

# Accepting the Challenge: the Story of the First Three Women Delegates to the League of Nations

Marie Sannem Thoring



Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Studies, Department of  
Archaeology, Conservation and History

UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

Fall 2020

Word count: 31,688

Frontpage photo: Kristine Bonnevie, Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Henni Forchhammer at Geneva, Kvindehistorisk Samling, Statsbiblioteket at Århus, Denmark.

# Accepting the Challenge: the Story of the First Three Women Delegates to the League of Nations



Kristine Bonnevie, Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Henni Forchhammer at Geneva.

© Marie Sannem Thoring 2020

Accepting the Challenge: the Story of the First Three Women Delegates to the League of Nations

Marie Sannem Thoring

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

## Abstract

During the first public meeting of the League of Nations in 1920, three Scandinavian women sat amongst the almost 250 men ready to participate in the international negotiations to secure the newly found peace. Despite being few, these three women represented the expectations of thousands of women as they entered an arena which had never before been accessible to women. This thesis examines the participation of these three women during their years as members of the League of Nations. It finds that despite the women only taking part in the humanitarian questions of the League, their role in these matters were not insignificant. They may have been intended to only serve a symbolic role by their respective governments, but each of the three women would end up contributing to different matters handled by the League, despite being unable to make changes to the League's larger political objectives.



## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank, from the bottom of my heart, my wonderful supervisor Hilde Sandvik whom supported me and my project relentlessly from start to finish. Thank you for always being available, for motivating me when I was struggling and always believing in me. Your devotion to us students is truly one of a kind.

I would also like to thank Helge Pharo, Inger Nordal and Mari Holmboe Ruge for your generous help during the early planning of this project. Your assistance has been invaluable.

Thank you to the League of Nations Archives at Geneva, and especially so Jacques Oberson for your help to navigate the madness.

Next, I am forever grateful for the love and support from my mum, thank you for pushing me through this and making sure I never gave up! Your unconditional love makes me thankful every day. Also, thank you dad for providing me with all the vitamins to keep going, and my little sister for being the best.

A huge thank you to my fantastic friends Ósk, Frida, Ragnhild, Anniken, Campis, Marte, Kaja and Irina for holding my hand when I was struggling, meeting me for more or less efficient study sessions and supporting me all the way through this project. Love you guys!

Last but not least, thank you my darling Bella and sweet Pippa for always being next to me when I needed the support, you are my little hearts.

That being said, any mistakes found in this thesis are my own.

Marie Sannem Thoring

20. November 2020





# Table of Contents

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction .....</b>	<b>1</b>
Defining empirical project.....	3
Scholarly debate .....	4
Methods and sources .....	6
<b>Chapter 2: Introducing the League of Nations and the three pioneer women .....</b>	<b>8</b>
Part 1: The League of Nations .....	8
The organisation of the League .....	11
The Fifth Committee .....	11
Part 2: Entering the women .....	12
First wave feminism in Scandinavia.....	12
Women in politics .....	14
Becoming increasingly international: the three major international women’s organisations .....	15
Women’s organisations and the League of Nations .....	16
The pioneer women of the League .....	17
Henni Forchhammer.....	17
Anna Bugge-Wicksell .....	19
Kristine Bonnevie.....	22
<b>Chapter 3: Henni Forchhammer .....</b>	<b>26</b>
Part 1: women and children in the Near East.....	26
The Genocide of Armenian and other minorities in the Ottoman Empire’s final years .....	26
The League’s approach to the Genocide.....	28
Henni Forchhammer’s involvement in the work for women and children in the Near East.....	29
Henni Forchhammer’s close cooperation with the ‘homes’ .....	33
Part 2: trafficking in women and children .....	36
Trafficking in women and children in the early 1900s .....	37
Henni Forchhammer’s involvement in the work for women and children in trafficking .....	38
Conclusion .....	41
<b>Chapter 4: Anna Bugge-Wicksell .....</b>	<b>43</b>
The Permanent Mandates Commission .....	43
Bugge-Wicksell’s appointment .....	44
The face of the PMC at the Assembly .....	48
Anna Bugge-Wicksell and William Rappard.....	49
Education in the mandated territories .....	50
Women and children in the mandated areas .....	54
Bugge-Wicksell’s trip to the United States.....	55

Swedish delegate to the Assembly .....	56
Conclusion .....	56
<b>Chapter 5: Kristine Bonnevie.....</b>	<b>58</b>
Delegate to the League of Nations.....	58
Member of the Assembly’s Fifth Committee .....	59
The League of Nations and the traffic in opium .....	62
Bonnevie’s involvement on the issue of traffic in opium .....	63
The International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation.....	67
Conclusion .....	70
<b>Chapter 6: ‘token women’ or League of Nations delegates? .....</b>	<b>72</b>
Overlooked contributions to the League’s humanitarian vision.....	72
Feminist influence at Geneva .....	76
Conclusion .....	78
<b>Bibliography .....</b>	<b>81</b>
Attachment I.....	88
Attachment II .....	92
Attachment III .....	97

## Abbreviations

CIC/ICIC – (International) Committee on Intellectual Co-operation

DKN - The Women's Council of Denmark

ICW – International Council of Women

IWSA – International Women's Suffrage Alliance

NKF - Norwegian Association for Women's Rights

PMC – Permanent Mandates Commission

WILPF – Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

# Chapter 1: Introduction

It was soon after the end of WWI that the world saw the rise of an international organisation like no other before: The League of Nations. Established first and foremost on the promise of maintaining peace, and as a part of the Versailles peace treaty that concluded the war, the League was a cooperation between many nations of the world and a first attempt at an organisation this extensive.<sup>1</sup> Its first meeting of nations in Geneva, referred to as the Assembly, was held from November to December 1920, exactly 100 years ago at the completion of this thesis. Almost 250 delegates representing a total of 42 states, in addition to multiple independent organisations, had gathered to take part in the world's biggest international initiative at the time. Expectations were high, and the scars of the war had left many nations seeking its prevention. Weapons and destruction had never been as great, and the European leaders in particular were set on avoiding similar catastrophes.<sup>2</sup> There was not an unanimous support for the organisation, however, and it was heavily criticised by some as an idealist dream which could only postpone potential conflicts, and in fact make some countries less protected than they could've been, which was a view shared by several prominent British politicians. Despite this, seemingly the majority European leaders supported this idealist idea, which would also include a large part of women whom had formerly been active advocates for peace. Although parts of the women's rights movement experienced a set-back nationally around the time of WWI, the post-war years saw the emergence of a movement more committed to internationalism, as was a trend in most of the political world at the time.<sup>3</sup> From being a movement with much more of a national focus, the interwar period marked an expansion from mainly focusing on issues like women rights to vote and participation in domestic politics towards a demand for female representation in international affairs.<sup>4</sup> Many women had throughout the war followed the discussions on creating the great union of nations, and became active participants of the various associations created to support the potential organisation.

---

<sup>1</sup> Pedersen, Susan, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and The Crisis of Empire*, p. 20-22.

<sup>2</sup> Charles River, *The League of Nations: The Controversial History of the Failed Organization That Preceded the United Nations*, p. 15-16.

<sup>3</sup> Marie Sandell, "A Real Meeting of The Women of The East and The West."

<sup>4</sup> Carol Miller, *Lobbying the League: Women's International Organizations and The League of Nations*.

The League would indeed become important to the women's movements. On one hand Jarle Simensen claims that women wanted to use the international organisation to conquer discrimination at home, while on the other hand, one could also argue that these women wanted to use the organisation to combat discrimination elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> Through extensive pressure by the women's movements as well as lenient leaders of the conference leading up to the official establishment of the League, it was decided that women could be elected to hold positions within the League and that the organisation would be focusing on the protection of women and children especially in relations to trafficking.<sup>6</sup> This was marked by the decision to write down the paragraph: "All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women" referred to as Article 7., during the negotiations of the Covenant in 1919.<sup>7</sup> Women's organisations applauded the notion, seeing it as a major victory for the women's rights movement. Particularly amongst British women, they would even claim it to be one of the greatest victories that the women's cause had ever gotten.<sup>8</sup> Clara Rackham, a prominent suffragette, described in 1919, during The Conference of Women's Societies in London, that: "The Covenant of the League is a challenge to the nations, Article 7. is a challenge to women."<sup>9</sup> As shown by the massive participation of women at the conference: women had already accepted the challenge.

In many ways do the 1920s mark a drastic shift in the world's dynamics, following the aftermath of the War. Diplomacy and international relations were perhaps amongst the spheres that felt this change the most. One of these changes included a change in what diplomats were like, from being strictly older, noble men to being people of different status and backgrounds, as well as the inclusion of women.<sup>10</sup> Despite this, women were never allowed the official status of diplomats, nor seen as equal to the male diplomats, Britain even going as far as refusing women to pursue ordinary diplomatic careers in 1934.<sup>11</sup> The change, however, was most

---

<sup>5</sup> Jarle Simensen, "Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin, (red.): Internationalisms. A Twentieth-Century History," p. 2-3.

<sup>6</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste: Henni Forchhammers rejsbreve fra Geneve 1920-27," <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>7</sup> Madeleine Herren, "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations," p. 182-183.

<sup>8</sup> Unknown, "Organised Women and the League of Nations," *Woman's Leader and The Common Cause*, 1919.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Madeleine Herren, "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations," p. 186.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

definitely on its way.

In the end, only three states proved willing to send women to the League of Nations' first Assembly in 1920, which were the three Scandinavian countries. This came as a great disappointment to many women's organisations, whom had hoped for stronger female participation, and also feared that such a small portion of women would only be able to occupy the smallest of corners in the affairs of the League. How could only three women possibly frame issues which had been circulating in female councils for years, ranging from the question of military defence to how best handle the international traffic in women and children? It is perhaps not without reason that these women's participation in the League has been mostly overlooked, as they naturally had little possibility of changing any potential political course in which the League would take. However, in light of recent scholarly research as well as a visit to the League of Nations Archives in Geneva, this thesis aims to take a closer look to see whether these women were truly just pushed into a corner during the discussions of the League, or if they in fact had some power to influence its discourses.

## Defining empirical project

With this thesis I aim to write about the experiences of three women whom entered the realm of international diplomacy where no woman had stepped foot before, by looking specifically at the the League of Nations. When seeking to look at the start of the change, there is perhaps no better way to approach this than by starting at the very beginning with the first three ladies which became part of the League of Nations: namely the three Scandinavian women Henni Forchhammer, Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Kristine Bonnevie. Challenging the masculine stage of international politics, could they affect any decision made by the League of Nations? Based on this question my thesis will be covering each of the three women's participation in the League of Nations, describing their most noticeable achievement as well as challenges.

When writing this thesis, I will have to keep in mind my own bias on the field. I am looking to find evidence for the women's participation and relevance to international relations, and it's important that I reflect on the sources that I have access to, how they may limit my research and understanding of the history of the League. In search for these answers it's important for

me not to exaggerate the importance of women, while also making sure their achievements are not overlooked. My thesis will also be looking at only the first few years of the League of Nations, ranging from year 1920 to roughly about 1927-28, a delimitation which was chosen based on the sources and time available; because it focuses on the women as pioneers during the League's early years, and due to the fact that two out of the three women did not continue as part of the organisation as it entered the 1930s.

## Scholarly debate

For a long time, the League of Nations was only referred to as the failed attempt at maintaining peace. There has however, been an increase in studies about the League in the last decade or so, due to a turn in the scholarly debate regarding the League. As opposed to seeing it as nothing but an unsuccessful attempt at mediating between states, many scholars now point to the different cases where the League in fact did have leave an impact, despite its eventual downfall. Among the newer perspectives on the League, there are perhaps no greater examples than Susan Pedersen's studies focus on the League's involvement in the so-called mandatory territories, which were former colonies and areas under Germany and the Ottoman Empire, and Patricia Clavin's book on the organisation's economic and financial involvement.<sup>12</sup> There are also scholars whom have put focus on the League's humanitarian work such as Malagy Rodriguez Garcia, who's written about its work to suppress trafficking of women and children, where the League was a pioneer for many of the early studies on this issue.<sup>13</sup> It is, however, debatable how effective the League's work and initiatives on this matter were.

As a part of an increasing interest in the League of Nations Karl Erik Haug published an article in 2013 which is as far as I'm aware, one of only two recent attempt at specifically studying women working in the organisation from a Norwegian perspective.<sup>14</sup> Haug writes about how the interest in the field has been small globally, and that in recent years there has been some new research on the League done from a Danish perspective, while the other Scandinavian

---

<sup>12</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: the League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, and Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*.

<sup>13</sup> Malagy Rodriguez Garcia, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women."

<sup>14</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen."

countries has shown more interest in discussing the subject of peace outside of the League of Nations. His article was followed by a shorter article which slightly expanded on his research in 2014 by Edel Havin Baukes.<sup>15</sup> Her article was written as a contribution to the 100 years anniversary for the organisation *Women's International League for Peace and Freedom* (WILPF), which makes for a good reason to look back at the time-period and women's participation in peace efforts. It should also be noted that both of these articles stress the subject of women working in the League of Nations as being an understudied part of history, having been mostly overlooked by scholars writing about the League as well as by scholars of women's rights history.

The general discussion between scholars regarding this very topic is related to the relevance of women participating in the League of Nations. Was it merely symbolic to have women represented in the League? As Susan Pedersen puts it in her book, women such as Anna Bugge-Wicksell were sent as 'token women' to the masculine world of international politics, and was set to work on education, which were of little importance to the mandate commission. This raises the question of whether her work mattered. On the other hand, there are scholars like Madeleine Herren whom argues that women in fact served as a crucial part of the League, not just due to the concrete work they did for the League, but because they served as an important reason for change within international politics.<sup>16</sup> They contributed to a change in focus and initiative with regards to diplomacy, which was much inspired by women's organisations and activism.

Karl Erik Haug argues that even just as a symbolic case the matter of having women joining the League of Nations served as another milestone to the women's rights movement. As he points out in his article, it was a subject of controversy and a paradox that women in many of the Western countries had earned the right to vote, and was supposed to be seen as equal citizens of society, but were still formally denied entry in international politics. This thesis aims to become a part of this debate by looking specifically at three of these women as well as women's

---

<sup>15</sup> Edel Havin Baukes, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen."

<sup>16</sup> Madeleine Herren, "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations."



organisations' reactions to their work at the League of Nations.

## Methods and sources

In addition to the scholarly debate regarding the League of Nations, multiple biographies have been published telling the stories of the three women central to this thesis. Particularly central to this thesis are Hanne Rimmen's biographies on Henni Frochhammer, Gulli Petrini and Christina Carlsson Wetterberg's biographies on Anna Bugge-Wicksell, and Inger Nordal's biography on Kristine Bonnevie. These biographies serve as the basis of my research, which I interpret and to some extent expand on from findings at the League of Nations Archives section at the United Nations Archives at Geneva, and analyse in light of the scholarly debate regarding women at the League of Nations. In other words, this approach will be first and foremost a qualitative study of these women's participation to the work of the League of Nations, as well as connecting their work to the general discourse of women's participation in international politics at the time. Due to Wetterberg's book on Anna Bugge-Wicksell being released three weeks before the due date of this thesis, I have not been able to use her research as the initial basis, which was the case for the other biographies. I, however, still aim to include some of her participation to the scholarly debate as well as her new perspectives on Bugge-Wicksell.

Differently from the bibliographies, which are largely composed of letters and sources written by the three women themselves, this thesis will due to both lack of time and access to the archives abroad, focus mainly on the women's participation as it has been documented at the League of Nations Archives. This means primarily analysing their work as members of committees and commissions at the League to see if they had scope to influence the discourse and if resolutions were passed on accord with their proposals, by following the minutes of the meetings. Looking at the women's time at the League throughout the first half of the 1920s will give some insight into the potential results of these resolutions according to the League itself, however there will be a lack of knowledge as to which extent the resolutions were actually were successful from a perspective outside of the organisation. The sources do also hold a certain bias in favour of the League, and that some results might be exaggerated due to this is a

definite possibility. In other words, this thesis will primarily be able to account for how the women influenced the League's negotiations, and less to which extent the League in actuality was successful when practically carrying out its resolutions. This can as an example be seen in how multiple states would ratify or sign conventions proposed by the League, however, to which extent these conventions actually made changes to the state's legislation would require a more specific study into that particular area.

In addition to the pandemic which would hinder any possibilities of visiting archives in Sweden and Denmark during the fall of 2020, the recent digitalisation of the Geneva Archives made some of the source material unavailable during my visit in 2019. These sources remained unavailable to achieve digitally in 2020 as well and were mainly focused on the section regarding the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Thus, there may be more material at the Geneva Archives regarding Kristine Bonnevie which I have not been able to access.

## Chapter 2: Introducing the League of Nations and the three pioneer women

This chapter aims to give a short history of the League of Nations' creation, as well as the inclusion of women in international relations. It will look at the increasingly international perspectives which characterised the early 1900s, as well as which possibilities this could potentially offer for women whom up till this point had been excluded from the political sphere. Lastly the chapter will present short biographies on each of the three women.

### Part 1: The League of Nations

According to Carl Joachim Hambro countries around the world at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century had found themselves more and more tied together and dependent on one another: globalisation was a fact. This development had brought trade and a great increase in industry, but it had not necessarily brought more trust and mutual understanding between the nations. This could perhaps be best illustrated by how war had changed, into something more brutal, destructive and devastating than ever before. The world had become smaller, both for peace and war.<sup>17</sup>

The first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is to many known as a time for nationalism, whereas especially the interwar period would see the rise of nationalist ideals. It was, however, also a time for internationalism, as described in Glenda Sluga's book *internationalism in the time of nationalism*, where ideas of international cooperation were forefront in many political spheres, and had been since the start of the century.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps the most glaring example of internationalism in the first half of the century was the League of Nations. In this thesis I will give an overview of the League from different perspectives, and also touch upon how many historians today have come to view the organisation as more complex than what used to be the common view especially in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>17</sup> C. J. Hambro, *Folkeforbundet og dets arbeide*, p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, p. 11-12.

