud and Fanny Bunand-Sévastos in the National Woman's Party Photograph Collection, (Washington DC), catalog numbers 1910.001.174 and 1910.001.155.01.
9. "French Women and the Franchise," *Equal Rights* 1, no. 5 (1923): 34. Global feminist political plan adopted in 1923 in Paul, *An International Parliament of Women*, 4.
10. Vérone and Belmont may have met at the IWSA conference in 1913 (Budapest) or 1920 (Geneva). See International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Seventh Congress, Budapest, Hungary June 15-21, 1913* (Manchester, UK: Percy Brothers, 1913); International Woman Suffrage Alliance, *Report of Eighth Congress, Geneva, Switzerland, June 6-12, 1920* (Manchester, UK: Percy Brothers, 1920); Sara L. Kimble, "Emancipation through Secularization: French Feminist Views of Muslim Women's Condition in Interwar Algeria," *French Colonial History* 7 (2006): 109-28; Sara L. Kimble, "Popular Legal Journalism in the Writings of Maria Vérone," *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History* 39 (2011): 224-35.
11. Juliette Rennes, "Maria Vérone," in *Dictionnaire des féministes: France XVIIIe-XXIe siècle*, ed. Christine Bard and Sylvie Chaperon (Paris: PUF, 2017), 1513.
12. Maria Vérone was twenty-one and working as an *institutrice* when her first child, Antoinette, was born in Paris in 1896; Maurice Giès recognized (*connue et légitimé*) Antoinette with his marriage to Maria on March 21, 1900, according to the *acte de naissance* (vital records).
13. See Dossier Maria Vérone, Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, Paris; Christine Bard, "Maria Vérone," in *Dictionnaire Biographique du Mouvement Ouvrier Français*, ed. Jean Maïtron (Paris: Editions Ouvrière, 1993), 162-63.
14. League of Nations, *Acts for the Conference for the Codification of International Law* (Geneva: League of Nations, 1930), 2:180.
15. On Paul: Amy E. Butler, *Two Paths to Equality: Alice Paul and Ethel M. Smith in the ERA Debate, 1921-1929* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2002), chap. 2.
16. Vera Brittain, "The Struggle for Equal Rights," in *Lady into Woman: A History of Women from Victoria to Elizabeth II* (New York: Macmillan, 1953), 67.
17. Edith Houghton Hooker quoted in Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 163-64.

18. Doris Stevens, "Le féminisme et les questions internationales," ms (handwritten in French) MC 546 DSP, box 40, folder 298, Speeches. French League for Women's Rights, October 30, 1928, SL, 5.
19. Rhondda letter to Paul, 1926, cited in Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, n. 28, 191.
20. Stevens, "Le féminisme," 6. Belmont directed Stevens's action through the NWP's international action committee. Stevens chaired the IACW from April 1928 until 1939.
21. Katherine M. Marino, "Popular Front Pan-American Feminism and Working Women's Rights in the 1930s," in *Gender, Imperialism and Global Exchanges*, ed. Stephan Miescher (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2015), 265. See also Leila Rupp and Verta Taylor, *Survival in Doldrums: The American Women's Rights Movement, 1945 to the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 102.
22. Becker, *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 162–63.
23. Carol Miller, "'Geneva—the Key to Equality': Inter-War Feminists and the League of Nations," *Women's History Review* 3, no. 2 (1994): 238.
24. Darrow asked whether "the entry of women into multinational politics has been contingent upon the recognition of women's rights as an international issue" or "the opposite argument: that it was the entry of women into multinational politics . . . that placed and has kept women's rights on the world's agenda." Margaret H. Darrow, review of *Femmes et diplomatie: France—XXe siècle*, ed. Yves Denéchère, *H-France Review* 5, no. 39 (2005), <http://www.h-france.net/vol5reviews/vol5htmlreviews/darrow3.html>.
25. See Susan Zimmermann, "Night Work for White Women and Bonded Labour for 'Native' Women? Contentious Traditions and the Globalization of Gender-Specific Labour Protection and Legal Equality Politics, 1926 to 1939," in *New Perspectives on European Women's Legal History*, ed. Sara L. Kimble and Marion Röwekamp (New York: Routledge, 2017), 394–427; Carol Susan Linskey, "Invisible Politics: Dorothy Kenyon and Women's Internationalism, 1930–1950," PhD dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 2013.
26. Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2000), 151–53.
27. Karen Offen, "Women, Citizenship, and Suffrage with a French Twist, 1789–1993," in *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1994), 151–70.

28. Martin Thomas, *The French Empire between the Wars: Imperialism, Politics and Society* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2005), 152.
29. Sian Reynolds, *France between the Wars* (London: Routledge, 1996), 188.
30. In 1923 IWSA changed its name to the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship.
31. U.S. Delegation to the International American Conference, *Report of the Delegates of the United States of America to the Fifth International Conference of American States Held at Santiago, Chile, March 25 to May 3, 1923* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1924), 61, 209.
32. In *The Origins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, Becker notes that the NWP envied the USSR and Scandinavian countries for their constitutional equality of the sexes (162–63).
33. Francesca Miller, *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* (Hanover NH: University Press of New England, 1991), 106–8.
34. Paul Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic: Women's Political and Civil Rights in France, 1918–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 38. Nancy Cott placed the origins of the international efforts by the Americans in 1926 in “Feminist Politics in the 1920s: The National Woman's Party,” *Journal of American History* 71, no. 1 (1984): 65.
35. The press and NWP press releases stated that Vêrone attended, and this error was repeated in Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997), 138–39; and Mary K. Trigg, *Feminism as Life's Work: Four Modern American Women through Two World Wars* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 150–52.
36. Ann Taylor Allen, Anne Cova, and Jane Purvis, “International Feminism,” *Women's History Review* 19 (2010): 492–501; Julie Carlier, “Forgotten Transnational Connections and National Contexts: An ‘Entangled History’ of the Political Transfers That Shaped Belgian Feminism, 1890–1914,” *Women's History Review* 19, no. 4 (2010): 503–22; Karen Offen, “Overcoming Hierarchies through Internationalism: May Wright Sewall's Engagement with the International Council of Women (1888–1904),” in *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present*, ed. Francisca De Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova (New York: Routledge, 2012), 15–28.
37. Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,” *boundary 2* 12, no. 3 (1984): 333–58; Chandra Talpade Mohanty, “‘Under Western Eyes’ Revisited: Feminist Solidarity through Anticapitalist Struggles,” *Signs* 28, no. 2 (2003): 499–535.

38. See Accampo's afterword in this volume.
39. In 1923, for example, this occurred at the Fifth International Conference of the American States (Santiago, Chile) and the International Woman Suffrage Alliance conference (Rome, Italy).
40. Lynn Hunt, *Inventing Human Rights: A History* (New York: Norton, 2008), 25.
41. Lorraine Coons, "Gabrielle Duchêne: Feminist, Pacifist, Reluctant Bourgeoise," *Peace & Change* 24, no. 2 (1999): 121–47.
42. Reynolds, *France between the Wars*, 196–97.
43. Three French names on a list of International Feminist Committee members, undated typed mss., in Alice Paul Papers, Series V, box 120, folder 1623, SL.
44. James McMillan, *France and Women, 1789–1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), 212.
45. "French Join in World Feminism," *Paris Times*, April 22, 1925, copy in Alice Paul Papers, box 120, folder 1623, SL.
46. Letter dated April 28, 1925, quoted in Simone Tery, "American Apostles to France," *Equal Rights*, June 20, 1925, 149–50.
47. Judith Coffin, *The Politics of Women's Work: The Paris Garment Trades, 1750–1915* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press), 231–34.
48. Diane Elizabeth Hill, "International Law for Women's Rights: The Equal Treaties Campaign of the National Women's Party and Reactions of the U.S. State Department and the National League of Women Voters (1928–1938)," PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1999.
49. Elinor A. Accampo, Rachel G. Fuchs, and Mary Lynn Stewart, *Gender and the Politics of Social Reform in France, 1870–1914* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).
50. In the United States, the NWP split from the League of Women Voters on gender-specific protections. Maternalism served to further women's civic involvement by exalting women's maternal capacity and their ability to extend to society the values of care, nurturance, and morality. See Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* (New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1991); Ann Taylor Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Western Europe, 1890–1970: The Maternal Dilemma* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Marian van der Klein, Rebecca Jo Plant, Nichole Sanders, and Lori R. Weintrob, eds., *Maternalism Reconsidered: Motherhood, Welfare and Social Policy in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2012); Seth Koven and Sonya Michel, "Womanly Duties: Maternalist Politics and the Origins of Welfare States in France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States, 1880–1920," *American Historical Review* 95 (1990): 1079; Offen, *European Feminisms*.

