

H-France Review Vol. 21 (March 2021), No. 35

Mona L. Siegel, *Peace on Our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2020. xiii + 321 pp. Illustrations, notes, and index. \$35.00 U.S. (cl). ISBN 978-0-23-119510-2; \$26.00 U.S. (pb). ISBN 978-0-23-119511-9.

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Mona L. Siegel's *Peace on Our Terms: The Global Battle for Women's Rights after the First World War* offers an insightful and engaging combination of history and biography that sheds new light on the history of the First World War, the history of France and its relationship with the world, and the transnational history of women and women's movements. Where Margaret MacMillan's *Paris 1919* focused on the work of the men who came to Paris from around the world to participate in the peace conference that ended the First World War, Siegel's new *Peace on Our Terms* highlights the contributions of female activists who lobbied diplomats for women's equality in Paris, fought for national independence and women's rights in Cairo and Beijing, represented demands for racial equality at a key Pan-African conference in Paris and a key women's peace conference in Zurich, and fought for better conditions for working women at two important labor conferences in Washington, DC, all in the same single momentous year of 1919.<sup>[1]</sup> Where historians of women and their international activism have often focused their attention on the study of women's networks or women's organizations, Siegel's book takes a more biographical approach by highlighting the interconnected international activities of a series of especially interesting and important individual women as a way of studying the contributions of women from around the globe.<sup>[2]</sup>

Siegel's prologue, six chapters, and epilogue each focus on a different set of world locations and highlight the work of activists from a different combination of countries. The prologue, for example, opens with the story of how American suffragist Carrie Chapman Catt and British suffragist Millicent Garrett Fawcett approached American president Woodrow Wilson and British prime minister David Lloyd George in their attempts to have women included in the official American and British delegations that went to Paris to negotiate the important peace agreement that we have come to know as the Treaty of Versailles. The epilogue analyzes the meeting of the Ninth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, which brought women from North America, South America, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia to meet and strategize together in Rome in 1923. The prologue and epilogue establish a global framework that also includes the important historical contributions of the women who worked to increase the influence of women in the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization; organized the Inter-Allied Women's Conference in Paris, the Second Pan-African Congress in Paris, and the Third Pan-African Congress in London and Lisbon; and founded international

organizations such as the International Council of Women of the Darker Races, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the International Federation of Working Women.

The six chapters themselves each highlight the work of one or two key female figures as a way of introducing the dynamics and achievements of a series of larger national and international women's organizations. Chapter one focuses on the work of French suffrage activist Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger, who organized the Inter-Allied Women's Conference in Paris to make sure that women would have a voice in the peace proceedings. Schlumberger and the other members of the IAWC lobbied Woodrow Wilson and the representatives of other nations to support the right of women to vote, petitioned the members of the Commission on War Responsibilities to investigate the situation of Armenian women and children in the Ottoman Empire, and made important presentations on women's rights to the Commission for International Labor Legislation and the League of Nations Commission. Their work influenced not only the Treaty of Versailles and the charter of the League of Nations, but also the creation of the International Labor Organization.

Chapter two turns to the work of African American activists Mary Church Terrell and Ida Gibbs Hunt, two women who combined their work for women's rights with work for racial equality in the United States and elsewhere. Terrell, who served as a charter member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the founding president of the National Association of Colored Women, also spoke at the International Congress of Women in Berlin in 1904. She traveled to France and on to Zurich as the only African American member of the American delegation to the founding congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, where she delivered a plenary address that condemned racism and colonialism in 1919. Hunt, who also participated in the foundation of the National Association of Colored Women, moved from the United States to Madagascar as the wife of the American consul to that French colony in 1904. After Hunt and her husband moved to a new diplomatic posting in metropolitan France in 1907, she started following the work of the French Union for Women's Suffrage in 1911, served with the French Red Cross from 1914 to 1918, and worked with American civil rights activist W. E. B. Dubois and Senegalese French deputy Blaise Diagne to organize the Pan-African Congress of 1919.

Chapters three and five focus on the work of women in Egypt and China who combined demands for women's rights with demands for national self-determination. Chapter three focuses on the work of Huda Shaarawi, the Egyptian philanthropist and feminist who organized an important Egyptian women's protest meeting and supported a number of additional popular demonstrations against British governance in Cairo in 1919, founded the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923, and worked with international feminist organizations in Europe and the Middle East into the 1930s. Chapter five focuses on the work of Soumay Tcheng, a Chinese revolutionary who supported the nationalist movement of Sun Yat-sen, recruited Chinese laborers for the Allied war effort, served as the sole female member of the Chinese delegation that participated in the discussions leading up to the Treaty of Versailles, completed a legal degree at the Sorbonne, served as China's first female lawyer and first female judge, and helped write the new Civil Code that improved women's rights in Nationalist China starting in 1929.