The League of Nations was established first and foremost on the promise of maintaining peace, and as a part of the Versailles peace treaty that concluded the war. It was a cooperation between many nations of the world and a first attempt at an organisation this extensive.<sup>19</sup> Øyvind Tønnesson describes the League as a part of an international peace processes of the time, as well as an increase in international organisation, which had exploded at the beginning of the new century.<sup>20</sup> In other words, there had been a development towards such an initiative for some time, however it was motivated by the end of the first world war. It was to serve as a mediator, help the process of disarmament as a part of guaranteeing security for its members. The League of Nations became a large organisation, with many members especially from Europe as well as Latin America, which lighted a hope in many of its member-organisations. By the end of the first year 42 nations had become members. It did, however, lack the participation of the US which had left the League just as it was about to be fully realised. This happened despite the US being a central part of the Versailles negotiations and then US president Woodrow Wilson being credited for much of the League's foundation and vision. Due to internal political disagreement, where Wilson failed to appeal to the congress and change their want for isolationism, the USA declined participation in the League. Members like the UK, France and Italy feared the consequences of the US withdrawal, though hoped to see the League's vision grow stronger regardless as their projects and initiatives were launched. In addition, neither the Soviet Union nor Germany were members for particularly long, or from the beginning, which also weakened the League as conflict between states took shape. Born from the aftermath of the first world war, the League would come to be, especially in its early years, a club for the victors of the war and arguably an extension of their visions with the UK and France at its forefront.<sup>21</sup>

To put into perspective the general opinion of the League during its active years Hambro describes in 1931 the organisation as a hope for peace and security, by maintaining international relations in an honourable and just manner. By promoting international cooperation through both material and intellectual means, one would make a better future for all people. Most scholars and politicians living during the League prime years, had high expectations to the organisation, and

---

<sup>19</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and The Crisis of Empire*, p. 20-21.

<sup>20</sup> Øyvind Tønnesson. "Folkeforbundet - En Tragedie?" p. 211-213.

<sup>21</sup> Ludovic Tournès, "American membership of the League of Nations: US philanthropy and the transformation of an intergovernmental organisation into a think tank," p. 2

would generally speak very highly of its cause. Hambro describes the League as an international arena, where parties could gather to voice their cause and appeal to a sort of world's opinion and justice. Thus, the League would guide for example two conflicting parties through a mediation process.<sup>22</sup> At the time Hambro used these words to describe the League, many people had already begun to see its shortcomings, and would soon realise its lack of influence, especially as it failed to even mediate between its own members and cease aggressive movements made by member countries in the 30s, starting with Japan's invasion of Manchuria in 1931.<sup>23</sup>

Post WWII perspectives on the organisations vary, though the general consensus has been to focus on the League's failure as mediator, to promote disarmament and by that maintain peace while facing the growth of nationalism and fascism. However, some scholars like Susan Pedersen, Patricia Clavin and David R. Stone argue that despite its eventual downfall, the League did leave an important impact on the world during the Interwar Period. These involvements did in fact branch out much further than the League just being a single mediator, and involve its commissions and sub-organisations which ranged from mandating former colonies, the economic and financial organisation to gathering data never before seen on the world's armed trade.<sup>24</sup> Clavin concludes that the organisation wasn't in fact just one arena where people could gather voice their opinions, but an ever expanding multitude of organs and actors which worked in different ways to bring about what would also become different agendas and visions.<sup>25</sup> At the same time the League was highly influenced and regulated by the Allied powers Britain and France. It is also hard to ignore the organisation's ties to liberal imperialism, which was the dominant view amongst the founders of the League.<sup>26</sup> Written in the Covenant of the League a confirmation of the 'white man's burden' which legitimised the annexations of the areas, the organisation remained loyal to the colonial powers.

---

<sup>22</sup> C. J. Hambro, *Folkeforbundet og dets arbeide*, p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2

<sup>24</sup> David R. Stone, "Imperialism and Sovereignty: The League of Nations' Drive to Control the Global Arms Trade," p. 230.

<sup>25</sup> Patricia Clavin, *Securing the World Economy: The Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*.

<sup>26</sup> Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in The Age of Nationalism*, p. 152.

## The organisation of the League

The very foundation of the League of Nation's organisation was a three-party system. First was the General Assembly representing the largest international negotiation-table at the time, which met once a year. It was at the Assembly that smaller states, as well as independent actors, could come to pledge their case before the other nations.<sup>27</sup> Then there was the Council which composed of a smaller more exclusive decision-making body, which would often work as a primary mediator due to its hold of the League's economic resources which could be used for pressuring governments. Lastly, was the Secretariat, which would carry out the everyday work of the League. Susan Pedersen puts it like this: "... if the Assembly tried to set the agenda and the Council to rein it in, actual responsibility for carrying out policy rested with a third institution, the Secretariat."<sup>28</sup> This thesis will be focusing on women's participation as delegates to the Assembly and their periodically more frequent work in committees of the Secretariat, which were the organs where women had the greatest opportunity to influence.<sup>29</sup>

## The Fifth Committee

Each year during the meeting of the Assembly, League of Nations delegates would attend various committees outside of the plenary meetings. Whereas the plenary sessions were stages for formal speeches to the general assembly, committee meetings would include discussions, decision-making and future planning for the involvement of the League. In many ways this was the arena where most of the Assembly's work took place. An assigned member would usually initiate a topic, with the chairman overseeing the discussion, and various other representatives could voice their opinion on the matter. In all there were six committees and the majority of women at the League became part of the Fifth Committee. This was especially the case after the humanitarian questions were moved from the Second Committee to the Fifth. Eventually the questions raised in the Fifth Committee would fall under the description "general and humanitarian," changing it from "general and social" in 1923.<sup>30</sup> The Committee would play an important part in discussing

---

<sup>27</sup> S. Shepard Jones, *The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations*, p. 95.

<sup>28</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and The Crisis of Empire*, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup> Karen Offen, *European feminisms*, p. 349.

<sup>30</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, 1923.

social and humanitarian questions like refugees, opium export, women and children in trafficking, epidemics and hygiene, language and more. Issues associated with women and children were, as seen in all letters from women's organisations addressed to the League, usually the legitimising argument used in favour of allowing women into politics. Thus, many women, including the three Scandinavian women in the centre of this thesis, would find themselves together in the fifth committee.<sup>31</sup>

## Part 2: Entering the women

Part 2 aims to give insight into women's movement in the early 1900s and how it evolved. In addition, I aim to give necessary background information on each of the three pioneer women. I will pay close attention to their work to see what made these women eligible candidates for the League of Nations.

### First wave feminism in Scandinavia

Much like the rest of Europe, Denmark, Sweden and Norway experienced increasing industrialisation throughout the century, with many people's lives shifting from that of farming to working in factories. This would in many ways go hand in hand with women's possibility for equality by the law.<sup>32</sup> Major changes that happened with regards to civil rights in the first half of the 19th century was mostly related to the economic progression, which brought change to the social structure of society.<sup>33</sup> With a growing number of unmarried women, or women that got wed later in life there would be an increasing number of people losing what had been work to do at home to the invention of machines. As Anna Caspari Agerholt writes in her book, it was thus that out of the good of their hearts men allowed women by law to gain some economic liberty. Making sure they would not be a burden to the overall public.<sup>34</sup> These increased civil rights included the right to gain inheritance, own property, and to participate in craft and commerce. In

---

<sup>31</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 4

<sup>32</sup> Elisabeth Lønnå, "Kvinneres rettigheter i Norge fra 1814 til 1913," [https://snl.no/Kvinneres\\_rettigheter\\_i\\_Norge\\_fra\\_1814\\_til\\_1913](https://snl.no/Kvinneres_rettigheter_i_Norge_fra_1814_til_1913).

<sup>33</sup> Gro Hagemann, "Citizenship and social order: gender politics in the twentieth century Norway and Sweden," p. 3-4.

<sup>34</sup> Anna Caspari Agerholt, *Den Norske kvinnebevegelses historie*, p. 4-5.

Sweden women would also be seen participating in trade in this time period. Economic liberties were, however, only available to unmarried women, and it wasn't until the question of giving the same freedom to wives appeared in the political discourse that the debate became particularly polarising and controversial.<sup>35</sup> Women's involvement in labour didn't go about without a hitch either, with male teachers seeing their position being challenged by women and becoming very critical of their ability to discipline and teach. Similarly did women working in the post-industry, and holding positions that required confidentiality, meet significant opposition.

Issues regarding unwed women's possibilities to find work became apparent especially to the urban upper middle class, or bourgeoisie, where female labour was no longer needed. It is amongst this class that the women's movement in the Nordic countries has its roots, and it was especially in the 1870s that the movement started to find ground, alongside more radical ideas that washed over Northern Europe.<sup>36</sup> All of the three women I am writing about in this thesis belonged to the upper middle class, and were growing up in a time where the women's rights movement was starting to pick up between the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>37</sup> They came from educated families, and a trend in their early feminist involvements were the wish for equal opportunities for higher education for both men and women.

Women were raising their voices for equality, and the movement would get more popular as the years went by. The Scandinavian neighbours would also see a difference in size and the amount of support that feminism got, which is thought to be due to Norway's more radical political leaning, as well as lack of power amongst the conservative elite. This led to Norway being first to grant women many of the rights that had been called for in the latter half of the century such as a law on marriage and property which was passed in 1888, which saw many similarities to the formerly passed Married Women's Property Act in England. This law granted married women a right over their own income but did not give them total autonomy over property, resulting in disappointment from the women's movement.<sup>38</sup> It did however stand out as the first of its kind in

---

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Anna Caspari Agerholt, *Den Norske kvinnebevegelses historie*, p. 12-13.

<sup>37</sup> To be noted that Kristine Bonnevie was born a bit later than the other two women and was also less involved in the feminist movement. She was, however, much involved in the work to make higher education more accessible to women.

<sup>38</sup> Gro Hagemann, "Citizenship and social order: gender politics in the twentieth century Norway and Sweden," p. 3-4.



the north, and this difference between Norway and Sweden is also mentioned by Anna Bugge-Wicksell after she moved from Norway, where she had been an active activist, to Sweden. Despite the new law in favour of more liberty for married women, none of the women central to this thesis ever married, with Anna Bugge-Wicksell being closest to marriage through her partnership with Knut Wicksell. Kristine Bonnevie on her part would advise young girls not to marry, should they want a career within academia. The issue regarding economic freedom for married women would after this be set aside in the political realm, and it would be several years till the issue was brought to the table again.<sup>39</sup>

In many ways the 1800s ended on the question of equal rights to vote for women, an issue that would carry on to the next century. The Suffragette movement branched out across the western world, with some countries formally changing the law around the time of WWI. Norway turned out to be the first of the three to give women the right to vote in 1913, with Denmark passing the same law in 1915, while Sweden didn't fully grant women the rights until 1921. The curious case, however, was that it took several years for Norwegian women to be elected into parliament, while the same process happened much sooner in Sweden, and they saw women elects already the same year as women were granted the right to vote. Denmark on their part also elected a female minister as early as 1924, which made her the second female minister in the world. There had been of a change of dynamics between the countries.

## Women in politics

It is common to see women separately from politics in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>40</sup> The issues regarding political parties and their discourse, class struggle and a growing labour's movement has usually not included many female perspectives. This is despite the fact that the early 1900s marks a turning point in how women could both elect and be elected into politics in all three of the Scandinavian countries, with Denmark voting several women into parliament as soon as in 1918.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, women seem to have been more absent from politics in Norway, struggling to get voted into parliament and contrasting the liberal movement that has been leading

---

<sup>39</sup> Elisabeth Lønnå, "Kvinneres rettigheter i Norge fra 1814 til 1913," [https://snl.no/Kvinneres\\_rettigheter\\_i\\_Norge\\_fra\\_1814\\_til\\_1913](https://snl.no/Kvinneres_rettigheter_i_Norge_fra_1814_til_1913).

<sup>40</sup> Kari Melby, "Husmorens epoke," p. 238.

<sup>41</sup> Elisabeth Lønnå, *Stolthet og kvinnekamp: Norsk kvinnesaksforenings historie fra 1913*, p. 49.

up to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This has by some scholars been connected to the fact that Norwegian women failed to mobilise its countries' districts in terms of politics. The politically active urban women often failed to reach out to rural women, whom to a much smaller degree voted during the elections.<sup>42</sup> Despite the still sparse participation in official politics, women would participate in the general discourse through non-governmental channels. It is important not to discredit the work many women put into humanitarian work at the time, and how many women's organisations brought humanitarian and social issues on the political arena. Thus, Kari Melby's claim is that women at the time were far from uninterested in politics, despite the political sphere being heavily gender segregated.<sup>43</sup>

## Becoming increasingly international: the three major international women's organisations

*The women of 31 nations assembled in congress at Geneva, convinced that a strong Society of Nations, based on the principles of right and justice, lies the only hope of assuring the future peace of the world, call upon the women of the whole world to direct their will, their intelligence and their influence towards the development and the consolidation of the Society of Nations, on such basis, and to assist it in every possible way in its work of securing peace and goodwill throughout the world.*<sup>44</sup>

Three major international women's organisations had either gained foothold or become fully established after the first world war, namely the International Women's Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), the International Council of Women (ICW) and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.<sup>45</sup> All of the three organisations were closely related, and had sprung out due to differences within initial women's organisations. They were similar in many ways, being all secular, not affiliated with any one party or political wing, and were meant to welcome women from all over the world. The reality of the organisations, however, was that the ICW became known as the more conservative of the three, having been reluctant to take a strong stance on the

---

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>43</sup> Kari Melby, "Husmorens epoke," p. 239.

<sup>44</sup> The Resolution from Women's International Suffrage Alliance to the League of Nations, June 6-12, 1920.

<sup>45</sup> Marie Sandell, "A real meeting of the women of the East and the West," p. 162.

question of women's right to vote, which created the foundation of IWSA. ICW was mostly focusing on international co-operation, while the other two organisations took clear stances on being strongly in favour of women's rights. Following the war, these organisations were increasingly looking outwards to recruit members and create connections around the world, which now more than ever also included the 'non-west.'

## Women's organisations and the League of Nations

During the founding year of the League, the discourse around the relationship between the League and women's organisations were high on the agenda when the International Council of Women met. The women's organisations' greatest concern was how the League could assist in accomplishing their Programme of Rights.<sup>46</sup> People were divided, on one hand was the British delegation which proposed the establishment of a Women's Bureau, with other delegations and strong voices approving and defending this resolution. Amongst these voices were Chrystal Macmillan whom said that moral and social questions which seemed to interest women more than men would not be adequately treated without a Woman's Bureau and she felt the need for a Labour Bureau. As an example, she referred to a report by the Brazilian delegate to the League Council on White Slave Traffic, which showed the little interest that would be taken unless a Women's Bureau could stand to promote such issues.<sup>47</sup> There were many speeches for and against such a bureau, with particularly the French delegation being very opposed to the idea. They did see the value in a Women's Bureau, however, they saw the bureau unfit of being part of the League of Nation's Secretariat. In the end, no such bureau was established, however several women's unions, associations and other organisations from Britain in particular came together to create the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, with May Ogilvie Gordon as first president. This Council would gather annually to pressure the League for the representation of women.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Florence Wilson's report, June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1920, page 3.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from Leonora de Alberti to Eric Drummond, 1923.

# The pioneer women of the League

## Henni Forchhammer

On October 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1920, the League of Nations was holding its first General Assembly since its establishment earlier the same year. There had been several speeches from delegates of different countries during the last few days from people that travelled far and wide to Geneva. Amongst the rows of men in the assembly hall three women sits beside their fellow countrymen, much to the surprise of delegates from some countries.<sup>49</sup> They were the first of their kind, in many ways but not official, women diplomats, and they wanted to contribute. First to speak was the Danish delegate named Henriette 'Henni' Forchhammer. She was not unknown to the western world, especially not that of women's right activists and is particularly popular in England.<sup>50</sup> Surprisingly enough she was not known to take up spaces in social gatherings, in fact she was described as rather shy. What she didn't lack, however, was passion and an urge to contribute to matters she held close to heart. Thus, she took a stand and spoke in what was described as clear, excellent English about the issues regarding women and children.<sup>51</sup>

It was not without reason that Forchhammer's English is described to be this good. She had, after all, dedicated her life to be a teacher of languages. Besides her enthusiasm for activism, her everyday life would consist of making language books and teaching several different languages. This opportunity for education had come naturally to Forchhammer as her family consisted of the highly educated bourgeoisie, and all her 8 brothers finished a higher university degree, something Forchhammer herself never did.<sup>52</sup> Despite the lack of a formal higher education, she was an educated woman by socialisation, growing up in the environment surrounding Herlufsholm Kostskole (Herlufsholm Boarding School) since her birth in 1863. Her father was a principal, and subjects from language, history, music and modern technique were central.<sup>53</sup> Together with her

---

<sup>49</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebreve fra Genève 1920-37," <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>50</sup> Unknown, "Mlle. Henni Forchhammer," *Woman's Leader and The Common Cause*, p. 100.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebreve fra Genève 1920-37," <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

three sisters she was privately tutored in her youth, as the thought of women going to university was a foreign thought to the women of Herlufsholm. What interested Forchhammer the most was language and pedagogy. From her Norwegian mother she became introduced to the language and culture of Norway from a young age, through trips to the neighbouring country, and she picked up an interest for foreign languages. This interest continued into her adult life and she would go onto learning Italian and English, studying phonetics and language from Otto Jespersen.<sup>54</sup> It was after her parents died that the family moved to Copenhagen in 1892, where Forchhammer quickly got involved with the women's movement at the time. She became a member of Dansk Kvindesamfund (Danish Women's Society) and later helped establish Danske Kvinders Nationalråd (The Women's Council of Denmark). She would also attend an international congress in London lead by the International Council of Women in 1899, where she was urged to hold a speech in front of an audience in the absence of DKN's chairman.<sup>55</sup> She described in her letters that her knowledge of English came in very handy in this situation, which in many ways marks the beginning of her central role to international women's organisations through ICW. It was arguably also the start of her popularity amongst English Suffragette organisations. Holding speeches would become a habit for Forchhammer with her language proficiency granting her an important position especially on international stages. In 1900 Forchhammer was elected chairman of DKN, a position she reclaimed between 1913-1931, thus continuing during her years in the League. Her primary role in DKN was to keep a strong relationship to sister organisations both nationally and internationally. DKN would come to expand greatly in this time period.<sup>56</sup> She was also the chairman when women gained the right to vote in Denmark in 1915, becoming the first woman to speak to the Danish parliament.