51. Nancy Woloch, *A Class by Herself: Protective Laws for Women Workers, 1890s-1990s* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), 173.
52. International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship, *Report of Tenth Congress, Paris, France May 30th to June 6th, 1926* (London: Caledonian Press, 1926), 107, 121.
53. On conflicts between the National Woman's Party and the League of Women Voters, see Hill, "International Law"; Sylvia D. Hoffert, *Alva Vanderbilt Belmont: Unlikely Champion of Women's Rights* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), 156; Candice Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own: Women, Marriage, and the Law of Citizenship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 199.
54. Geo London (pseudonym of Georges Samuel), "Les suffragettes travaillent et commencent par éliminer les propositions extrémistes et les extrémistes elles mêmes," *Le Journal*, June 1, 1926.
55. Becker, *The Orgins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 163.
56. Cott, "Feminist Politics in the 1920s," 65. Other uses of money in politics: Belmont became the benefactor to the American suffrage movement in 1909 and supported the Women's Trade Union League (1909-10); see Viens, "Belmont, Alva Erskine Smith Vanderbilt."
57. "La présidente du parti américain des femmes est arrivée en France," *Le Matin*, June 3, 1926; Becker, *The Orgins of the Equal Rights Amendment*, 163.
58. Stevens's typed note headed "1926" in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL, 6-7.
59. Letter from Winsor to Stevens, June 22, 1926, in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL.
60. Bray admired Hubertine Auclert and believed humor could attract attention and prompt public reflection. On Bray, see Reynolds, *France between the Wars*, 178; Florence Rochefort, "La citoyenneté interdite ou les enjeux du suffragisme," *Vingtième siècle: Revue d'histoire* 42 (April-June 1994): 45; Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L'égalité en marche: Le féminisme sous la Troisième République* (Paris: Presses de Sciences Po, 1989), 294-95.
61. Correspondence from Winsor to Stevens, June 26, 1926, in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL. See also Fonsèque's letter to Belmont, March 10, 1926, Fonds Bouglé, Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (hereafter BHVP).
62. In September 1926 a dozen "action league" activists toured France by motorcar, promoting suffrage in more than twenty towns with humorous posters, placards, and leaflets. "Le départ des suffragettes pour leur randonnée de propagande," *Le Matin*, September 8, 1926. Fonsèque also headed the suffrage section of the CNFF; Bray was an LFDF member.
63. Marthe Bray, "Un bel exemple," *La Fronde*, June 23, 1926, copy in Fonds Bray, BHVP.

64. Letter from Winsor to Stevens, June 22, 1926, in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL.
65. Katherine H. Adams and Michael L. Keene, *Alice Paul and the American Suffrage Campaign* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008). On the WSPU: June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002).
66. In 1897 she lectured on education in Orleans for the Cercle d'enseignement laïc, an organization she cofounded. She had worked as an *institutrice adjointe* in Paris with the LFDF from 1894. For her statement on the "costs" of political protest, see LFDF meeting, November 22, 1922, Dossier 1922, Rapports et notes concernant l'activité des divers groupements féministes, Archives Nationales de France (hereafter AN) F/7/13266.
67. AN F/7/13266.
68. Klejman and Rochefort, *L'égalité en marche*, 291.
69. Differing viewpoints on militancy: "Les Françaises veulent voter," *La Renaissance: Politique, littéraire et artistique*, December 15, 1928, 8–10.
70. Cécile Formaglio, "Féministe d'abord": *Cécile Brunschvicg (1877–1946)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014), 72; see Mary Louise Roberts, *Disruptive Acts: The New Woman in Fin-de-Siècle France* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
71. Christine Bard, *Les Filles De Marianne: Histoire des Féminisme 1914–1940* (Paris: Fayard, 1995), 155; Anne Cova, "French Feminism and Maternity: Theories and Policies, 1890–1918," in *Maternity and Gender Policies: Women and the Rise of the European Welfare*, ed. Gisela Bock and Pat Thane (Oxford: Routledge, 1991), 130.