Chapter four, which comes between the chapters on Shaarawi in Cairo and Tcheng in Paris and Beijing, focuses on the work of American pacifist Jane Addams, who helped found the Women's

Peace Party in Washington, DC, in 1915, convened an international peace conference at The Hague later that same year, and led the American delegation to the International Congress of Women that became the founding congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Zurich in 1919. One of many especially significant moments at the Congress, which also featured Mary Church Terrell's plenary address and resolution on the importance of racial equality as a precondition for peace and freedom, was the moment when French feminist pacifist Jeanne Mélin and German feminist pacifist Lida Gustava Heymann exchanged greetings and embraced on the stage of the meeting hall in the name of peace between their two historically warring countries. The WILPF would go on to raise money for food aid to Central Europe in 1919, support Egyptian women who participated in uprisings against British rule in 1921, demand the removal of American troops from Haiti in 1925, and send a delegation to work with women in Indochina, China, and Japan in 1927-1928.

Chapter six highlights the importance of women's labor organizing by considering the work of American union organizer Rose Schneiderman and French union organizer Jeanne Bouvier. Schneiderman, who grew up as part of a Jewish family in Russian-occupied Poland before immigrating to the United States with the rest of her family in 1890, helped found the first all-female local of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers Union in 1903, started working with the National Women's Trade Union League of America in 1905, and became the president of the New York chapter of the NWTULA in 1918. Bouvier, who worked as a silk weaver and a dress-maker, joined the French Federation of Clothing Workers at the suggestion of one of her feminist clients, successfully lobbied the French government to establish a minimum wage for home workers in 1915, and served as the head of the labor section of Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger's Inter-Allied Women's Conference in 1919. In addition to representing the interests of labor women at the peace conference in Paris, Schneiderman and Bouvier also played key roles at two important international conferences in Washington, DC, afterwards: the inaugural conference of the International Labor Organization and the First International Congress of Working Women.

Siegel tells a great story, and she also makes a convincing case for the ways in which the work of these women and many others changed history to create the world that we live in today. Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger and the Inter-Allied Women's Conference opened new careers for internationally-oriented women by ensuring that the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization would accept women as employees, as voters on border referenda, as the heads and members of sections and committees, and as the members of diplomatic delegations. Jeanne Bouvier and the First International Congress of Working Women convinced the International Labor Organization to encourage the provision of paid maternity leave in countries around the world by adopting the Maternity Protection Convention of 1919. The work of these women and their associates set a precedent for the on-going participation by women at the United Nations, and the international treaties that they helped design stand as some of the first in a long line of important international declarations and initiatives that include the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention to End Discrimination Against Women, the Beijing Platform for Action, the Millennium Development Goals, and the Sustainable Development Goals.[3]

French historians may be especially interested in two specific aspects of Siegel's work: the opportunity it offers to study France in the world through the eyes of women from around the world, and the opportunity it offers to compare and contrast the national and international work of women from France with that of women from other countries. When the editors of *L'histoire*

*mondiale de la France* recently presented their own global approach to the First World War and its aftermath, they highlighted the work of figures such as W. E. B. Dubois and Blaise Diagne at the Second Pan-African Congress; the protests of colonial independence activists such as Young Algerian Emir Khaled, Young Tunisian Abdelaziz Thâalbi, and Vietnamese nationalist Ho Chi Minh at the Paris Peace Conference; and the work of French socialist Albert Thomas as the founding director of the International Labor Organization.[4] Siegel's *Peace on Our Terms* allows us to appreciate the equally important work of figures such as Ida Gibbs Hunt, who built on her experiences in French Madagascar to criticize the European treatment of African women and call for solidarity between African American women and African women as early as 1906; Soumay Tchong, who convinced the Chinese delegation to the Paris Peace Conference to protest the Western Allies' summary allocation of Shandong Province to Japan instead of China by refusing to sign the Treaty of Versailles; and Tanaka Taka, who spoke up for the interests of the many Japanese and other women who worked in textile factories when she convinced the International Labor Organization to ratify the Night-Work (Women) Convention of 1919.

In addition to highlighting the work of French suffrage activist Marguerite de Witt Schlumberger and French labor activist Jeanne Bouvier in two of the six chapters of *Peace on Our Terms*, Siegel also introduces the work of many other French feminist activists with international interests and achievements throughout her book as well. Some of the most important include Gabrielle Duchêne, the founding director of the French section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who also served successively as secretary, vice president, and treasurer of the WILPF itself; and Ghénia Avril de Sainte-Croix, who headed the French section of the International Abolitionist Federation, chaired the Committee on the Equal Moral Standard and Against the Traffic in Women for the International Council of Women, and went on to serve as the Vice President of the International Council of Women and as a member of the Advisory Commission on the Traffic in Women and Children at the League of Nations.[5] Siegel observes that French women had more success in the international campaigns that they undertook in the years after World War One than they did in their national fight for the right of French women to vote, which they did not win until after World War Two. While it is not part of Siegel's purpose in *Peace on Our Terms* to focus on this peculiarity of French women's history, it would be interesting to see more future work about how and why the same women who had to wait so long to vote at home were able to maintain such a presence and make so much change abroad.[6]

*Peace on Our Terms* should be equally interesting to professional historians and general readers. Although it has not been designed or marketed as a history textbook, I can easily imagine that both teachers and students of history would enjoy reading it in their college and university classrooms. It offers a new way of thinking about the familiar history of World War One and the Treaty of Versailles, highlights the substantial national and international political achievements of women from 1919 onwards, and offers a basis for new comparative work on the history of French women compared to the history of women in other countries around the world. I recommend it to everyone.