During and after WWI Forchhammer worked most notably for the establishment for peace organisations such as Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Danish Peace and League of Nations Society. She was throughout the years a loyal servant to both organisations, lecturing in schools, societies and assembly buildings around the country about their work. Thus, Henni was a solid candidate for the League in 1920, especially due to her experience in international relations and language ability.

---

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

Appointing Forchhammer, a woman, to the League did not go as smoothly as it did in Sweden and Norway, as the parliament had at first been reluctant to the notion.<sup>57</sup> Since Article 7 of the League's Covenant had made it clear in 1919, that "all positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women," Danish women's organisations such as DNK made the argument that countries where women were allowed to vote should stand as examples to the rest of the world and send a woman.<sup>58</sup> If not the few countries where the women could vote and officially partake in politics sent a woman, which nations would? Thus, 27 women's organisations of Denmark gathered in November 1919 to sign a plea to the Danish government that asked for one female representative to the League, and that Denmark would promote female participation to the organisation. After extensive pressure from women's organisations the parliament agreed to send a woman, not as one of the three delegates, but as a technical adviser. Henni Forchhammer was appointed to the position.<sup>59</sup>

## Anna Bugge-Wicksell

Anna Kristine Margrete Bugge-Wicksell, the women's rights activist whom shocked her family and many of her countrymen as she entered a partnership union with Knut Wicksell instead of marrying him. She was a small woman with a sweet face, as well as a serious woman with strong opinions whom was not afraid of defying norms of the time. She is described as a keen listener, always more interested in things surrounding her than herself.<sup>60</sup> She wrote texts and books regarding economic equality for women and men, and got particularly invested in the work for peace. During the first League Assembly of 1920 she is present as one of three women, despite being a substitute delegate, and would be appointed to the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC) as sole woman the year after. Tasked with reporting on education in the mandated colonies, Bugge-Wicksell was met with a subject less known to her, a worry she herself expressed, but still one that would be appointed to her.<sup>61</sup> Throughout the last eight years of her

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700-1950*, p. 348.

<sup>59</sup> Randi Blehr, "Nationernes forbund og kvinderne," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, p. 349.

<sup>60</sup> Gulli Petrini, *Anna Bugge Wicksell: En Internationell Märkedskvinna*, p. 5.

<sup>61</sup> Fiona Paisley, "Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Education at the Permanent Mandates Commission."

life she devoted herself to the work as both delegate to the Assembly, as well as member of the PMC.

Anna Bugge-Wicksell was born on November 17<sup>th</sup>, 1862, on the farm called Ulrikshøi close to Ekersund in Western Norway, to the priestly family, Bugge. As a child as well as an adult, Bugge-Wicksell would spend a lot of time in the company of her grandfathers, whom were also brothers. Especially on her father's side, her grandfather was an educated man, said to have perked her interest in languages.<sup>62</sup> She would later go on to study both Latin and French after finishing *examen artium*.<sup>63</sup> The family had at this point moved from Ekersund to Kristiania due to her father's promotion in 1875. Bugge-Wicksell quickly found her way to the women's rights movement in Kristiania, becoming a part of the foundation of the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights (Norsk Kvinnesaksforening) which would be the first women's organisation in Norway. This was due to her position as secretary in the women's student society named "Skuld", a society which heavily influenced the establishment of NKF. She would also be one of the ten women to establish the Norwegian Association for Women Suffrage (Kvinnestemmerettsforeningen) just a year after the establishment of NKF, due to discontent with how NKF didn't prioritise women suffrage on their official program. The establishment of this organisation influenced a grand meeting of 600 women, whom decided that promoting women's right to vote to the whole country was an essential part of the women's right movement.<sup>64</sup> Bugge-Wicksell was to be promoting the cause in Vestfold, a task she took most seriously, holding many lectures throughout the area. It is said that she experienced great support due to her well-structured and clear lectures.<sup>65</sup> In 1888 Bugge-Wicksell, to the great surprise of many, at merely 25 years old, was chosen as chairman of NKF, and wanted less focus on the sexual morale question that had threatened to split up the organisation, in favour of focusing on economic liberty for women. She was clear in her message that women wanted to contribute, wanted to work and participate in society. She wanted to lift women up from being the poorer sex, to have economic liberty, but also noted that building schools and funding organisations such as NKF

---

<sup>62</sup> Gulli Petrini, *Anna Bugge Wicksell: En Internationell Märkedskvinna*, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> *Examen artium* was the entrance exam that qualified for university in Denmark and Norway at the time.

<sup>64</sup> Gulli Petrini, *Anna Bugge Wicksell: En Internationell Märkedskvinna*, p. 5.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid*, p. 7.

required money that they didn't have.<sup>66</sup> However, she did not hold the position as chairman of NKF for long, becoming too occupied due to her occupation as teacher.

Despite being an avid women's rights activist, it isn't without reason that Gulli Petrini in her book on Anna Bugge-Wicksell, describes the work for peace as her most passionate cause, actively participating in conferences and the public debate since the 1880s.<sup>67</sup> It was through her peace-engagement that she met with the controversial and radical Swedish economist Knut Wicksell, during a peace-conference in Copenhagen, and became quite smitten with one another. Liv Wicksell Nordqvist describes in her book that Bugge-Wicksell fell not only for his beautiful face and bold words, but especially so his intellect and ideas. Things about him connected to her being.<sup>68</sup> They met again in Paris 1889, deciding to live together there for some time and eventually arranging an equal partnership union between them, as Knut Wicksell called it a 'free marriage' where she would not be put underneath him. This 'free marriage' sparked large controversy and created a split between Bugge-Wicksell and her family for 7 years. As the couple decided to move to Sweden, she was not granted citizenship until she finished her law degree in 1911 and could "support herself". They were also met with scepticism in Sweden from other academics at the university of Lund where she finished her law studies.

Bugge-Wicksell attended her first peace conference in 1889, few years before she published her first essay on the peace movements.<sup>69</sup> Despite the women's rights movement being the most central for her activism during these days, she had shown an interest in the work for peace at an early age. This interest continued into the 1900s where she ended up playing a central part in the creation what would later become the Swedish Association for the League of Nations. She had continuously been a board member of the organisation, where she together with several members labelled radical liberals. There were several women working actively at the board, most whom belonged to the former a former women's organisation dedicated to peace work. She worked as a secretary for the Swedish organisation, and spent much time initiating negotiations, speaking on behalf of its cause

---

<sup>66</sup> Anna Bugge, "De praktiske reformer," *Nylænde Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, p. 369-372.

<sup>67</sup> Gulli Petrini, *Anna Bugge Wicksell: En Internationell Märkedskvinna*, p. 38.

<sup>68</sup> Liv Wicksell Nordqvist, *En kvinna före sin tid*, p. 11

<sup>69</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 151.



through a series of lectures, and travelling as representative for the organisation to international conventions.<sup>70</sup>

After a life of activism and academic work, Bugge-Wicksell's last years were spent working for the League of Nations, especially after becoming a part of the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1921. She had for some years prior to the establishment of the League worked as a part of a Swedish committee dedicated to the League and was already deeply invested in its cause.<sup>71</sup> From 1920 and till the very end of her life in 1928, Bugge-Wicksell travelled many times a year to Geneva, England and other destinations to work, an experience very few women at the time, especially those whom were married, had.

## Kristine Bonnevie

Kristine Bonnevie became the sole woman substitute to the Norwegian delegation in 1920. This decision did to a certain extent disappoint the Norwegian women's organisations at the time, as they'd hoped one of the three main delegates would be a woman. However, Bonnevie being a substitute did not hinder her participation in the first League Assembly, which to many none the less was a huge step for women. Different from the female delegates from Denmark and Norway, Bonnevie is not known for being an activist of any kind, even explicitly stating that she preferred to leave the job of activism and politics to others.<sup>72</sup> To her, zoology, her profession was her drive and passion.

Kristine Elisabeth Heuch Bonnevie, commonly only referred to with her first and last name, grew up as a part of the official Bonnevie-family, where many in addition to Bonnevie herself would come to make themselves known to the public.<sup>73</sup> The privilege of money and status gave her access to education which was not readily available for common girls at the time and is a recurring theme for many women which would later receive higher education and pave way for feminism. The Bonnevie family was generally conservative, especially due to her father being politically active for the conservative party and praising traditional values with emphasis on

---

<sup>70</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 152.

<sup>71</sup> Gulli Petrini, *Anna Bugge Wicksell, En internationell märkeskvinna*, p. 197.

<sup>72</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie: et forskerliv*, p. 203.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

gender norms, which was indeed very common for its time. Thus, he was not at all fond of the idea that Kristine Bonnevie wanted to get a higher education, and eventually go on to study at the university, after passing her entrance exam.<sup>74</sup> This, however, did not stop her as she in the words of Inger Nordal and Dag O. Hessen, usually: "...got her way."<sup>75</sup> The times were also changing as an increasing amount of young women pursued higher education. Perhaps was it also somewhat easier for her to get education, as her 8 years older sister, Honoria Bjercknes, had studied to become a teacher of sciences, and had in some ways already warmed up the rest of the family to the idea. Bonnevie had a very close relationship with her sister and they would continuously exchange letters until Bjercknes' death in 1928. Following her sister's death, Bonnevie would be crucial to the widower William Bjercknes, continuing to take care of both him and his children

She became a part of the small group of women that entered the academic world of science, which in Norway had been more liberal with regards to accepting the work of women than humanities and thus up to 80% of the academic women chose this field of study.<sup>76</sup> Wanting to pursue a career in academia, she refrained from marriage and settling down with children, allegedly later advising other women to do the same if they wanted such a career.<sup>77</sup> A clear majority of 72% of the Norwegian women in academia at the time never married.<sup>78</sup>

Bonnevie would first choose to study medicine, as was the most common due to the possibilities of later work at the time. However, as a part of her studies she encountered zoology, and an inspiring Johan Hjort whom had made success as a marine zoologist and oceanographer. Welcomed with open arms by zoology professors both in Norway and later abroad, Bonnevie had found her passion in studying what creates life itself and its extraordinary power, as she puts it herself.<sup>79</sup> She would later be hired by zoologist G. O. Sars as a conservator, whom had already known her for some time and recognised her eagerness and intellect. They were surely not disappointed as Bonnevie published several texts and even a book at an impressive speed, also diving into studies of parasitic snails, which became the basis for the PhD she later applied for

---

<sup>74</sup> Inger Nordal; Dag O. Hessen, "Kristine Bonnevie – Norges første kvinnelige professor," p. 150.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., p. 151.

<sup>77</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie, et forskerliv*, p. 46.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>79</sup> Inger Nordal; Dag O. Hessen, "Kristine Bonnevie – Norges første kvinnelige professor," p. 150.

and passed. Perhaps the biggest moment of her career, at least symbolically, would come a few years later as her old allies and friends Sars and Robert Collett nominated her for a position at the Norwegian Science Academy, which she attained by a clear majority of the voters that submitted their vote. Never before had a woman been a part of the Science Academy, which naturally made this big news as Bonnevie became Norway's first female professor. The news didn't get out until a few months later, and Bonnevie has been informed that it will hit the newspapers soon. To celebrate she brought her two young nephews to watch a play to the local theatre, and together with the audience they hear as one of the elderly German professor present shares the news with great concern, while the audience and her nephews rise from their seats in surprise.

Throughout her life as a scientist she primarily visited three fields of zoology, which were marine biology, cell biology as well as genetics. She actively participated in the international discourse at a time where biology was heavily debated as well as changing. There was a line between the scientists which whom used the empirics as an anchor to their theories, as well as the ones basing their findings on ideas of race-hygiene and genetics on more subjective and idealistic principles. Due to Kristine's important position as leader of the University of Oslo's heredity institute, she did arguably make sure that the debate especially at the institute but also to some degree internationally would focus on the empirical evidence and scientific profs, rather than racist ideas.<sup>80</sup>

Bonnevie was an active woman and impressively versatile, even involving herself in the local politics, lecturing the public on the views of the Free-minded Liberal Party.<sup>81</sup> Besides that she had also been to some extent mobilising for peace during WWI, having frequent contact with especially women in Sweden and Denmark, as well as joined the Norwegian Association for the League of Nations.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps that was why it was only right for her specifically to become a part of the Norwegian Association for the League of Nations, which would later become the basis for the League delegates. The chairman of the association, Fridtjof Nansen, was a given delegate to the League, but to this day there are still few sources that can tell much about why other five were chosen, besides a general interest in international relations and the League.<sup>83</sup> There had

---

<sup>80</sup> Ibid., p. 156.

<sup>81</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie, et forskerliv*, p. 189-193.

<sup>82</sup> Irene Johanssen, *Kvinnor mot krig: aktioner och nätverk för fred 1914–1940*, p. 80-85.

<sup>83</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 5.

been increasing pressure from Norwegian Women's associations in favour of sending a woman to Geneva, which could have impacted the decision to make Bonnevie a part of the delegation. However, seeing as she was already a on top of the lists for the position it's hard to tell if their involvement was crucial. In 1920 she travelled to Geneva as a substitute-representative for Nansen, two years later becoming the vice-chairman for the fifth committee to the assembly and a long-time member of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>84</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie, et forskerliv*, p. 212-213.

## Chapter 3: Henni Forchhammer

This chapter aims to look at the first of the three women delegates to speak before the Assembly: the Danish technical adviser, later substitute-delegate, Henni Forchhammer. She was a feminist at heart and was set on using her position as representative to the League to speak up on behalf of women and children in need. She remained as delegate to the League for the longest amount of time out of the three women, continuing all the way until 1937, despite being the oldest. This thesis, however, will only cover her first few years at the League of Nations.

### Part 1: women and children in the Near East

Despite being an advocate for rights to women and children across the whole world, no people would remain as important to Forchhammer as the Armenians. Throughout her first years at the League, it was the question on how to contribute to the women and children in these areas, which would take up the most of her time.

### The Genocide of Armenian and other minorities in the Ottoman Empire's final years

In recent times, what used to be called the deportations of primarily Armenian, but also Greek, Syrian and other minorities by the Ottoman Empire around WWI, is today referred to by most scholars as the Armenian Genocide.<sup>85</sup> It was during the empire's final years, from 1915 and even as far as into the 1920s, that authorities lead by Turkish nationalists issued an order to eliminate all Armenian and other Christian minorities from its territories in Asia Minor. This was during one of history's greatest humanitarian disasters, where an estimate of one fourth of the empire's total population died to disease, famine or as a result of state violence.<sup>86</sup> The Turkish deportation plan came following to several years of conflict within the Ottoman Empire due to nationalists

---

<sup>85</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927," p. 1315.

<sup>86</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927," p. 1316.

ideas being on the rise in the empire where multiple minorities had been for many years living side-by-side in relative peace despite different religions, language and culture. The plan was to eliminate the male population and deport the women, children and elderly. This would come to cause mass killings of people of all ages as the deportations of especially Armenians, whom did not have their own land to return to such as many of the Greek minority, were forced to march through the desert while being starved, in many cases raped, violated, left for dead and put into concentration camps by Ottoman military.<sup>87</sup>

The rise of Turkish nationalism, which had seen considerable growth towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was arguably fuelled by a wish to counter the rising European imperialism at the time.<sup>88</sup> However, the multiple attempts to strengthen the empire prior to 1914 had seemed futile for the Ottoman authorities, and the empire had lost much of its former glory.<sup>89</sup> The radicalisation of the government reached its peak in 1913 as a coup staged by a faction of the ruling party would eventually send the Ottoman Empire into WWI on the German side. This decision can be seen as an attempt by the Ottoman authorities to preserve its state, territory and influence, and potentially benefit from the war. Simultaneously, the elimination of the Christian minorities inhabiting Anatolia was set in motion. This idea, that would come to cause the genocide of an estimate of at least one million Armenians alone, followed the nationalist views of the Turkish authorities which included making the Ottoman Empire a homogenous Islamic state.<sup>90</sup> The aftermath of this genocide saw thousands of people without a home. Some ended up as refugees to the US, others were settled closer to or in the Near East. Many had fled to Syria, and most of the people surviving the deadly journey through the Syrian desert, ended up in refugee camps surrounding the larger cities such as Aleppo.<sup>91</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Nazan Maksudyan, "The Armenian Genocide and Survival Narratives of Children," p. 2-3.

<sup>88</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927," p. 1315.

<sup>89</sup> Lerna Ekmekcioglu, "Republic of Paradox: The League of Nations Minority Protection Regime and The New Turkey's Step-Citizens," p. 661.