72. Belmont, Stevens, and Paul spoke and read French. Winsor was educated at Drexel Institute and Bryn Mawr College and studied abroad.
73. Brunschvicg and Vêrone had "frosty" relations, notes Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic*, 38.
74. Emile Borel bill; Frances I. Clark, *The Position of Women in France* (London: King & Son, 1937), 244.
75. Alice L. Conklin, Sarah Fishman, and Robert Zaretsky, *France and Its Empire Since 1870*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 63.
76. Charles Sowerwine, "Revising the Sexual Contract: Women's Citizenship and Republicanism in France, 1789–1944," in *Confronting Modernity in Fin-de-Siècle France: Bodies, Minds and Gender*, ed. Christopher Forth and Elinor Accampo (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 19–42.
77. Charles Sowerwine, *France Since 1870: Culture, Society and the Making of the Republic* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 119; see Steven C. Hause, and Anne R. Kenney, *Women's Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

78. Stevens's typed notes from 1926, in DSP, box 48, folder 3 ("Correspondence and notes re: Belmont, 1926-1928"), SL.
79. "Suffrage Congress Stirs French Women," *New York Times*, June 8, 1926.
The 1926 exchange rate was highly variable; the 1927 franc was valued at 4 cents. Malaterre-Sellier to Belmont, November 12, 1926, in DSP, MC 546, SL. *La Française*, edited by Jane Misme until 1926, was one of the most successful and enduring feminist newspapers (1906-34). Control over *La Française* had just moved from the CNFF to the UFSF, but neither group could finance the paper despite their efforts to raise funds through appeals to readers and higher annual subscription rates. See Marguerite Pichon-Landry, "La Française doit vivre," *La Française*, October 24, 1925; "La Française doit vivre," *La Française*, May 15, 1926.
80. The UFSF established a receivership for the newspaper, reduced their publication schedule, and installed new editorial leadership. "A Nos Lectrices," *La Française*, July 16, 1926. My thanks to Karen Offen for this source. Editor Suzanne Babled was replaced by Cécile Brunschvicg. On feminist lawyers and journalism see Sara L. Kimble, "Feminist Lawyers and Political Change in Modern France, 1900-1940," in *Women in Law and Law-making in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Europe*, ed. Eva Schandevyl (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 45-73.
81. Political demonstrators ran increasing risks; beginning in 1927 a police circular prohibited all nonofficial and nonfuneral processions, demonstrations, and marches on public roads. Circular of August 14, 1927, in Danielle Tartakowsky, *Les manifestations de rue en France, 1918-1968* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1997), 145.
82. Other members included law professor Georges Renard; lawyer Andrée Lehmann, who spoke on labor regulation; and labor activist Charlotte Bonnin (Syndicat des Postes, Téléphones et Télégraphes), who pleaded for lifting the ban against women's night work.
83. "French Women Ask for Equality," *Times* (Paris), December 8, 1926, in DSP, box 46, folder 16, SL.
84. Letters from Alice Paul to Anita Pollitzer, June 21, 1926, and August 23, 1926, in series of letters from June to August 1926, Pollitzer Papers 24/44/6, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston.
85. I reviewed *La Française* from 1927 to 1930 and found few references to American activism.
86. Martha F. Davis, "Not So Foreign after All: Alice Paul and International Women's Rights," *New England Journal of International and Comparative Law* 16 (2010): 6.

87. Antoinette M. Burton, "The White Woman's Burden. British Feminists and the Indian Woman, 1865-1915," *Women's Studies International Forum* 13, no. 4 (1990): 295-308.
88. Marie Sandell, *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood between the World Wars* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 72.
89. Latin and Eastern European countries included in letter of Bertha Nordenson to Lady Aberdeen, quoted in Sandell, *Rise of Women's Transnational*, 62-63.
90. Belmont in Tery, "American Apostles to France," 150.
91. Katharine Anthony, "Feminism in Foreign Countries," *Suffragist* 1, no. 9 (1921): 357-58.
92. Katherine Ward Fisher, "La Revue de la Femme," *Equal Rights* no. 35, October 8, 1927, 275.
93. "French Women and the Franchise," *Equal Rights* no. 5, March 17, 1923, 34.