## NOTES

[1] Margaret MacMillan, *Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World* (New York: Random House, 2003).

[2] Indispensable earlier histories of these international women's rights movements that focus on fewer organizations, fewer countries, or countries in fewer areas of the world include: Eliane Gubin, Leen van Molle, and Leen Beyers, *Des femmes qui changent le monde: Histoire du Conseil international des femmes, 1888-1988* (Brussels: Editions Racine, 2005); Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999); Katherine M. Marino, *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019); Karen Offen, *European Feminisms, 1700-1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); and Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

Key essay collections that explore the history of women's rights in a global or international framework include the following: Keisha N. Blain and Tiffany M. Gill, eds., *To Turn the Whole World Over: Black Women and Internationalism* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019); Caroline Daley and Melanie Nolan, eds., *Suffrage and Beyond: International Feminist Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova, eds., *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013); Sara L. Kimble and Marion Röwekamp, eds., *New Perspectives on European Women's Legal History* (London and New York: Routledge, 2017); Karen Offen, ed., *Globalizing Feminisms, 1789-1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2010); and Bonnie G. Smith, ed., *Global Feminisms since 1945* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[3] For an introduction to the history of women's work at the United Nations, see Felice D. Gaer, "And Never the Twain Shall Meet? The Struggle to Establish Women's Rights as International Human Rights," in Carol Elizabeth Lockwood, Daniel Barstow Magraw, Margaret Faith Spring, and S. I. Strong, eds., *The International Human Rights of Women: Instruments of Change* (Washington, DC: American Bar Association, 1998), 3-89; Felice D. Gaer, "Women, International Law, and International Institutions: The Case of the United Nations," *Women's Studies International Forum* 32 (2009), 60-66. On the many programs that the United Nations organizes to help women around the world today, see UN Women, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, <https://www.unwomen.org/en>; Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/CEDAW/Pages/Introduction.aspx>; Millennium Development Goals and Beyond 2015, United Nations, <https://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>; Sustainable Development Goals, United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, <https://sdgs.un.org/goals>.

[4] Patrick Boucheron, Nicolas Delalande, Florian Mazel, Yann Potin, and Pierre Singaravélou, eds., *L'histoire mondiale de la France* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2017); Patrick Boucheron, Nicolas Delalande, Florian Mazel, Yann Potin, and Pierre Singaravélou, eds., *France in the World: A New Global History*, English-language edition, ed. Stéphane Gerson (New York: Other Press, 2019).

[5] On the international work of Gabrielle Duchêne, see Colette Avrane, with Christine Bard, "Gabrielle Duchêne," in Christine Bard and Sylvie Chaperon, eds., *Dictionnaire des féministes: France XVIIIe-XXIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2017), 455-460; Emmanuelle Carle, "Women, Anti-Fascism and Peace in Interwar France: Gabrielle Duchêne's Itinerary," *French History* 18 (2004): 291-314; Lorraine Coons, "Gabrielle Duchêne: Feminist, Pacifist, Reluctant Bourgeoise," *Peace & Change* 24 (1999): 121-147. On the international campaigns of

Ghénia Avril de Sainte-Croix, see especially Karen Offen, “G. Avril de Sainte-Croix,” in Christine Bard and Sylvie Chaperon, eds., *Dictionnaire des féministes: France XVIIIe-XXIe siècle* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2017), 104–110; Karen Offen, “Intrepid Crusader: Ghénia Avril de Sainte-Croix Takes on the Prostitution Issue,” *Journal of the Western Society for French History* 33 (2005): 352–374; Karen Offen, “Madame Ghénia Avril de Sainte-Croix: The Josephine Butler of France,” *Women’s History Review* 17 (2008): 239–255.

[6] For a selection of approaches to the related comparative question of why French women achieved suffrage later than women from the other major Allied powers, see Christine Bard, *Les filles de Marianne: Histoire des féminismes, 1914–1940* (Paris: Fayard, 1995); Anne-Sarah Bouglé-Moalic, *Le vote des Françaises: cent ans de débats, 1848–1944* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2012); Steven C. Hause with Anne R. Kenney, *Women’s Suffrage and Social Politics in the French Third Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Laurence Klejman and Florence Rochefort, *L’égalité en marche: Le féminisme sous la Troisième République* (Paris: Presses de la Fondation Nationale des Sciences Politiques and Editions des femmes, 1989); Karen Offen, *Debating the Woman Question in the French Third Republic, 1870–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Geoff Reed, *The Republic of Men: Gender and the Political Parties in Interwar France* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014); Siân Reynolds, *France Between the Wars: Gender and Politics* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996); Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le sacre du citoyen: Histoire du suffrage universel en France* (Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1992); and Paul Smith, *Feminism and the Third Republic: Women’s Political and Civil Rights in France, 1918–1945* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).

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ISSN 1553-9172