<sup>90</sup> Edita Gzoyan, "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria," p. 84.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 85.

## The League's approach to the Genocide

The League of Nations was involved in multiple humanitarian project with regards to the genocide survivors, especially in the early 1920s.<sup>92</sup> What was first presented as a political issue in 1920, would quickly be replaced by an almost purely humanitarian approach in 1921.<sup>93</sup> Their work would be focusing mostly on locating and liberating survivors from Turkish and other Islamic institutions, providing Nansen passports to Armenian and other refugees and relocate them to areas such as the newly founded Soviet Armenia, and to communities established in both Syria and Lebanon. Henni Forchhammer's involvement with the refugees in the Near East was directed solemnly on the work for women and children survivors, many of whom had been taken from their homes and later sold to brothels, orphanages, various households including harems, and other institutions.<sup>94</sup> Usually stripped of their identities, women and children had been given new names and new birth certificates, and many girls ended up as young wives to men in larger and wealthier households. Young boys would usually be set to do manual labour on farms. The tradition of placing refugees in new homes, usually through state officials, was in fact seen even during the 1800s, by how the Ottoman elite would take in Muslim refugees as "foster children". This could be one explanation as to why the practice was carried out paradoxically to the fact that it was the same population the authorities had strived to expel from the empire. Other reasons such as claiming the women and children as prizes after the Genocide and later war, could be another reason to why this practice became so widespread. It is this selling of women and children, and forced assimilation into primarily Turkish, but also Kurdish and other Muslim homes, which western humanitarians, such as Forchhammer herself, and by extension the League of Nations would commonly refer to as slavery.<sup>96</sup>

As previously mentioned, Henni Forchhammer's humanitarian work during her early years in the League of Nations was primarily focused on the work for women and children. This included her

---

<sup>92</sup> Edita Gzoyan, "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria," p. 84.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>94</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Henni Forchhammer's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 546-547.

<sup>95</sup> Keith David Watenpaugh, "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927," p. 1324.

<sup>96</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Henni Forchhammer's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 546-547.

involvement in the international work for the oppression of trafficking in women and children, while also specifically focusing on the women and children victims of deportation in the Near East, primarily in Constantinople and Aleppo. While women delegates to the League were few the first years since the League's establishment, Forchhammer was both very verbal and passionately involved, making sure that women's voices were heard.

## Henni Forchhammer's involvement in the work for women and children in the Near East

It is written in Hanne Rimmen Nielsen's chapter on Henni Forchhammer in the book *Handlingens kvinder* that it was perhaps a surprise even to Forchhammer herself the central position she would have when addressing the general question of trafficking in women and children after years of seeing nearly no actions taken against it.<sup>97</sup> Forchhammer also made note to put particular emphasis on the women and children deportees in the Near East, an issue which at the time of the First Assembly in 1920 was addressed together with the general topic of trafficking. The victims of the genocide and their situation in the Near East, was by no means new territory to Forchhammer, whom had educated herself well on the topic before her departure from Denmark and had spent all her time when arriving in Geneva increasing her insight. She would use her connections to international women's organisations to converse with women like Rachel Crowdy, Chief of the Department of Opium Traffic and Social Issues Section of the League of Nations, and Emily Balch, secretary of WILPF.<sup>98</sup> According to Forchhammer herself, few of the other delegates seemed to have much knowledge regarding the deportations, and she had felt both honoured and responsible for being the primary spokesperson on behalf of the women and children in question.<sup>99</sup> The decision on making her speak before the Assembly had been sudden, and left her with little time to properly prepare. Despite this she went before the hundreds of present delegates to deliver a powerful message met with loud applause.

---

<sup>97</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Rapporteur M. Jonnesco's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 545 and Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, *Handlingens Kvinder*, p. 180.

<sup>98</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, *Handlingens Kvinder*, p. 180.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 181.



Her speech to the Assembly showed her appreciation for the League's interest in putting trafficking in women and children on the agenda. Furthermore, she addressed the second part of the resolution regarding the Armenian genocide survivors and urged the resolutions presented by the Romanian rapporteur, Professor Thomas Jonnesco, to be even stronger than what he had proposed.<sup>100</sup> She had hoped the resolutions would commit the League to some special action on behalf of the deported women and children in the Near East. By this statement she was most likely referring to the League's promise to create a Commission of Enquiry, consisting of three members residing in the areas whom were best qualified to report on the current situation in the Near East, as too little of an actual action on behalf of the women and children survivors. Lack of diplomatic relations with the states concerned made it hard for the League to establish an actual Commission and did instead ally themselves with residents working in the affected areas. Called a Commission, but consisting of merely three people, (Karen Jeppe in Aleppo, W. A. Kennedy and Emma Cushman in Constantinople were the ones later nominated for these positions) it could seem like a relatively small initiative by the League.<sup>101</sup> However, the Commission would within the next few years go on to be responsible for two refuge homes for women and children in Constantinople and Aleppo.

Forchhammer's urgency on the matter becomes clear in the next part of her speech of 1920, where she paints a picture of the living conditions of many of the women and children victims to the Turkish lead genocide, to the Assembly. She refers to them as captives in the Turkish population, listing at least 20,000 Armenians, which we later know is a large underestimate, as living under conditions she describes as worse than slavery.<sup>102</sup><sup>103</sup> At the same time Forchhammer acknowledges the League's lack of concrete information on the Armenians, and looks forward to the reports that would be submitted by the Committee of Enquiry.

Forchhammer's main input on the resolution presented by the Romanian delegate is a wish to expand the areas in question when addressing the issue of deported women and children in the Near East to include surrounding areas as well. Her hope is to add women and children of

---

<sup>100</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Henni Forchhammer's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 546-547.

<sup>101</sup> Edita Gzoyan, "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria," p. 88.

<sup>102</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Henni Forchhammer's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 546-547.

<sup>103</sup> Edita Gzoyan, "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria," p. 88, refers to a number of 73,350 Armenian women and children remaining in Turkish homes and institutions.

multiple nationalities such as Persian, to the work that would be carried out by the Commission of Enquiry, a wish that the Persian delegate Emir Zoka-Ed-Dowleh would also stress the urgency and importance of. He describes the situation of the population of Persian Azerbaidjan and Persian Kurdistan as even more severe than the one in Asia Minor, Armenia and Greece, and explains how the traffic in women and children are at least as horrible in these areas. To a certain degree this plea was followed through during the first Assembly, by the Romanian rapporteur agreeing to adding the words “and the adjoining territories,” to the resolution, and the president agreeing.<sup>104</sup> The reality, however, was that no separate Commission of Enquiry was sent to these areas, and the later Neutral Home and Rescue Home that would be funded by the League and operated by the Commission, would only be placed in Constantinople and Aleppo.

It is important to note that during the time of the First Assembly, the League was a lot less involved in the situation of Armenian refugees, compared especially to Russian refugees.<sup>105</sup> This trend would continue throughout the second Assembly as well, and it would take the League till 1923 to start negotiations and become really involved with the issue of Armenian refugees. Thus, the establishment of the Neutral Houses and the Commission of Enquiry in 1920-1921 can be seen as early steps, and perhaps even as the very beginning of taking humanitarian action in this direction by the League, despite being a somewhat small contribution to the matter as a whole. The League’s involvement in the Near East for Christian refugees would become a very important piece in the organisation’s idea of becoming an agent of change for peace, and the work for the women and children in these areas, which would collectively come to be called the Rescue Movement, became an especially important part of the League’s humanitarian vision.<sup>106</sup>

By the next Assembly in 1921, the issue of women and children in the Near East had officially become a part of the discussions of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, instead of the Second Committee which had handled the topic in 1920.<sup>107</sup> Now a discussion of the Fifth Committee the matter of Women and Children in the Near East would be only addressed in a humanitarian light, as was even stated by the Chairman in 1922, due to the potential controversy of becoming

---

<sup>104</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, The President of the First Assembly presenting the new resolution, 1920, p. 547-548.

<sup>105</sup> Edita Gzoyan, “The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria,” p. 89.

<sup>106</sup> Keith David Watenpugh, “The League of Nations’ Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920-1927,” p. 1318.

<sup>107</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Meetings of the Fifth Committee, 1921, p. 369.

political.<sup>108</sup> The issue of Women and children in the Near East would usually follow the topic of trafficking, but was addressed as a separate issue from this year onwards, also during the plenary meetings of the Assembly. The primary object of the Committee during the 1921-discussions was to help the establishment of the Neutral House through the newly appointed Commission of Enquiry, represented by the member from Constantinople, M. Kennedy. The discussion was started by a long, moving speech made by Mlle. Vacaresco from Romania, which seemed to resonate with many of the other delegates present. Following delegates such as Mlle. Bonnevie representing Norway, pointed to the fact that a lot of information on the women and children was still lacking, which was why it was so important to support the creation of a Neutral House in Constantinople. Through a Neutral House the Commission could carry out their work of gathering information and offer housing to displaced women and children. Forchhammer on her part stressed the need for more Neutral Houses in other centres, where it could be permitted, due to the urgency of the matter. She ended up concluding the results of their discussion into a proposal of recommendations by the Fifth Committee.<sup>109</sup> The recommendations included the appointment of a High Commissioner of the League of Nations which would be recognised or notified by the states affected by the matter as well as France, Great Britain and Italy, the establishment of a Mixed Board which would work under the Commissioner of the League for the reclamation of women and children, having the Neutral House in Constantinople be placed under direct management and supervision of the Commission of Enquiry, and finally that further Neutral Houses may be opened in other places as circumstances permit. It was pointed out after Forchhammer's proposal that humanitarian workers in Syria was already working on the opening of another Neutral House, and how especially religious organisations was already hard at work in the affected areas, which was why it was essential for the League to cooperate with the charities already being carried out by other organisations in the areas.<sup>110</sup> The proposal by Forchhammer was unanimously adopted by the Fifth Committee, with the extra note on cooperation with charities as pointed out by M. Hanotaux. The resolutions would on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921, by the appeal of Mlle. Forchhammer as well as speeches from the Romanian, Greek and French delegates, be unanimously adopted by the general Assembly as well.<sup>111</sup>

---

<sup>108</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Meetings of the Fifth Committee, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1922, p. 32.

<sup>109</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the First Assembly, Meetings of the Fifth Committee, 1921, p. 366.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., p. 367-368.

<sup>111</sup> Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921.

## Henni Forchhammer's close cooperation with the 'homes'

Within the next Assembly the Rescue Home of Aleppo, which was under supervision of Karen Jeppe, had been finalised through the already established charities led by the newly appointed commissioner in Aleppo and was considered into the League of Nations funding to the Commission of Enquiry. Forchhammer had been very positive to Karen Jeppe from the start, perhaps especially so since they were both Danish, and she spent much time during the meetings of the Fifth Committee in September 1922, complimenting Jeppe's work in Syria. She was happy that Jeppe could now offer women and children protection and assistance through the Home, in addition to the important work being carried out by M. Kennedy and Miss Cushman in Constantinople. On the basis of this she asked the Fifth Committee for a sum of £1,500 to be given to the Commission of Enquiry, so that their work could continue in these areas.<sup>112</sup> Forchhammer's motions were adopted unanimously by the Committee and later also during the Assembly, securing some of the continued funding of the Rescue Home.<sup>113</sup> In Forchhammer's letters are also evidence for the fact that she feared the League would stop its support of the Rescue Home of Aleppo during this time, and had spent a great amount of her time and energy in Geneva lobbying for Karen Jeppe's work in Syria.<sup>114</sup>

The idea of finding one person to act as Chief Commissioner had been abandoned by 1922. Instead, the League of Nation's Council requested the Commission itself to proceed with the work of reclaiming women and children, an authority which was confirmed by the Third Assembly.<sup>115</sup> The three Commissioners were already acting under the auspices of the League, and their results through the Homes seemed much satisfactory to the League. By 1923, M. Kennedy reported that 78 children were residing in the Neutral Home of Constantinople, while over 300 children were assisted. He claimed that children were offered help regardless of race or religion, though there was no secret that western humanitarian action at the time was rooted in Christianity, and that the matter of religion had been most central to the initiatives taken by the

---

<sup>112</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Sixth Meeting of the Fifth Committee, September 14<sup>th</sup>, 1922, p. 32-33.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid.

<sup>114</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebreve fra Genève 1920-37." <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>

<sup>115</sup> Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

League to primarily help the Christian minority in or around Anatolia.<sup>116</sup> Pamphlets titled “The Liberation of non-Mohammedan Women and Children in Turkey” had been circulating amongst the League of Nations members since the organisation’s beginning in 1920, and many of the charities connected to the Neutral Homes were Christian.<sup>117</sup> Kennedy further explained that few women resided in the Constantinople Home, but about 400 had been offered help to emigrate to places such as the US or to be reunited with family. He never went into detail about how the scattered Armenian women and children were located in the first place, but it was known that the Commissioners and their staff used negotiation, bribery, kidnapping and lobbying to get in touch with the Christian minority, and to perform the work they saw as liberating them. In many cases Armenian women and children had already assimilated or gotten such strong ties to Turkish, Kurdish or even Bedouin communities that they either couldn’t or didn’t want to leave.<sup>118</sup> Kennedy does, however, make sure to mention that local Turkish women have become interested in the cause and has started helping the staff at the Constantinople Home.<sup>119</sup> The report on this information was submitted to the Assembly on behalf of the Fifth Committee by Henni Forchhammer in September, 1923, after having been appointed rapporteur on the behalf of Women and Children in the Near East, a position she maintained till 1924, when it was decided that an Englishwoman would have better chances of negotiating with the French government<sup>120</sup>. She stressed in her report that the work for the protection of women and children in the Near East was well begun, but far from finished, listing that Jeppe estimated around 30,000 Armenian women and children scattered throughout the area.<sup>121</sup> Thus, the necessary funding for the Commission was crucial for their continued work, which Forchhammer categorised as humanitarian work of a high order. Together with Karen Jeppe whom had travelled from Aleppo to Geneva in hopes of renewing the support agreements by the league, and by lobbying especially to the other women present at the Assembly in 1923, as well as being supported by important figures such as Professor Murray representing South Africa, the League unanimously renewed

---

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Edita Gzoyan, “Women Survivors of the Armenian Genocide: Liberation and Relief at the Aleppo Rescue Home,” p. 18.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>119</sup> Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

<sup>120</sup> Hanne Rimmén Nielsen, “I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebrev fra Genève 1920-37,” <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>121</sup> Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

the support for the neutral homes.<sup>122</sup> It is through Forchhammer's own letters written on her several days long journeys to Geneva, that she tells about the private meetings between the women delegates. In 1923, when Karen Jeppe had been present at the Assembly, she had spoken to the women delegates during one of these exclusive meetings and used harsher language which further illustrated the grave situation of the Armenian women and children, moving many of the women delegates to be particularly invested.<sup>123</sup> During a year which larger political issues such as the Greek-Italian conflict had been the main issue during the League conversations, Forchhammer described having waited agonising hours to finally force the topic of women and children in the Near East upon the League's Assembly. To Forchhammer's disappointment, the topic was barely discussed by the Assembly, and the resolution of money awarded the Commission of Enquiry by the League was only slightly more than half of the amount from the year before, from 135,000 fcs. To 70,000 fcs.<sup>124</sup> This marked a gradual decay in the urgency of the matter on women and children in the Near East, despite the efforts of many delegates to the Assembly, where women in particular had been very supporting. In Forchhammer's report from 1924, she writes that over 1,300 children and about 1,000 women had been helped in various ways irrespective of nationality or creed in Constantinople, while the Rescue Home in Aleppo had helped more than 600<sup>125</sup>. Forchhammer's report the year before, together with extensive lobbying from several delegates had ended up funding the Commission of Enquiry 75,000 fcs. which was even slightly more than the sum from 1923, and she hoped to see this support continued in 1925.<sup>126</sup> In her report on women and children in the Near East she made sure to highlight the good sides of all parties connected to the operations in Constantinople and Aleppo. It had arguably become more common for delegates of the League to use a more neutral language when discussing religion, instead of only the very blatantly Christian favouring tone, and she made sure to talk well of both Muslims and Christians with regards to the neutral homes. She even went as far as saying the homes had been important to the reconciliation between people of the different faiths within the Arab population, which was one of the higher aims of the League.<sup>127</sup> Still, the League's interest in the case continued to lessen, while other charities such as

---

<sup>122</sup> Hanne Rimmen Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebrev fra Genève 1920-37," <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Henni Forchhammer, 1924.

<sup>125</sup> Report Submitted to the Fifth Committee, M. Maurice Sarraut, 1924.

<sup>126</sup> Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Henni Forchhammer, 1924.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid.

American Women's Hospitals, the Christian Science Relief of America, the British "Save the Children" Fund, and more continued to greatly support the humanitarian work in the areas, while the work of the French and Syrian authorities had also influenced the situation greatly in Aleppo.<sup>128</sup> The financial support to the Commission of Enquiry continued in 1925, but both Karen Jeppe's report of a decrease in the amount of deportees arriving at her home, as well as a lack of interest by the Assembly marked 1926 as the final year for the League's involvement in the case for women and children in the Near East. In the end, the Fifth Committee decided to have the funding continue for one last year, before the League would withdraw its involvement. Karen Jeppe made a final appearance before the Assembly in 1926, where she yet again spoke about the situation of the Armenians in Syria, a speech Forchhammer described as being less tactical than earlier and too focused on the idea of liberating the Christians from the Muslims.<sup>129</sup> In 1927, Henni Forchhammer served as rapporteur on the case one last time during the meetings of the Fifth Committee. Her report shows to Karen Jeppe's gratitude to the League and their continuous support of the Rescue Home the last few years, while she hoped other donors would continue to support the operation.<sup>130</sup> In the annual report of the League Nations in 1928, Karen Jeppe continues to write about the conditions of Armenian refugee children and women in Aleppo, listing a total of 1700 people being helped by the home since 1921.