94. Carolyn Eichner, "La Citoyenne in the World: Hubertine Auclert and Feminist Imperialism," *French Historical Studies* 32, no. 1 (2009): 63-84.
95. Kimble, "Emancipation through Secularization," 109-28.
96. Maria Vérone, "Impressions d'algérie," *Le Droit des femmes*, May 1926, 433-35.
97. Séance du 29 Janvier 1932, *Bulletin de la Société de législation comparée*, May-June 1932, 182-84.
98. Vérone spoke on "*la femme Kabyle*" on occasion, including in Paris: *Annales africaines*, July 3, 1925; Maria Vérone, "Section de Législation," *Conseil national des femmes françaises*, 1926, 20-22.
99. Doris Stevens, "International Feminism Is Born," *Time and Tide*, April 13, 1928, 355. On Latin American feminism and its relation to the NWP women, see Katherine M. Marino, "Transnational Pan-American Feminism: The Friendship of Bertha Lutz and Mary Wilhelmine Williams, 1926-1944," *Journal of Women's History* 26, no. 2 (2014): 63-87. See also Miller, *Latin American Women*; Megan Threlkeld, *The Inter-American Commission of Women: Sources on Hemispheric Solidarity* (Alexandria VA: Alexander Street, 2012), https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cbibliographic_details%7C2476951. Also Ellen Carol Dubois, "Internationalizing Married Women's Nationality: The Hague Campaign of 1930," in *Globalizing Feminisms, 1789-1945*, ed. Karen M. Offen (London: Routledge, 2010), 204-16.
100. The precise date in 1928 when Stevens received this instruction from Paul is unclear in Stevens's "Main Events" of 1928 typed notes in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL. Stevens, "International Feminism Is Born," 353-56. In Europe, Stevens met with barrister Chrystal Macmillan (Scotland), suffragist Lady Margaret Rhondda (Wales), Maria Vérone (France), Marquesa del Ter

- (Spain), Dr. Blanche Baralt (a Cuban living in Paris), Hélène Vacaresco (Romania), and International Federation of University Women leader Professor Ellen Gleditsch (Norway). Doris Stevens, "Feminist Victory . . . Women Plenipotentiaries to The Hague Codification Conference," press release by IACW, September 14, 1928, DSP, box 94, folder 7, SL. Alice Paul studied law at American University (Washington DC).
101. Typed note with list of supporters of the Committee on International Action of the NWP, no date, in DSP, box 87, folder 4, SL; "Le Comité d'action internationale des femmes et les plenipotentaires de la paix," *Le Matin*, August 23, 1928; letter dated August 23, 1928, from office of Affaires Etrangères, cabinet du Ministre, indicating to Doris Stevens that President Briand was not available but a meeting with others was possible, in DSP, box 87, folder 4, SL.
 102. The French term in use was Comité d'action internationale of the "Woman's Party."
 103. Maria Vérone, "Les féministes à Rambouillet," *L'Oeuvre*, August 30, 1928; Doris Stevens to Maria Vérone (addendum to letter), February 11, 1929, DSP, box 68, folder 13, SL. Bunand-Sévastos was involved in the International Action Committee; Auscaler's first name has not been identified.
 104. "10 Women Arrested at Dinner to Envoys," *New York Times*, August 29, 1928, 1; "Women, Seeking Equal Rights, Land in Prison," *St. Petersburg (FL) Times*, August 29, 1928.
 105. Memorabilia 5, Rambouillet action, August 1928, in DSP, Series V, box 94, folder 6, SL.
 106. Vérone, "Les féministes à Rambouillet." Catherine Anger, an archivist at the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, reported that she found no mention of "l'affaire Rambouillet" or of Doris Stevens or Alice Paul in the dossiers "Maria Vérone" and "Ligue française pour le droit des femmes" as of February 4, 2015.
 107. "Women Storm Palace; Jailed," *Pittsburgh Press*, August 28, 1928.
 108. "10 Women Arrested."
 109. Trigg, *Feminism as Life's Work*, 150.
 110. Stevens to Vérone, February 11, 1929, in DSP, Series V, box 87, folder 5, SL; "10 Women Arrested."
 111. Stevens to Elsie Ross Shields, October 1, 1928, DSP, Series V 83.13, SL.
 112. "International Work of the National Woman's Party," typed ms., p. 3, in DSP, box 46, folder 19, SL; "French Arrest Doris Stevens, Feminist Chief," *Miami Daily News*, August 28, 1928.