## Part 2: trafficking in women and children

Part two looks at Forchhammer's involvement in the League's work for women and children in trafficking. Rodríguez García argues that the League was an important actor in framing the recognition of the issue in the Interwar period, producing pioneer studies and contributing to work which would be transferred to the United Nations after WWII.<sup>131</sup> Forchhammer was eager to address the problem throughout her years as League delegate, despite the topic being somewhat overshadowed by her strong involvement on the situation of the women and children in the Near East during the first years of the League. This was generally a topic in which gained

---

<sup>128</sup> Report Submitted to the Fifth Committee, M. Maurice Sarraut, 1924.

<sup>129</sup> Henni Forchhammer, Rejsebrev nr. 2, 1926.

<sup>130</sup> Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee by Henni Forchhammer, September 12<sup>th</sup>, 1927.

<sup>131</sup> Magaly Rodríguez García, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women," p. 128.

much attraction from women delegates, whom would have experience with the topic from their time in women's organisations. The issues regarding the legalisation of brothels and the treatment of women prostitutes had already been important issues to the women's organisations for several years. It has since been criticised that much of the debate eventually ended up with too much of an abolitionist focus, which aimed to punish the men for tarnishing women's purity.

## Trafficking in women and children in the early 1900s

Addressing the issue of trafficking in women and children, which would become the League's preferred synonym to what up till that point was usually referred to as the 'white slave trade,' became an increasingly weighted issue in the early 1900s. The definition was used for women whom were abducted or displaced and forced into prostitution, and following the First World War, the definition would come to include the deported women as seen in the Near East during the first Assembly. By the second Assembly, however, the two topics would be addressed separately, most likely due to the different approaches the League had to the general question of trafficking and the newly established initiative particularly focused on the Armenian women and children. While the work for the suppression of trafficking in women and children would mostly be focusing on recommending governments to adhere or ratify the new convention of 1921, the humanitarian operation in the Near East would become a completely separate initiative.

The term 'white slave trade' can be traced back to a comparison to black slave trade, which was abolished around the same time that white slave traffic became more known. The trade was not particularly widespread in the late 1800s, though the League of Nations and other inquiries would during the late 1920s account for several hundred traders in metropolitans such as Hamburg, Berlin and London, as well as Eastern Europe.<sup>132</sup> It is no doubt that the trade had increased substantially after the war, especially because crime in general had become more international with the rise of technology and international relations.<sup>133</sup> The movement to combat the trade, however, can be traced back to the 1870s, and did gain quite some attention towards the end of the century, especially in England where the subject of English women being brought against

---

<sup>132</sup> Kristiina Kangaspunta, "A Short History of Trafficking in Persons," <http://f3magazine.unicri.it/?p=281>.

<sup>133</sup> Paul Knepper, "International Criminals. The League of Nations, the traffic in women and the press," p. 401.



their will to brothels on the continent, became especially widespread.<sup>134</sup> This initiated the movement of organisations such as The National Vigilance Association, which would initiate the establishment of the International Bureau for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic. The movement inspired several conventions, most notably in 2004 and 2010 with the task to highlight different sides to the traffic such as the legal aspect as well as the migration of people. The result of the latter was that 13 countries signed the International Convention for the Suppression of the White Slave Trade, a convention which would lay the foundations for the later convention defined by the League of Nations. Throughout the process of gaining more international attention, the issue of trafficking had been a central topic for women's organisations especially due to its close relation to prostitution and the legal situation of brothels.<sup>135</sup>

## Henni Forchhammer's involvement in the work for women and children in trafficking

During the first Assembly in 1920 the topic on the matter of trafficking in women and children focused primarily on the making of a questionnaire to send to all governments on behalf of the League.<sup>136</sup> The questionnaire would ask the governments what legislative measure they had taken to combat the traffic and what measures they were proposing to take in the future, as a means to prepare for the upcoming International Conference that would be held the following summer.<sup>137</sup> In all, 34 states were present at the conference, which opened in Geneva on 30<sup>th</sup> of June.<sup>138</sup> The result of the conference was a draft convention based on the ones from 1904 and 1910 as well as the inputs from the questionnaires, and a Permanent Commission entrusted with informing the Council on all questions relevant to the traffic. The conference saw a larger female initiative than was common in international conferences, something that was especially noted by the league in its monthly summary issue, with several countries sending women representatives. Among them was Henni Forchhammer, whom was elected vice-president during the conference and the sole

---

<sup>134</sup> Magaly Rodriguez Garcia, "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women," p. 98.

<sup>135</sup> Hanne Rimmén Nielsen, "I Folkeforbundets tjeneste – Henni Forchhammers rejsebrev fra Genève 1920-37," <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

<sup>136</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Rapporteur M. Jonnesco's speech to the Assembly, 1920, p. 545.

<sup>137</sup> Henni Forchhammer's Statement to the Fifth Committee regarding Conference on Traffic in Women and Children, 1921. See attachment I.

<sup>138</sup> Monthly Summaries of the League, 1921, July 1<sup>st</sup>.

delegate to represent Denmark. Women's organisations, on the other hand, referred to the amount of women present as unsatisfactory.<sup>139</sup> In addition, the organisations present at the conference did not receive official status, which further gave less credit to the delegates representing various women's organisations which had been involved in the issue of trafficking for years. Despite this, the women societies made sure to present their knowledge and demands to the other delegates, seizing one of the rare opportunities to be considered in an international conference, and as stated by the "Woman's Leader and the Common Cause" issue of July 15<sup>th</sup> 1921: "...the influence upon it[the conference] of women and their special organisations, which is for the first time officially coming into play."<sup>140</sup>

During the following Assembly to the League of Nations, on September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921, Forchhammer was responsible for presenting a statement regarding the conference.<sup>141</sup> She put emphasis on the important of addressing trafficking as an international issue, and how it could only be battled through the cooperation of states. After presenting a brief summary of the history of the battle for the suppression of the trafficking, Forchhammer framed the primary resolutions made by the conference. Collected in what was named the 'Final Act', signed by the Government delegates, the conference had worked on making changes and improvements to the already existing international instruments, resulting in a new draft convention. Considering this, she encouraged the Assembly to take the necessary steps for making the convention binding to the various states. She finished her speech by saying that the traffic, which by some thought to be dead and at the very least lessened by passports and other restrictions caused by the war, was far from over and that many signs indicates that it is growing and expanding. Thus, acting quickly and doing something about the situation was just the more important.

Forchhammer's statement to the Assembly regarding the Conference and the confirmation of the Final Act had been thoroughly debated in the meetings of the Fifth Committee. One of the central issues of the Final Act was the set age of consent, which was adjusted from 20 years of age to 21. Considering that multiple countries, such as India, had only recently heightened the age from 12 to 16, meaning that the set age of consent was considerably lower, further adjustments would be

---

<sup>139</sup> Woman's Leader and the Common Cause, Volume XIII, Issue 24, "The Traffic in Women and Children: Women's Part in the Conference."

<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Statement by Miss Henni Forchhammer. September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

impossible to adhere by at the time.<sup>142</sup> Despite these reservations, the first resolution proposed by Forchhammer was unanimously carried, holding the committee responsible for recommending the Assembly to confirm the Final Act. It was the second recommendation, however, which would stir a bigger debate within the Fifth Committee. The second resolution would urge the Fifth Committee to recommend that immediate steps should be taken to draw up a new complete Convention based on the Final Act, and to adopt the new Convention before the present Assembly. The discourse was started by a comment made by the French delegate M. Hennessy whom thought it would be too hasty to make and present the Convention just yet. He wished the various governments would first study the recommendations of the Final Act further, before they concluded the Convention. Forchhammer was the first to respond to this comment and, followed by the British delegate Arthur James Balfour and the Romanian delegate H el ene Vacaresco, was highly critical to the French delegate's wish to further extend the making of the Convention. She referred to the Convention of 1910, which had been signed as soon as it was drawn up, and how the current Convention already had taken into consideration the wishes of the various governments through the questionnaires and the delegates.<sup>143</sup> Hanotaux on his side argued back that it would in fact be far too threatening and extensive to demand governments to adopt a convention drafted by the League, comparing the notion to holding a pistol to the head of the General Assembly. Forchhammer's response to this, after several other delegates had either agreed to Hanotaux' comments or argued against them, was that it had already been a year since the Assembly decided to use the questionnaires which would be more than enough time for the governments to through the questionnaires secure a common understanding between the governments, with a view to future united action. She referred to the fact that during the Assembly of 1920 it had been decided that the Convention would both have the competence and power define a new Convention, making it wrong to now doubt the decision which had been made a year prior. Hanotaux on the other hand stood his ground and eventually ended up putting his view up for a vote, where he wanted the question referred to the First Committee for further evaluation. The proposal failed with 8 in favour and 17 against, while the resolution presented by Henni Forchhammer and slightly adjusted by Professor Murray of South Africa was passed by the Fifth Committee. This secured the adoption of the new Convention which would be open for

---

<sup>142</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Meetings of the Fifth Committee, 1921, p. 356.

<sup>143</sup> Ibid., p. 357.

a Protocol of Signature at the current Assembly, after being adopted with 17 delegates in favour and 5 against at the plenary meetings of the Assembly.<sup>144</sup>

Other changes included in the Final Act was the abolishment of the term white slave traffic to also include coloured women, a new focus to also look at the protection of women and children seeking employment in another country or travelling on emigrant ships, as well as addressing 'Child Traffic' as a special clause. In total, eighteen states had signed or would come to sign the new draft Convention within a few months after the Conference.

During the following plenary meetings of the Assembly, the resolutions were presented by Professor Gilbert Murray on behalf of the Fifth Committee, with both Bonnevie and Forchhammer adding reasons for why they hoped the Assembly would support the resolution, and see as many delegates as possible sign it. Bonnevie on her part addressed many of the objections that had been made to the making of the Convention, such as it being too short of a time for enough governments to agree and that the making of the Convention had been unusual. At these concerns Bonnevie replies that 34 governments were present at the Conference earlier that summer, as well as telling the Assembly that the League marked a new way of operating, and that the same system as had been used to draw up a convention 10 years ago, would naturally see large changes as the meetings of the League allowed for further cooperation outside separate Conferences. Forchhammer in her speech put particular emphasis on the importance of seeing children addressed as a separate issue in the convention, something in which had not been seen before in the earlier conventions of 1910 and 1904. She also told the Assembly that despite many countries not being affected by the trade, it was their responsibility as representatives for humanity to do their utmost to stop the trade, and that she therefore begged the other delegates to support the resolution. In the end, the resolutions were adopted, with 30 votes in favour, none against and 21 absent.

## Conclusion

It is not without reason that one can say Forchhammer was an important factor in making sure the League's financial support of the rescue homes in Constantinople and Aleppo continued for as

---

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 363.

long as it did. Together with Karen Jeppe, she would be most eager to present the case to the League in hope for a renewal of support. Despite the League's eventual refusal of further funding the initiatives, Jeppe could tell of many lives whom had been saved due to the help of the League. Similarly, one could say that Forchhammer played a central role in putting trafficking in women and children onto the League's agenda, particularly so during the first few years, despite the fact that other delegates and members would be equally invested.

## Chapter 4: Anna Bugge-Wicksell

The following chapter will look closer at Anna Bugge-Wicksell's work at the League of Nations, with an emphasis on her contributions to the Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC), which would arguably take up most of her time at the League. As she was appointed member of the Commission, Bugge-Wicksell had already been substitute-delegate to the Assembly twice and had been invested in the case for women and children. Going into the Commission she vowed to bring the same emphasis into the discussions on the mandated areas.

### The Permanent Mandates Commission

At the fall of the Ottoman empire and Germany after WWI, its territories and former colonies fell under the decision of the Allied powers. Much due to Woodrow Wilson's pressure these areas did not fall under immediate annexation, but were decided to be put in 'trust', which after much discourse still ended up being divided between the now called mandatory powers which consisted of Britain, France, Belgium, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and Japan. This decision was based on the same idea as was found in the covenant of the League, Article 22, which said that 'advanced nations' would need to administer 'peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world', making sure that these territories could not stand on their own, and that it was the burden of the Allied powers and by extension the League to govern them.<sup>145</sup> The mandatory powers, though having full governing authority, did not receive complete freedom over the territories and were expected to report on their administration to the League's Permanent Mandates Commission (PMC), tasked with reviewing the reports. There were to exist a trust between the two parties, and cooperation was crucial. The agreement, however, did not include any points on how long the mandatory power would last, neither did it address the potential of mandatory powers not adhering to the trust of the agreement, called the 'sacred trust'.<sup>146</sup> Rappard described the agreement as something of a compromise between those that wanted complete annexation over the areas and the ones which sought to have them placed under international control. Despite this, the agreement was fragile, especially following the

---

<sup>145</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, p. 1.

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

withdrawal of the US from the League of Nations, and the constant conflict between the mandatory powers and the Permanent Commission would be a particular hinderance for the League and its new Commission, seeing as the mandatory powers overall had quite little interest in the deal of the oversight apparatus. Thus became the League's PMC where once a year representatives of the mandatory powers and members of the Commission met at Geneva where the mandatory representative was to respond to questions about the territories, as well as discuss and forward potential complaints or even petitions forwarded by habitants as well as outsiders. The Commission presented itself as being the listener and overseer of the mandated areas' people, however was consisting of a majority of former colonial officials and had decided on a list of rules for how the petitions had to be presented to the PMC which in practice resulted in a severe lack of actual possibility for the inhabitants to appeal.<sup>147</sup>

## Bugge-Wicksell's appointment

Susan Pedersen concludes that most of the women working the League became a part of the less politically-sensitive sections and lower ranks of the Secretariat.<sup>148</sup> There was only ever recorded one woman being the leader of a section, and she never had the luxury of both the salaries that the men could earn themselves, nor the title as director. Instead, most women were appointed to general positions on the various committees and commissions under the League, almost exclusively used as advisors on non-political matters. The strength of many women members came through their bonds to the larger women's organisations and other humanitarian organisations, where they used the tool of lobbying and connections to put matters on the international agenda of the League. As seen in the chapter on Henni Forchhammer, she would constantly spend her time in Geneva lobbying for the women and children in the Near East, events which would naturally be left out of most of the Geneva Archives' sources as the lobbying happened outside the meetings of the Assembly. The League was the source of great opportunities according to the women's organisations at the time, and although they often found themselves disappointed in the decisions of the organisation, they continued to see it as a crucial

---

<sup>147</sup> Susan Pedersen, "Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations," p. 191.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid., p. 190.

platform for voicing issues regarding women and children across the world. Despite this, women activists offered relatively little attention to the control of the mandated areas after the establishment of the PMC, according to Pedersen.<sup>149</sup> This didn't mean, however, that there was no pressure on the League's Council during the creation of the Permanent Mandates Commission. As is seen today, there was a divide amongst feminists at the time concerning the appointment of women delegates to the League. On one hand there were women like the Scottish suffragist Mary Reid Anderson whom stated "...that no woman should be appointed to any office simply because she was a woman, but, on the other hand, no woman should be excluded from the office for the same reason."<sup>150</sup> Perhaps a strong opposite to this view was the majority of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, whom believed strongly that there was an absolute necessity for a Conference of Women to annually be summoned to consider woman questions.<sup>151</sup> This was because no one could be as qualified to represent women as women themselves. With this thought in mind, the international women's organisations lobbied widely to have a woman be appointed as a part of the commission. Organisations such as the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship representing a list of British Suffragette organisations, the International Council of Women, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance and the Council for the Representation of Women in the League of Nations, to mention just a few of a long list of organisations, wrote to the League's Council and surmounted to a definite pressure on the organisation to allow a woman into the PMC.<sup>152</sup> The latter two of these organisations would at the Council's promise of there being "at least one woman" among the possible members of the Commission, present lists to the League of candidates they deemed the most fit for the position.<sup>153</sup> The list of candidates for the commission included both Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Henni Forchhamer, in addition to four other women from Finland, Denmark, Uruguay and the Netherlands.<sup>154</sup>

It was not without reason that the four mandatory powers would not under any circumstances choose a woman for a position of the PMC, seeing as they needed to be as strongly represented as possible with regards to their own positions as colonial powers. That included appointing

---

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Extract From Report of Conference of Women's Societies held at Caxton Hall, September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919.

<sup>151</sup> VIIIth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Geneva, 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1920.

<sup>152</sup> Letter to the League by the British Dominion Women Citizens Union, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

<sup>153</sup> Letter to the Council of the League of Nations from the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1921.

<sup>154</sup> Ibid.



prominent politicians and former colonial governors. This would extend also to the majority of the other countries represented, despite them not being colonial powers, as they primarily appointed men with imperial experience, with relevant international connections and strong ties to their own governments.<sup>155</sup> As it turned out, the only ‘willing’ country to send a woman delegate to the PMC was Sweden, which according to Susan Pedersen was synonym with ‘wasting’ its slot on the Mandate Commission with the token woman.<sup>156</sup> Not seeing too much potential for colonial influence in the first place, it could be argued that the Scandinavian states had little to ‘lose’ by sending a woman. On the contrary, sending the ‘token woman’ could appear as a strategical symbolic move to appear liberal for their time. Throughout its time the PMC would continue to have a woman on the board as had been decided by the council, and which by agreement now would also be Scandinavian. When making the list of possible candidates for the Commission, it is likely that IWSA was aware of this likely outcome, with the proposal of four Nordic women, and their influence on the League’s decision of appointing Bugge-Wicksell specifically is hard to ignore.

As a result of the pressure from women’s organisations, Anna Bugge-Wicksell was asked to represent Scandinavia in 1921, a position she humbly accepted, despite being very hesitant. In letters exchanged between Bugge-Wicksell and both of Eric Drummond and Rappard she continuously expressed great worry about her qualifications regarding colonial matters, even going as far as asking if there was not a woman more knowledgeable in these areas which would be of more help to the PMC. This doubt Bugge-Wicksell had in her own expertise was continued throughout her first years, even going as far as writing that she hoped her first reports were not just “mere stupidity and ignorance”, but at least of some use to the Commission.<sup>157</sup> She also wrote that it was alarming that all other members of the PMC had some colonial expertise but her, though as it turned out some of the other members throughout the Commissions existence would also refrain from the usual formula of the imperialists’ club such as the Spanish liberal professor Leopoldo Palacios as well as the open-minded Japanese member Kunio Yanagita.<sup>158</sup> There was, however, definite challenges about being a pioneer woman working on colonial

---

<sup>155</sup> Susan Pedersen, “Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations,” p. 193 and Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, p. 2.

<sup>156</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, p. 61.

<sup>157</sup> Letter from Anna Bugge-Wicksell to William E. Rappard, June 29<sup>th</sup> 1923, and Letter From William E. Rappard to Anna Bugge-Wicksell, Geneva, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

<sup>158</sup> Susan Pedersen, *The Guardians: The League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*, p. 62.

matters, especially from Scandinavia, where experience with colonial governance was scarce. Bugge-Wicksell wished for the League to find a woman more qualified than she was, however she had been highlighted as a primary candidate by women's organisations at the time, showing that she was by her peers in fact deemed as one of the most suited for the position. This tells us something about the lack of colonial expertise women generally had in the early 1920s. Women had very little overall political experience, only recently being welcomed in to some parts of the political spheres, let alone when it came to the masculine dominated stage of imperial politics. Despite Bugge-Wicksell deeming herself underqualified, she was in every way a qualified woman to be sent to the League of Nations due to her history with peace work, academic career and international experience. In addition to this she had relatively little experience with the topic of 'education' which would become her primary focus as a member of the PMC but made sense due to her own educational history. While Bugge-Wicksell was concerned about her expertise, women's organisations seemed more worried about the appointment of just one single woman, saying that she would be overworked being the only member that could fully represent women and children on the board. It was without question that the position weighted on Bugge-Wicksell both as a great honour and responsibility, knowing that despite her not being any sort of leader of the Commission, she represented much more than just herself and had the hopes of a list of women's organisations on her shoulders. She had little experience, but never did that stop her from involving herself in the case for women and children in the mandated areas and despite the views that she served a mere symbolic role and was the mandatory 'token woman', I find little evidence that this ever hindered her in her responsibilities as a member.

From the moment she accepted the position, Bugge-Wicksell started reading up on the subject Rappard in her letters that she was reading books such as *L'Afrique et la Paix de Versailles*, and Samné's large book on Syria. It makes sense then, that her view of the imperial system would match the general consensus of the league, commending the paternalistic ideals of Commissioners like Sir Frederick Lugard and William E. Rappard. She was also most impressed by the segregated schools that in America. On one hand she would always put emphasis on giving education to both girls and boys in the colonies, following a more liberal view of including girls, while on the other hand being a loyal supporter of the colonial powers, according to Pedersen.<sup>159</sup> Still, during her later visit to the US, some of these ideas might've been

---

<sup>159</sup> Note by Mrs. Wicksell on Education Policy, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924, see Attachment II.

challenged after meeting black communities, as pointed out by Christina Carlsson Wetterberg.<sup>160</sup> It's unclear how much Bugge-Wicksell's mindset changed regarding the native population of the colonies during her later visit to the US, however she would show a great interest in the impressive structures and ways of education which she was shown amongst black communities in the US. Comparing the administration in the communities to rural areas in Sweden, she claimed the communities in the US showed themselves more impressive than the ones she saw in her homeland. Despite this, Bugge-Wicksell maintained a strong belief in the 'white man's burden,' which she had related to since before her appointment to the PMC, emphasising on the women and children. Seen by the words used by Bugge-Wicksell as she accepted the position as member of the PMC, she wrote in her letter to Eric Drummond that she believed "...the position of women and children in the mandatory areas to be particularly helpless."<sup>161</sup> It was especially in this regard that the presence of a woman on the committee would be of particular value, where she promised to make it her special business to care for and speak for that part of the native population.

## The face of the PMC at the Assembly

In 1922, as only member of the PMC present at the League's Assembly, Bugge-Wicksell had taken it upon herself to speak on one of what was and would be many controversies surrounding the Commission. Initially referring to the situation of labour on the Island of Nauru, which had been centre for much criticism, Bugge-Wicksell ended up giving a speech where she wanted to present the Commission and its mission to the other delegates.<sup>162</sup> The basis of the conflict was the allegations of lack of complete information on the conditions of the labourers on Nauru from the Australian representative, which had resulted in a falling out between him and the PMC. Bugge-Wicksell was indirectly tasked to calm the discourse. Being both a representative of Sweden to the Assembly, but also the sole representative for the PMC in 1922 weighted on her as a huge responsibility. She was less involved in the labour-related work of the Commission, however had to be its face in front of other nations and, as well as the press afterwards. In her speech she told

---

<sup>160</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 250-255.

<sup>161</sup> Letter from Anna Wicksell to Eric Drummond, 22<sup>nd</sup> March, 1921, Nomination de Mme Bugge-Wicksell.

<sup>162</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Anna Bugge-Wicksell's Speech to the Assembly, 1922, p. 144.

the Assembly that the Commission as well as the mandatory system in general was quite a new system, a system which they had yet any guarantee would be successful. However, they had a keen vision of its responsibility, "...to safeguard the interest of men and women whom are not capable of defending themselves, who have very little knowledge of our ways and methods, and who very often do not understand those ways and methods, even when they are unquestionably meant for their benefit." By this she made a promise to the Assembly that they would assess the possible loopholes where abuse could be permitted. In addition to this she addressed the possibility of them offending or wounding other governments, which she assured was not ever the objective of the Commission. She asked the delegates to have patience with the Commission, as they were still treading upon new ground, which she assumed the governments could also relate to. The Commission would do its best, and it had yet to be seen whether this would be enough. Thus, she hoped for the governments' cooperation in accomplishing at least some of what they wish. Outside of the public meeting in Geneva Bugge-Wicksell would repeat word by word parts of her speech to an eager press ready to receive the PMCs response to the controversies.<sup>163</sup>

The year before, Bugge-Wicksell had also spoken on the behalf of the PMC to the Assembly, handling the controversy around the lateness of the establishment of the mandate and the PMC, as well as addressing the cooperation between the French, English and Belgian governments. Her speech served to support the role of the PMC and with it the finalising of the mandates system.<sup>164</sup>

## Anna Bugge-Wicksell and William Rappard

Bugge-Wicksell was involved with several discussions on the organisation of the PMC, such as the timing of the PMC meetings where she was quite persistent on having two meetings a year instead of one, and left a trail of letters exchanged between herself and William E. Rappard, Director of the Mandates Commission, throughout her years as member. Despite Rappard showing interest and appreciation for Bugge-Wicksell's proposals especially through his letters to her, her wish to meet twice a year in the Commission seemed hard to change. A primary

---

<sup>163</sup> Fiona Paisley, "Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts," p. 223.

<sup>164</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Anna Bugge-Wicksell's Speech to the Assembly, 1921, p. 345.

reason for this was that many didn't have time to make the long journey to Geneva more than once a year. She did, however, receive approval from the Commission with her request of moving the meetings of the PMC from mid-summer to May, in order for them to have the reports of the PMC ready by the Assembly in September. Her close communication with the PMC director continued throughout the years of her involvement, and they would often discuss her reports and agree on possible changes. Usually her reports would be translated and shared within the sphere of interest, though occasionally against Bugge-Wicksell's wish, her reports would only be in French, without an English version. Surely her wish to have a report as accessible as possible made her push for an English translation, though in 1923 Rappard expressed the unnecessary of this, claiming that the same was also the case for the report of Mr. van Rees' memorandum.<sup>165</sup> Explaining that the translators were overworked, thus he would only make them translate texts of absolute necessity he wanted leave the French report as it was. At the same time William Rappard expressed gratitude for Bugge-Wicksell's opinions and decided in 1923 to ask one of her recommended candidates for a junior position at the mandates section.<sup>166</sup>

## Education in the mandated territories

Bugge-Wicksell's position as a single woman on the Commission was particularly pointed out during the opening of the PMC, where the President of the Council said that her presence and opinion would be especially valuable with regards to women in the colonies.<sup>167</sup> Still, it was the subject of education which would uptake most of Bugge-Wicksell's involvement, and she became the official rapporteur on the topic. Later, one of the founders of WILPF and fellow delegate to the League, Helena Swanwick, talked about this delegation of work on the League, where she found it disappointing that women were always expected to know all there was about 'women's issues,' whereas delegates like Bugge-Wicksell, whom had much expertise on other matters such as law, had little former experience with the topic of education. Upon confronting

---

<sup>165</sup> Letter from William E. Rappard to Madam Bugge-Wicksell, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid.

<sup>167</sup> Minutes of the PMC, First Session, October 4<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 2-3.

the League with these expectations both Bugge-Wicksell and Swanwick were frowned upon by other delegates, even experiencing a fellow woman referring to them as “man-women.”<sup>168</sup>

During the first meetings of 1921, Bugge-Wicksell made sure to put education on the agenda and frame its importance to the Commission, which became apparent as Rappard presented the preliminary draft questionnaire which would be used as a base for the PMCs coming discussions and gathering of information. Bugge-Wicksell had been active in the process of making this draft questionnaire, one that replaced the original plan for discussing mandates individually for a new approach comparing and structurally examining the same issues in the different mandated areas.<sup>169</sup> It was at the very end of the discussion regarding this questionnaire that Bugge-Wicksell requested that education would not just be included in their discussions as a parenthesis, but as its own discussion within general clauses, reasoning that: “education was of such vital importance for the moral and material welfare of the natives...” This proposal was met with no objections, leaving the subject of education as its own topic of discussion during the PMCs later meetings.<sup>170</sup> She would on the basis of this spend her following years as a member of the Commission both educating the other members on the situation of education in the mandated areas, being the receiver of reports from the areas, and also questioning and voicing her opinions to representatives of the colonial powers about the situation of the schools. An example of the latter could be seen in how she already the year after asked the French member to elaborate on the schools of French Cameroon, where she thought to have gotten insufficient information.<sup>171</sup> She showed great interest in increasing the amount of education available to the inhabitants of the colonies, especially with regards to girls, but also urged the education of adults with initiatives such as evening schools.<sup>172</sup> When asking the French member about the situation of evening schools in French Cameroon he responded that evening schools were non-existent, and that it was already a good step forward that there was any schools at all. However, he was most positive to her latter input on hygiene instruction, above all else in girls’ schools. This situation would often be mirrored in later conversations, where the representatives for the mandated areas would acknowledge some of Bugge-Wicksell’s recommendations, while trying to undermine the

---

<sup>168</sup> Fiona Paisley, “Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts,” p. 223.

<sup>169</sup> Susan Pedersen, “Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations,” p. 193.

<sup>170</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Fifth Meeting, October 6<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 27.

<sup>171</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Fourth Meeting, July 20<sup>th</sup>, 1923, p. 28.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 29.

importance for more by claiming the current situation to be good enough. Bugge-Wicksell would in the same manner request that steps were made with regards to education to other delegates of colonial powers, such as to the Belgian member the same year. Describing the situation in Ruanda as ‘bad’ and hoping to find more plans for offering public education to the inhabitants in next year’s report, Bugge-Wicksell did not hesitate to criticise the Belgian administration. Her message to the delegate was well received as he promised to take the necessary steps.<sup>173</sup> Bugge-Wicksell’s gathered information would be summarised in annual reports on behalf of the PMC, distributed internationally and reaching a vast number of readers. In 1924 she expressed a wish to increase the budget spent by the British government in Tanganyika, finding the small amount unsatisfactory. In response to this British member Ormsby-Gore responded that the British Government wanted to conduct further studies on the success of the new schools adapted to the native population before it would be beneficial to grant a larger sum to the project.<sup>174</sup> This highlights a problem with much of Bugge-Wicksell’s involvement, which was that the PMC operated at arm’s length.<sup>175</sup> This was due to the mandated powers’ control which denied much of the direct contact between the areas and the PMC. As seen in the conversations between Bugge-Wicksell and the French and Belgian delegate, she had to go through the colonial governments for them to evaluate the propositions and decide their means of action, which as pointed out by both Fiona Paisley and Susan Pedersen, was for the most part minimal with regards to education.<sup>176</sup> The same lack of interest in education could be extended to the rest of the Commission, which seemed view education as a result of a social reform, which could happen only after the matters of economic nature had been dealt with first.

Despite both the PMC and the colonial powers often undermining the role of education, education had at the time, particularly by the more progressive, become one of the most important means to educate the native population of the colonies to reach the ‘promise’ of modern colonies. It was, however, a fine line, as education could also be the root of community empowerment and ideas of self-governing, which needed to be avoided.<sup>177</sup> A former trend in this direction had ended up in a massive growth in the Indian Nationalist movement in the latter part

---

<sup>173</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Sixteenth Meeting, July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1923, p. 88.

<sup>174</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Thirteenth Meeting, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1925, p. 104.

<sup>175</sup> Fiona Paisley, “Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts,” p. 220.

<sup>176</sup> Fiona Paisley, “Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts,” p. 231 and Susan Pedersen, “Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations.”

<sup>177</sup> Fiona Paisley, “Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts,” p. 225.

of the 1800s, and served as a worst-case scenario for the Colonial Powers, something they sought to avoid at all costs.<sup>178</sup> Thus, the hierarchy would always overshadow the possibility of academic education in the colonies, and the education would on one hand promise to bring people out of the villages and into the modern societies, though paradoxically end up being just another means to keep them there. This idea was repeated throughout Bugge-Wicksell's finished a summary report on education policy from 1924, on behalf of the PMC, where she described what she called "a new departure" in the educational policy of several of the administrations of mandated territory in East and West Africa.<sup>179</sup> This new departure would focus more on practical education to the native population by teaching the boys and girls better methods for their daily work, in arenas such as agriculture, husbandry, the running of the local industries, arts and craft, hygiene and more. Central to this education was the so called "character-training" and discipline, which Bugge-Wicksell described as a keystone to education that should be endorsed around the world. Her report pointed to Frederick Lugard's book *The Dual Mandate and Education in Africa* written by a commission from The Phelps-Stokes fund, as the source of this approach to education. Her report mixed the view of having to lift the local population from their more primitive state in villages to a more 'healthy and wealthy' state, while also attempting to front the idea of giving education to girls as well as boys. She explained that the plan to change education and for it to be more accessible could not be fully developed overnight, but pointed to areas such as Tanganyika (today's Tanzania) and Nigeria as areas where education had become government policy and had been put into action. Her report concluded on a resolution on behalf of the PMC, which noted with satisfaction the trend in the African territories, and asked the Council to call the attention of all the mandatory powers, possessing B. and C. mandates, to use this approach to education.<sup>180</sup> There was indeed a grave lack of schools in many of the mandated areas, especially the former German colonies as the German teachers had left with the authorities and what had been of public education had disappeared. What used to be school buildings were now used for other means, and the idea of creating schools inspired by the European formula was scratched for the 'new departure' which Bugge-Wicksell saw as better fit for the native population, with examples such as the British Gold Coast where this approach to education had shown most beneficial for the economy.<sup>181</sup> Her reports were agreed upon by the PMC and forwarded to the

---

<sup>178</sup> Clive Whitehead, "The Concept of British Education Policy in the Colonies 1850-1960," p. 165.

<sup>179</sup> Note by Mrs. Wicksell on Education Policy, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924, p. 1.

<sup>180</sup> Note by Mrs. Wicksell on Education Policy, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924, p. 5.

<sup>181</sup> G. Petrini: *Anne Bugge Wicksell – en internationell märkeskvinna*, p. 50.



League's Council where her suggestions would be approved and recommended.<sup>182</sup> Although her ideas were by no means new, and was shared by most of her colleagues and colonial politicians, the reports were shared and added her name would be well known in the scholarly discourse on education.

## Women and children in the mandated areas

Perhaps one of Anna Bugge-Wicksell's greatest challenges was to use her position to point to the more controversial parts of the colonial mandate. As most feminists at the time, the topic of women and children was close to her heart, and in a letter exchange to Rappard in 1923, she proposed to bring up the topic at their next meeting. It is unlikely that Bugge-Wicksell was unaware of the accusations of sexual abuse by the male settlers in the colonies, and it was especially topics like these which would be highly controversial to bring up before the Commission.<sup>183</sup> The sexual exploitation of women were indeed one of the least mentioned issues by the PMC, only referred to occasionally by the League through reports such as one seen in 1921 by the International Conference on Traffic in Women and Children.<sup>184</sup> However, the women-related issues she would mention before the rest of the Commission was the more general reoccurring subject of trafficking. In 1923 she enquired about the situation in British Togoland, asking why the convention on women and children in trafficking from 1921 had not been brought into application in the British mandated areas of West Africa. She referred to the British Parliament's answer to the same question earlier, where had referred to the convention as unnecessary.<sup>185</sup> Bugge-Wicksell expressed understanding for the difficulty in applying the convention on the area in question, however pointed to the issue of prostitution which had been presented in a recent report as something that had to be taken up and dealt with very seriously. She proposed increased education on the subject as a means to combat the trend, with emphasis on the dangers of sexually transmitted diseases. The British member seemed to pay little mind to both trafficking and prostitution, claiming that there were no records of regular prostitution and

---

<sup>182</sup> Fiona Paisley, "Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts," p. 230.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 225.