 113. Vérone, "Les féministes à Rambouillet."

114. Stevens to Vérone, February 11, 1929, in DSP, Series V, box 85, folder 5, SL; "10 Women Arrested."
115. Maria Vérone article published in *L'Oeuvre*, August 20, 1928, cited in Vérone, "Le statut mondial des femmes," *Le Droit des femmes*, September 1928, copy in DSP, box 94, folder 5, SL.
116. See Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic*, 37–38.
117. Telegram from Vérone to Stevens, date illegible (circa August 29 or 30, 1928), DSP, box 87, folder 5, Rambouillet, SL. *L'Oeuvre*'s circulation was more than 135,000 in 1919 (230,000 by 1936), according to Archives Nationales, "Fonds l'Oeuvre," *Les fonds d'archives de presse conservé aux Archives Nationales (site de Paris), série AR* (Paris: Archives Nationales de France, 2010), 9. Vérone article published in *L'Oeuvre*, August 20, 1928.
118. Maria Vérone, "L'élection présidentielle aux Etats-Unis," *L'Oeuvre*, November 21, 1928.
119. Vérone to Stevens references an article in *Le Temps* of August 17, 1928, in postcard dated September 3, 1928, in DSP, box 87, folder 4, SL.
120. "Les Françaises veulent voter," *La Renaissance: Politique, littéraire et artistique*, December 15, 1928, 8–10.
121. Cécile Brunschvicg, "Manifestation et discipline," *La Française*, May 8, 1929.
122. Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 138, 139, 270n60.
123. Angela V. John, *Turning the Tide: The Life of Lady Rhondda* (Cardigan, Wales: Parthian Books, 2013), 398.
124. Correspondence from IACW office (Elsie Ross Shields) to Doris Stevens, August 30, 1928, in DSP, Series V, box 83, folder 13, SL.
125. Letter from Georges Lhermitte to Doris Stevens, October 7, 1928, discussing the October 30, 1928, event arrangements, DSP, box 87, folder 4, SL.
126. Maria Vérone, "Le féminisme et les questions internationales," *L'Oeuvre*, October 24, 1928.
127. Stevens, "Le féminisme," 6.
128. Stevens's note to Belmont on events of 1928 in DSP, box 48, folder 3, SL.
129. "Translation of Madame Baralt's address," October 30, 1928, typed manuscript copy in DSP, box 94, folder 5, SL.
130. Letter from Stevens to Vérone, December 12, 1928, and letter from Vérone to Stevens, January 12, 1929, in DSP, Series V, box 68, folder 13, SL.
131. Quoted in Hill, "International Law for Women's Rights," 120; originally Doris Stevens to Helen Archdale, August 29, 1929, in DSP, box 4, folder 78, SL. By contrast, Macmillan and Vérone had a long history of working together through their overlapping associations, notably the IWSA, from at least 1913.

132. Hill, "International Law," chap. 2, *passim*.
133. Rhondda to Stevens, June 24, 1928, quoted in Hill, "International Law," 112, originally from DSP, box 5, folder 154, SL.
134. Letter from Stevens to Vérone, February 11, 1929, DSP, Series V, box 68, folder 13, SL. No evidence of collaboration between Rhondda and Vérone has yet emerged. I also corresponded with Angela John, May 19, 2015, who knew of no sources. See John, *Turning the Tide*, chap. 12, esp. 396.
135. On personhood, see Nitza Berkovitch, *From Motherhood to Citizenship: Women's Rights and International Organizations* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999).
136. League of Nations, *Acts for the Conference for the Codification of International Law*, 2:180.
137. Davis, "Not So Foreign after All," 4–6.
138. League of Nations, *Acts for the Conference for the Codification of International Law*, 2:182–83. For the poem see John Milton *Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merritt Yerkes Hughes (1957; Indianapolis: Hackett, 2003), 531–94.
139. League of Nations, *Acts for the Conference for the Codification of International Law*, 2:253.
140. Dubois, "Internationalizing Married Women's Nationality"; Davis, "Not So Foreign after All," 4–5.
141. Carbon copy of E. A. van Veen's interview with Vérone, associated with letter dated December 21, 1932, in Records of the ICW, Liaison Committee (5ICW/F/02), Women's Library, London School of Economics, London University.
142. Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, 195.
143. Dubois, "Internationalizing Married Women's Nationality." See also Catherine Jacques, "Tracking Feminist Interventions in International Law Issues at the League of Nations: From the Nationality of Married Women to Legal Equality in the Family, 1919–1970," in Kimble and Röwekamp, *New Perspectives*, 321–48.
144. Beatrice McKenzie, "The Power of International Positioning: The National Woman's Party, International Law and Diplomacy, 1928–34," *Gender and History* 23, no. 1 (2011): 137.
145. Miller, *Latin American Women*, 106–8.
146. Other committee leaders: Margery I. Corbett Ashby (England) and Betsy Bakker Nort (Holland) of the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Bredbenner, *A Nationality of Her Own*, 219.

147. 1932 report, quoted in Louise C. A. van Eeghen, "Maria Vérone," *Equal Rights*, September 1, 1938, 318. For photographic evidence of the meeting, see photos from July 2–6, 1931, in Alice Paul Papers, Series V, folder 1408, League of Nations: Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality, Geneva, mostly July 1931, SL.
148. See Susan Zimmermann, "Liaison Committees of International Women's Organizations and the Changing Landscape of Women's Internationalism, 1920s to 1945," in Sklar and Dublin, *Women and Social Movements*.
149. Jaci Eisenberg, "The Status of Women: A Bridge from the League of Nations to the United Nations," *Journal of International Organizations Studies* 4, no. 2 (2013): 13.
150. Gender equality in nationality was secured through a 1958 UN Convention via Convention on the Nationality of Married Women, 309 U.N.T.S. 65. See Agathe Dyvrande-Thévenin, "La Fédération Internationale des Femmes Magistrats et Avocats," *La Vie Judiciaire*, November 10, 1934; Marcelle Kraemer-Bach and Marcelle Renson, *Le Régime matrimonial des époux dont la nationalité est différente: Rapport présenté à la Fédération Internationale des Femmes Magistrats et Avocats en 1934 et 1935* (Paris: A. Pedone, 1939); Sophie Grinberg-Vinaver, "The Status of Women throughout the World," *Marriage and Family Living* 17, no. 3 (1955): 197–204.
151. Go. [Emilie Gourd], "Le Congrès d'Istamboul," *Le Mouvement féministe: Organe officiel des publications de l'Alliance nationale des sociétés féminines suisses* 23 (January 12, 1935): 55.
152. Laura Briggs, Gladys McCormick, and J. T. Way, "Transnationalism: A Category of Analysis," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (2008): 625–48.
153. "Equal Rights International Organized," *Equal Rights*, September 27, 1930, 267; Alice Paul, "Women Demand Equality in World Code of Law," *Congressional Digest*, November 1930, 279.
154. Christine Bolt, *Sisterhood Questioned: Race, Class and Internationalism in the American and British Women's Movements c. 1880s–1970s* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 58–59.
155. Macmillan opposed the ERT; see Hill, "International Law," 347–48.
156. Susan Pedersen, *Family, Dependence, and the Origins of the Welfare State: Britain and France, 1914–1945* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 406.
157. *Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker: Report of the Fourth Conference in Copenhagen, 1935* (Brussels: Open Door International, 1935), 19, 56, 19.

158. “Maître Maria Vérone parle du féminisme,” on *The Blaze of Day*, Polydor, 1996, compact disc, recorded circa 1936–37.
159. Daniel Gorman, *The Emergence of International Society in the 1920s* (Cambridge UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 12, 58.
160. On internationalism via student exchanges see Whitney Walton, *Internationalism, National Identities, and Study Abroad: France and the United States, 1890–1970* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2010).
161. On inequality as a category of analysis see Patrick Manning, “Inequality: Historical and Disciplinary Approaches,” *American Historical Review*, February 2017: 1–22.
162. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 1988).
163. Joan Wallach Scott, *Parité! Sexual Equality and the Crisis of French Universalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). The EU is pressured to follow Iceland’s lead: Associated Press, “In World First, Iceland to Require Firms to Prove Equal Pay,” *New York Times*, March 8, 2017; “Women in Paris Go on Strike and Rally for Equal Pay,” *Agence France-Presse*, March 8, 2017.