<sup>184</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations Assembly, Annex 9: International Conference on Traffic in Women and Children, 1921, p. 434.

<sup>185</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Twenty-First Meeting, August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1923. p. 153.

trafficking in the Gold Coast. Lugard, however, pointed to severe restrictions of emigration imposed on women by the French authorities, which was due to a desire to check traffic in women. His comment came as a surprise to the other members, in particular the British, whom refused to have heard of any such traffic. Similarly, in a later meeting the same year, Bugge-Wicksell inquired about the safety of women and children whose husbands transferred away to do manual labour in New Guinea, in a discussion about population growth. At the idea of also endorsing women to participate in similar work, Bugge-Wicksell proposed to make it mandatory that men brought their families with them, fearing that a small number of women would struggle in male dominated field. She also questioned the protection for childbirth, the mortality rate and the rights of these women, which the Australian member would look into.

## Bugge-Wicksell's trip to the United States

It was especially after a trip to the United States in 1927 that Bugge-Wicksell found the American model for segregated schools to be something akin to enlightenment on the question of education. Her plan was to visit the Phelps-Stokes Fund schools in the southern states of the US, and although she was shown some of the most prestigious coloured schools, she was mostly impressed and inspired by the rural schools following the Jeanes School movement. A central element to this movement was that the teachers themselves would be from the communities. She advised against seeing the situation in America as the same as in Africa and endorsed adapting to the local situation, but still sought to implement similar ideas as seen in the US.<sup>186</sup> Common for the areas was that she wanted to promote the role of the local people in education, where they were essential to the process of modernisation that the native population themselves had teachers that could lead the way. In this programme she was also determined on the inclusion of female teachers, continuing her pressure for an increased number of female teachers in the colonies as seen from former meetings of the PMC.<sup>187</sup> She returned from her travels much inspired to create a better relationship between the colonialists and the native population, seeing this as the necessary method for the B and C mandates to one day be able to govern themselves.

---

<sup>186</sup> Some Coloured schools in the United States: Memorandum by Mrs Anna Wicksell, 1927.

<sup>187</sup> Minutes of the PMC, Fifth Meeting, October 25<sup>th</sup>, 1924, p. 38.

Much of her recommendations, however, from her visit to the US, was pushed aside by the PMC the year after her trip, following her death. Despite this she was undoubtedly highly respected by figures involvement in the movement for education, as seen by Thomas Jesse Jones', director of educational questions to the Phelps-Stokes Fund, writings of Bugge-Wicksell. From her visit to the United States he would describe her as a most impressive person, whose influence in the Mandates Commission was highly valuable, especially by those interested in Africa. She acquired many new supporters during her time in the States and it was particularly her sympathy for the native people of the colonies and her clear insight into the management of the colonies, particularly that of education, which made her opinions important for the future construction of schools and her cooperation with the education movement of particular interest.<sup>188</sup>

## Swedish delegate to the Assembly

It could perhaps be true that Bugge-Wicksell had more room to influence when addressing the Fifth Committee as Swedish representative than she had during the meetings of the PMC. On one hand the questions handled by the Fifth Committee was of the nature more expected of women to have knowledge of, on the other hand Bugge-Wicksell had been an active feminist for years and well involved with many topic high up on women organisations' agenda. She was, however, far from one of the most vocal women such as Henni Forchhammer, H el ene Vacaresco and Winifred Coombe-Tennant. She would sometimes speak on topics like trafficking and even the use of Esperanto, and to the Assembly she would be the representative responsible for conveying the word of the Swedish government with regards to the new convention on trafficking in women and children. Still, it seemed that most of her time at the League would be tied to her work for the PMC.

## Conclusion

In many ways one could say that Bugge-Wicksell was the one out of the three women to meet the biggest obstacles in her pursuit for increased education in the mandated areas. Differently from

---

<sup>188</sup> G. Petrini: *Anne Bugge Wicksell – en internationell m rkeskvinna*, p. 55.

both Forchhammer and Bonnevie, whom seemed to enter spaces more inviting to women, Bugge-Wicksell's involvement with imperial politics seemed to meet the most resistance. On one hand the relationship between the Mandated Powers and the PMC proved to be a great hindrance to the League, but being a woman attempting to confront mostly conservative and highly masculine faces of the Powers would undoubtedly face even more opposition. Even amongst the more liberal members of the PMC, there was a clear lack of interest in education. On the other hand, however, Bugge-Wicksell seemed to have contributed to a growing transnational interest in education across the world.

## Chapter 5: Kristine Bonnevie

This chapter will be focusing on the Norway's first female professor, as well as Norway's first female substitute-delegate to the Assembly. Bonnevie was a woman invested in her profession, and whom has been credited mostly for her work within biology in the latter years. This thesis, however, aims to take a closer look at Bonnevie's political participation and how she was able to influence the realm of international politics.

### Delegate to the League of Nations

Although acutely aware of her position as sole woman of the Norwegian delegation to the League of Nations Assembly in 1920, there was perhaps no woman as little interested in representing 'women at the League' as Kristine Bonnevie. An important symbolic message as it may have been, Bonnevie was a strong believer in being hired based on your personal suitability, not on your gender.<sup>189</sup> Not belonging to the movement of feminist activists in the same manner as her Nordic colleagues Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Henni Forchhamer, Bonnevie had devoted her life to biology above all else. The matters of the women's movement were a second priority, despite the involvement for increased possibilities for education for women and positions in various women's committees, as seen when she asked the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation to show more openness on the thought of recruiting women for its Sub-Committees.<sup>190</sup> The title before her name, as well as other prominent professors such as Marie Curie-Sklodowska, would rarely show her academic profession, and unlike many of her male delegates whom were titled 'Dr' or professor, the use of 'Mlle' served as a constant reminder of her being a woman before anything else.<sup>191192</sup> Together with the rest of the Norwegian delegation, Bonnevie travelled as a

---

<sup>189</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie: et forskerliv*, p. 205.

<sup>190</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Seventh Session, Geneva, First Meeting, July 26th, 1926, p. 33-34 and Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie: et forskerliv*, p. 203.

<sup>191</sup> This is seen constantly throughout the minutes of the League, such as from the 'Fifth Committee, Minutes of the League of Nations Assembly, List of Members of the Fifth Committee, 1922, p.6.', in the international committee on intellectual co-operation 'Minutes of the League of Nations Assembly, Nomination of the following eleven persons of the Committee' and as seen in the lists of delegates to the Assembly throughout all of the years she was a delegate.

<sup>192</sup> Only twice was Kristine Bonnevie referred to as Dr which was by the Fifth Committee and the Assembly in 1921, however the same list of members the year after would not use this title. Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, List of Members of Committee No. V, 1921, p. 327.

substitute-delegate for Fridtjof Nansen south to Geneva in 1920. Sadly, there are little to no known records as to why these representatives in particular were chosen for the position, except for the fact that they had all to different degrees been invested in the establishment of the League.<sup>193</sup> The discussions on this case in the Norwegian parliament went behind closed doors, and although the lobbying and pressure from women's organisations in Norway had been noticeable, the same kind of battle for female representation as was recorded in Denmark never occurred in Norway. Bonnevie was a wanted representative by many women's organisations following her history as first female professor in Norway, but perhaps most so due to her past as board-member for the Norwegian Association for the League of Nations, (Den norske forening for Nationernes Liga) she was already a well-known name to the Norwegian parliament.<sup>194</sup> Interestingly enough, Bonnevie was the most reluctant of the three women on wanting to be a part of the League's Assembly due to her many other commitments, which ultimately led to her stepping back as delegate after five years.

Just as Anna Bugge-Wicksell's engagement in the League was split between her position in the Secretariat and Assembly, Bonnevie would few years after her first travel to the Geneva Assembly be appointed member of the League's International Committee for International Cooperation. She kept this position for ten years, considerably longer than her five years as delegate to the Assembly.<sup>195</sup>

## Member of the Assembly's Fifth Committee

As a delegate to the Assembly, one could infer that Bonnevie's role as woman was one of the most important factors to the work she was delegated. She quickly became a part of the Fifth Committee, like her other female colleagues, and despite her having a genuine interest in the topics of the Committee, as was pointed out by the Swedish press in 1923, it was definitely debatable whether this was the Committee she had the most interest in.<sup>196</sup> Within 1921 Kristine Bonnevie had become Norway's sole delegate to the Fifth Committee and substitute delegate to

---

<sup>193</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 633.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid., p. 634.

<sup>195</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie: et forskerliv*, p. 212.

<sup>196</sup> Svenska Socialdemokraten, "Sex märkliga kvinnors livsverk," September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

the Second Committee. She was the only female member of the Committee which was not titled substitute, and solemnly represented Norway, whereas the other female members Frochhammer and Vacaresco were considered substitutes and had male colleagues in the primary positions.<sup>197</sup> Together with Forchhammer, Bugge-Wicksell, Coombe-Tennant, Dale and Vacaresco she was one of six women the year after, and while the number of female representatives had increased only four women were considered primary members as they gathered to discuss the social and general questions which made up the work of the Fifth Committee. Bonnevie was even during the very first meeting in 1922 elected vice-chairman of the Committee, becoming the first woman with an official position at the Assembly. She was proposed by the Swiss delegate whom wanted to highlight her social competence as well as serving as a tribute to a lady member. Bonnevie was quick to point out that she deemed herself unqualified for such a post, right before the Cuban member nominated the Greek delegate A. F. Frangulis for vice-chairman, despite fully appreciating Bonnevie's high qualifications. He said that certain members of the Committee had already agreed on the Greek delegate, which one would think would sway the votes in his favour, however as they were counted Bonnevie won with a single vote to her Greek colleague.<sup>198</sup>

Serving as Norway's sole representative to the Fifth Committee, Bonnevie was responsible for updating the Committee on decisions made by the Norwegian government and how it was upholding recommendations by the League. In 1921 she informed the Committee as well as the Assembly that the Norwegian government had finally been able to become a party to the 1910 Convention on trafficking in women and children, and that she could with confidence say they were ready to sign and ratify the new Convention.<sup>199</sup> In her speech to the Assembly, where she offered the opening speech to the 23<sup>rd</sup> plenary meeting, she chose the moment to talk about the decision to look over the copies of the draft Convention sent to the various governments after the recent International Conference for the Suppression of the Traffic in Women and Children. She heavily criticised any European government which claimed they had gotten too little time to look over the contents of the Draft Convention, which had been received by the Norwegian government in August, about a month after they received the Final Act, giving them more than

---

<sup>197</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, List of Members of Committee No. V, 1921, p. 327.

<sup>198</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, First Meeting September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1922. p. 2.

<sup>199</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Twenty-Third Plenary Meeting, Mlle. Bonnevie's Speech to the Assembly, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 501.

sufficient time to look it over and confirm its contents and conformity to the Final Act.<sup>200</sup>

Ultimately, she saw no problem with the process of making the new Convention, pointing out that the League of Nations was a completely new arena for cooperation between states, one which also allowed for new ways to craft Conventions more efficiently. Thus, she supported the view of Gilbert A. Murray, Henni Forchhammer and others in opposition to the French delegate Gabriel Hanotaux on the matter of postponing the finalisation of the Convention. She hoped the recommendations by the Fifth Committee would be adopted by the Assembly, and the greatest possible numbers of delegations would be able to sign the new Convention before their departure from Geneva. As formerly mentioned in the chapter on Henni Forchhammer, the Convention was signed and ratified by a record high amount of governments, which steadily increased throughout the following years. She continued representing the voice of Norway on the Fifth Committee, as seen in 1923 where she was the one to convey the message that fellow Norwegian delegate Fridtjof Nansen was prepared to enter the position of rapporteur to the Committee for Refugee Questions, to which he was appointed during the very same meeting.<sup>201</sup>

Her approach to the issue of deported women and children in the Near East also stood out from that of Forchhammer and Vacaresco whom would usually speak up on the topic using strong adjectives to paint dramatic pictures of the situation and its victims. Bonnevie on the other hand would support their case by asking people of the Commission of Enquiry such as Kennedy to speak up on behalf of the Commission. She inquired about the costs of the homes, proposed that he took the word during a discussion and in this manner took a very different role in the discourse than the other female representatives whom usually chose to speak up themselves.<sup>202</sup> One could say Bonnevie chose a more indirect approach than the other women on many of the questions regarding women and children, urging others to take the word instead.

Other areas where Bonnevie participated was unsurprisingly the “co-ordination of intellectual work” which in 1921 was a topic discussed by the Fifth Committee. During these talks Bonnevie ended up recommending the establishment of a Sub-Committee to examine the recent report handed in on the subject of intellectual work. However, she was met with objections claiming

---

<sup>200</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Twenty-Third Plenary Meeting, Mlle. Bonnevie’s Speech to the Assembly, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 501.

<sup>201</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Sixth Meeting, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 367-369.

<sup>202</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, First Meeting, September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1923, p. 8-9.



that at the current time the lack of information would make it too hard for a Sub-Committee to properly examine the report and develop a new report based on their findings. Despite having the support of the Swedish delegate, Bonnevie ended up withdrawing her proposal. She later, however, made sure to include a stronger emphasis on female participation at the Committee proposing that the term ‘men and women’ should be included when referring to the work being done by the Fifth Committee, instead of merely stating ‘members.’<sup>203</sup>

From 1922 onwards, as the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation (CIC) was established, delegates used the Fifth Committee to inform the Assembly of the work and current situation of the CIC. As could be expected, Bonnevie was more active during these conversations than many of the Fifth Committee’s other topics, offering critiques, observations and clarifying discussions, such as during the meeting on the situation of intellectual work in Hungary following the war.<sup>204</sup> At a point the conversation strayed too far from the Hungarian delegates proposal, something Bonnevie was quick to point out, She was also particularly vocal during the discussions of Esperanto, which was also a recurring theme at the CIC, seeing little point in enforcing its use when other languages had already become more widespread. Using Norway as an example, she argued that adding yet another language without the benefit of cultural exchange to the curriculum would be pointless.

## The League of Nations and the traffic in opium

It was decided in the covenant of the League of Nations, article 23, that the League would be entrusted with the supervision of the Hague Convention the Traffic in Narcotics from 1912, where a total of 12 nations signed the Convention. Following up on its promise to serve as one of the primary organs for overseeing the fight against the traffic, the Advisory Commission on the Traffic in Opium was established, inviting states around the globe to ratify the Convention.<sup>205</sup> On this occasion the League also drew up a questionnaire to send to the different governments to collect information concerning the law on narcotics, the practical result of these measures, the

---

<sup>203</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Second Meeting, September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1921. p. 332-335.

<sup>204</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Sixth and Seventh Meeting, September 13<sup>th</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup>, 1923, p. 20-28.

<sup>205</sup> Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, Vol. II No. 2, 1922, p. 14.

production, consumption and the traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs. The League's Commission would use the answers to these questionnaires to give information and recommendations to the different governments on how to properly combat the rising issue of the illegal trade in drugs, by using the Hague Convention as a basis. While promoting the signing and ratification of the Convention, the League also promoted the so called 'system of certificates' which they claimed would help control the import and export of opium.<sup>206</sup> One of the issues of the Committee was the fine line where the helpful medicinal use of opium turned into an illegal trade, and it recognised that as well as being a most harmful drug it was also essential to health facilities. One of the League's greatest challenges, as pointed out by the medical journal *The Lancet* in 1922, that there was a severe lack of governments willing to ratify the Convention, but that even the ones agreeing to ratify it would in fact not give it legislative effect.<sup>207</sup>

## Bonnevie's involvement on the issue of traffic in opium

There is no doubt that the case which took up most of Bonnevie's time as member of the Fifth Committee was the battle against dangerous drugs, with emphasis on the growing opium issue. Already in 1921 she was elected as the only female member of the Sub-Committee on the topic of opium and other dangerous drugs during one of the meetings of the Fifth Committee.<sup>208</sup> She was particularly involved in the pressure for governments to sign and ratify the Opium Convention of 1912, the appointment of representatives for the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium, the usage of propaganda to lessen the use of drugs, as well as responses from governments to the questionnaire on dangerous drugs sent by the League of Nations. Thus, Bonnevie was quick to ask the rest of the Fifth Committee in 1921, during one of its very first meetings on the issue of opium, if any action had been taken towards securing that other non-League member nations would become part of the Advisory Committee, as it would be of interest to many of the nations concerned with the traffic.<sup>209</sup> The answer was that the United States had declined, and that Germany had agreed to cooperate with the League on the issue of opium on the

---

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> *The Lancet*, 1922, p. 1004.

<sup>208</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Fifth Meeting September 17<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

<sup>209</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Fourth Meeting September 15<sup>th</sup>, 1921, p. 344-345.

condition of being allowed a seat upon the Advisory Committee. Bonnevie argued strongly in favour of allowing this notion, seeing the important and central position of Germany as vital for the impact of the Advisory Committee. She saw it as highly regrettable that Germany had not yet been included as a member on the Advisory Committee. On this basis Bonnevie proposed that a passage would be inserted in the League's newest report on opium, emphasising the importance of ensuring active cooperation between all nations interested in the question, and by this extending a hand to Germany as well. She was especially supported by the South African delegate Murray, and her proposal was unanimously adopted.<sup>210</sup>

During later meetings, Bonnevie's participation would focus on question members like the representative of the kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on why the League had received no reply from his government on the invitation to send a representative to the Advisory Committee. To this question the delegate asked for understanding that they had, had difficulties replying to the League's questionnaire due to the situation following the war, which was also why a reply had not yet reached the League's Council. However, the delegate replied again to Bonnevie's question in the following meeting two days later, where he could happily confirm that his government was ready to send a representative to the next session of the Advisory Committee.<sup>211</sup>

On the topic of propaganda work with regards to the opium traffic, Bonnevie did at one point remind the Swiss delegate's during his continued effort for asking Persia and its neighbouring states to publish the propaganda pamphlets warning the inhabitants of the dangers of opium, that the question of propaganda work in fact had been referred to the League of Red Cross Societies by the Council.<sup>212</sup> One of the major discussions of the Fifth Committee was the question of Persia and Turkey in the discourse around opium, where the Persian delegate continuously denied the trade of opium in Persia, while other delegates would point out that an estimate of 30% more opium per annum was exported from Persia than from India.<sup>213</sup> Thus, the use of propaganda was a central part of the plan to stop some of the illegal trade, and many experts had wanted this propaganda to come directly from the League itself, instead of through the Red Cross Societies,

---

<sup>210</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Eight Meeting September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921. p. 372-376.

<sup>211</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Second Meeting September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1922.

<sup>212</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, First Meeting September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1922. p. 12-13.

<sup>213</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Second Meeting September 9<sup>th</sup>, 1922. p. 11.

according to the Swiss delegate. On the other hand Bonnevie was for the most part absent from the sometimes particularly heated discussions regarding China and India between delegate Vi Kyuin Wellington Koo and Shrinivasa Sastri, where the latter at one point claimed China was producing 80% of all opium, in which Wellington Koo explained the impact of the Opium War and its detrimental consequences for the Chinese people, and how other nations put too much blame on China for the spread of the drug. To this debate Bonnevie would present just a few proposals on rephrasing and questioning words of the recommendations agreed upon by the Committee, maintaining a mostly neutral position between the two nations.

It was perhaps due to her esteemed competence and interest in the case, that Bonnevie was elected rapporteur on the issue of opium trafficking before the Fifth Assembly in 1922.<sup>214</sup> Already in 1921 she had presented the first report of the Fifth Committee on the question of opium to the Assembly and in 1923 she had been responsible for making a statement on the work of the Advisory Committee to the Fifth Committee, as well as making a preliminary and draft report to present to the Committee.<sup>215</sup> As with was custom in most of the Committee's meetings, the contents of Bonnevie's statement were thoroughly discussed by the members of the Committee and Bonnevie found herself defending her choice of wording to the Persian delegate, before the statement was approved by the Committee.<sup>216</sup> On the basis of her report as well as the following statement to the Committee, Bonnevie drew up four draft resolutions to the members of the Fifth Committee, as the meetings on the dangerous drugs neared its end.<sup>217</sup> Her resolutions expressed its regret to see several member nations of the League not yet ratifying or enforcing the Convention of 1912. Likewise the Assembly took note of seeing few countries adopting the system of certificates, and wished to welcome the Advisory Committee to report specially to the following Assembly on the current situation, as well as measures which would be taken with regards to the countries which refrained from following the recommendations by the League. As seen by one of the former meetings of the Fifth Committee, Bonnevie highly valued the expertise of the Advisory Committee, advising the other members of the Fifth Committee against using terminology and phrasing which had not been used by the Advisory Committee, as they were not experts on opium like the members of the Advisory Committee. The fourth and last of

---

<sup>214</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Twelfth Meeting, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923. p. 52.

<sup>215</sup> Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Rapporteur: Mlle. Bonnevie, 1923, see Attachment III.

<sup>216</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Ninth Meeting, September 18<sup>th</sup>, 1923. p. 41.

<sup>217</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Minutes of the Fifth Committee, Twelfth Meeting, September 21<sup>st</sup>, 1923. p. 49-52.

Bonnevie's resolutions welcomed the cooperation with the United States on the opium issue. Her resolutions were strongly supported by the British member, Dame Edith Lyttelton, whom said that the resolution was of the utmost importance. They were, however, altered slightly following a discussion on her choice of words. Where Bonnevie agreed to change some, she however refused to change her choice of using "have failed to" when addressing the ratification of the Convention, instead of the Venezuelan member's proposed "have not been able to ratify". She concluded that this wording would weaken the terms of the resolution, as well as infer to the situation of the governments. In the end, Bonnevie's resolutions were unanimously adopted and she was shortly after unanimously appointed rapporteur to the Assembly. The following year, Bonnevie's new report was distributed to all of the League's delegations and during the plenary meetings of the Fifth Assembly, she was called upon to make the opening speech on the current situation of opium trafficking. In her speech, Bonnevie stressed the dangers of dangerous drugs, which was a growing problem not just in the Far East. She highlighted the struggles which the Advisory Committee had faced in its correspondence with the various governments, though assured the Assembly that the Committee could report on very importance progress being made since the supervision of the Opium Convention was undertaken by the League of Nations.<sup>218</sup> Further her speech focused on inviting more member-countries of the League to ratify and adhere to the Hague Convention, adopting the system of certificates as well as gladly announcing that an increasing number of governments was preparing to ratify the Convention such as Persia and Switzerland. She stressed the importance of controlling the drugs, and the need for working on gaining more concrete information on the world's legitimate consumption. However, the work of the Advisory Committee was severely halted by the lack of cooperation of the United States, whom had been asked to participate in the Committee on multiple occasions. Thus, Bonnevie ended her speech by hoping for a possible agreement with the US, which could help the important work of the Advisory Committee in its fight against dangerous drugs. Her presented draft resolutions on behalf of the Fifth Committee were all adopted by the Assembly.

---

<sup>218</sup> Minutes of the League of Nations, Plenary Meeting, Mlle. Bonnevie's Speech to the Assembly, 1924, p. 118.

## The International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation

During the first Assembly in 1920 it was adopted a resolution which approved the assistance of the Council to the development of international co-operation in intellectual activity and to extend particular support for the Union of the International Associations. Continuing its close cooperation with the Union, the League would in 1921 further report on the possibility of creating an organisation for intellectual work attached to the League of Nations itself. However, it concluded that the time had not yet come for such a Committee, resolving that intellectual co-operation might best be advanced by means of voluntary efforts, where the League would offer assistance to these.<sup>219</sup> Due to the invitation of the Assembly, however, the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation (CIC) or as it was later named the International Committee for Intellectual Co-operation (ICIC) started its work as advisor committee to the League in August 1922. In all 12 members were present at its first meeting as well as a few additional advisors and secretaries, this number would increase to 19 in the following years. Kristine Bonnevie was one of two women members in 1922, the other being Marie Curie-Sklodowska, and was joined by fellow member of the Fifth Committee, Gilbert Murray, and other prominent figures such as Albert Einstein.<sup>220</sup> Her appointment was perhaps not too surprising, seeing as Bonnevie had been both active in discussions regarding the new Committee and framed the importance of including women.<sup>221</sup> Seeing as the CIC was to represent a broader spectre of people, whom were not first and foremost representatives of their governments but individuals interested in international cooperation, the inclusion of women didn't seem too radical for the Council and it was formally decided on a strong recommendation in favour of appointing women members.<sup>222</sup>

As sole delegate from Norway to the CIC, Bonnevie was responsible for represented a large part of Norway's scholars internationally. This can be seen by how she in 1926 spoke on behalf of Norwegian meteorologists when drawing attention to the possibility of establishing an

---

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., p. 120.

<sup>220</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the First Session, Geneva, August 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup>, 1922, p. 2-4.

<sup>221</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 646

<sup>222</sup> Ibid.

International Bureau of Meteorology as well as the Norwegian National Committee during a later meeting the same year.<sup>223</sup>

At the onset of the conversations in August, the advisor from Japan reminded the Committee that the work it was set out to do had yet to be strictly defined, other than it would submit reports to the Assembly on recommended steps necessary to facilitate intellectual relations between peoples, particularly in respect of the communication of scientific information. The advisor highlighted by this some of the CIC's initial issues surrounding the Commission's role and goals, something prominent members such as Albert Einstein found the CIC incapable of fully resolving and did temporarily withdraw his membership. Thus, a majority of the first meetings centred around the drafting of rules of procedures, a process both the female members were heavily involved in, and they would continue to offer input into the general meeting at the start of every year's session. Bonnevie and Curie-Sklodowska would often find themselves agreeing with the other's views, though with some exceptions.<sup>224</sup> Bonnevie was quickly elected as one of the members of the Sub-Committee on Bibliography, upon her own proposal of immediately establishing such a sub-committee, which would schedule meetings in October after the meetings of the CIC.<sup>225</sup> Other members had already pushed for the idea, finding the subject too broad to only analyse in parts during the meetings of the primary Committee. The matters of bibliography related to the need for preserving and supplementing the published scholarly works, by co-ordinating its output. On one hand this could include matters on classification and collecting, but also framing the intellectual works being made around the world by making it more accessible such as through cooperation between libraries. However, Bonnevie made it clear during the meetings regarding bibliography, that the Sub-Committee ought not to create new terminology but would refer this to the experts in the field themselves. On that basis, the Sub-Committee could promote the new terminology, though she did not deem it fit for the Sub-Committee to make such decisions for the scholars.

Bonnevie was an active member of the CIC, becoming increasingly vocal throughout her time as member of the Committee. A reoccurring theme for her proposals and recommendations was a

---

<sup>223</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Seventh Session, Geneva, Second Meeting, July 26th, 1926, p. 14.

<sup>224</sup> Seen during the discussions of the Committee in the first three meetings in 1925. Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, 1925.

<sup>225</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the First Session, Fourth Meeting, August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1922, p. 18.

strong wish for increased cooperation across borders. She was a strong supporter of the establishment of an International Universities Bureau, which would be heavily endorsed during the meetings of the Assembly.<sup>226</sup> She was also the main source of initiative behind the idea of a system of international scholarships for students, and her proposal was adopted into a strong recommendation in favour of this notion by the Committee to states considering granting international scholarships in 1922.<sup>227</sup> Throughout the years Bonnevie continued to push for the permanent system of scholarships that she claimed would enable more students to study abroad and presented the Committee of an increasingly detailed plan of its benefits for both students and the League's reputation. In 1926 she was satisfied to see that some of these ideas were put in motion by the National Committees in Warsaw to use the rest of the Polish subsidy on scholarships in the name of the League of Nations, while a committee of experts further examined the making of the scholarship system.<sup>228</sup> Bonnevie's interest in the possibility for students to study abroad was a subject close to her heart, as seen by how she was an avid supporter of creating a universally recognised standard for university degrees between states. On this subject she referred the CIC to the International Federation of University Women Students, which was acknowledged by the other members as one of the most active and important international organisations on the problems of students. This resulted in a close cooperation between the CIC and the federation.<sup>229</sup>

Bonnevie was heavily involved in the project of organising the permanent Institute of Intellectual Co-operation (IIC) in Paris 1925, which started had been awarded by the French Republic (though remaining independent from any country's authorities) at the disposal of the League of Nations 1924 and was officially started in 1926.<sup>230</sup> Its establishment served to be the executive organ of the CIC by carrying out its decisions and recommendations. Together with two other members, she was first and foremost involved in the process of proposing a draft budget for the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, where she frequently framed her view of using

---

<sup>226</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Second Session, Geneva, Eight Meeting, July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1923, p.29.

<sup>227</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the First Session, Eight Meeting, August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1922, p. 32.

<sup>228</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Seventh Session, Geneva, Fifth Meeting, July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926, p.35.

<sup>229</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, Geneva, Fifth Meeting, July 30<sup>th</sup>, 1925, p. 20-21.

<sup>230</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, Appendix, p. 42-44.



the less of the budget on administration and wages, while more went into what she referred to as “mutual assistance,” a proposal which was included in the adopted amendment, where the staff of the institute would be kept strictly limited, so as much of its budgeted could be used on cooperative projects.<sup>231</sup> Bonnevie had very clear visions for the operation of the Institute and how its relationship to similar associations or similar nature should be. Despite being an avid supporter of the Institute cooperating with these associations, she was clear in her speech when she requested the Institute to first and foremost be an independent institution under the CIC, which would be reluctant to lend its offices and services to other local associations. She was also responsible for framing the idea that the Director of the Institute should be elected for periods of 7 years, while being eligible for re-election once, as well as having the first director being French due to usefulness.<sup>232</sup> The institute continued its work until WWII, and was post-war inherited by UNESCO.<sup>233</sup>

## Conclusion

Perhaps it was her background in biology which drew her to the subject of traffic in dangerous drugs, an issue she was one of the most active women to condemn. She was no silent bystander during the discussions of the Fifth Committee and seemed to follow most of the conversations with great interest. It was, however, no secret that the work of the CIC would become the most important to her, as she left the Norwegian delegation to the Assembly only a few years after her appointment, but continued her work for the Committee for a total of ten years. It was through the CIC which she could front the importance of intellectual cooperation, which was a matter close to her heart. She was a woman whom expressed great interest in inclusion of scholars, and it didn't matter whether they were from Germany or India, long as it could bring growth to the ‘intellectual sphere.’ This also included an interest in offering bigger opportunities for students to study abroad, to better the possibilities of tomorrow's scholars.

---

<sup>231</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, Geneva, Eight Meeting, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1925, p. 36-38.

<sup>232</sup> Minutes of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, Geneva, Seventh Meeting, May 14<sup>th</sup>, 1925, p. 33-34.

<sup>233</sup> Inger Nordal, *Kristine Bonnevie: et forskerliv*, p. 215.



## Chapter 6: ‘token women’ or League of Nations delegates?

Comparative to the historical habit of associating men with the public and women with the private, as Linda Christiansen-Ruffman puts it, one could say that the 1920s international sphere and by extension the League of Nations, would associate men with politics and women, if anything, with questions that were social and humanitarian.<sup>234</sup> There was a hierarchy of politics being most important, and what indicated the highest status, despite the fact that humanitarian action was a central part of the League’s visions.<sup>235</sup> The League’s members had seen the risk associated with humanitarian disasters and was determined to prevent it. The most important part of the organisation’s vision, however, was the creation of the new world order, which was to achieve international peace and security by promoting international cooperation.<sup>236</sup> This could be why the humanitarian achievements made by the League of Nations, especially on accord with the interests of women’s organisations, has been less prioritised in studies focusing on the League’s failure. Much of the work of the Fifth Committee as well as committees of the Secretariat carrying out the cooperation with humanitarian organisations, the funding of aid projects, and the pressuring of governments to adhere to new or former conventions has often been put aside in favour of focusing on the League of Nations as a mediator in potential conflicts.<sup>237</sup> That is not to say the latter was not the primary objective of the organisation, however it can hardly be said to encompass all of its sides, especially as that would include ignoring most of the women’s participation.

### Overlooked contributions to the League’s humanitarian vision

What is apparent when analysing the work of these three pioneer ladies, is that none of them were set up for success at the League of Nations. They were all appointed substitute-delegates, or

---

<sup>234</sup> Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, “Participation Theory and the Methodological Construction of Invisible Women: Feminism’s Call for Appropriate Methodology,” p. 94.

<sup>235</sup> Rachel Crowdy, “The League of Nations’ Social and Humanitarian Work,” p. 350.

<sup>236</sup> Nicholas Tsagourias, “The League of Nations and Visions of World Order,” p. 293.

<sup>237</sup> This view of the League as a mediator is especially framed by Charles River Editors, *The League of Nations: The Controversial History of the Failed Organization that Preceded the United Nations*.

technical adviser as was the case for Henni Forchhammer during her first few years, marking a difference in title between them and the primary male delegates. As Susan Pedersen also points out, there was only ever one woman achieving a director position at the League, and it's unlikely that this was a mere coincidence. Naturally, these conditions were to the disappointment of women activists at the time and left many women outside of the political decision tables. Still, my thesis aims to look at the actual work that these women did, not their titles. There is little evidence that shows there necessarily was a great divide between the delegates and the substitute-delegates, as they would all travel to Geneva and be included in the meetings, aside from the prestige of the title itself and being the primary faces of the delegation. The work would be more equally split between all the delegates, instead of having the substitute-delegates only step in if the delegate could not attend.<sup>238</sup> As seen during the first Assembly, even technical advisers such as Henni Forchhammer would take the opportunity to speak before both the Assembly and the Committees before she was appointed substitute-delegate upon becoming a rapporteur for the Fifth Committee. It can be argued that all of the three women used the opportunity they were given, even if both their respective governments and the majority of the League of Nations did not expect much from them.

In this thesis I look at women working 'female-typical' positions at the League. My claim is that to study these women with a gender bias deeming them unimportant to treat as unique subjects worthy of further inquiry because they are part of this category, belongs to a tradition of rendering women invisible and devaluing their work.<sup>239</sup> On one hand, the majority of women delegates 'ended up in' the Fifth Committee, but the language one chooses to use in these instances could either uplift these achievements or dismiss them.<sup>240</sup> An alternative way of describing women at the League could be that the majority of women became members of the Fifth Committee, contributing to the League's handling of social and humanitarian questions. One could argue that this phrasing minimises the mandatory element, where women were expected to take on the humanitarian tasks regardless of their background and own preferences. However, the majority of the women had both experience and interest in these questions, which was particularly the case for women like Henni Forchhammer, Hélène Vacaresco and Winifred

---

<sup>238</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 635.

<sup>239</sup> Linda Christiansen-Ruffman, "Participation Theory and the Methodological Construction of Invisible Women: Feminism's Call for Appropriate Methodology," p. 94.

<sup>240</sup> This way of addressing women working with social and humanitarian questions at the League of Nations can be found in Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 635.

Coombe-Tennant. Women were not just handed tasks and told what to do, they were claiming their space and making use of their positions.

In her article on Bugge-Wicksell, Fiona Paisley indicates that it would only make sense for Bugge-Wicksell to be handed the responsibility of education, seeing as she was a woman. However, it was Bugge-Wicksell herself whom pushed for more emphasis on education in the first place, despite admitting to not being an expert on the topic. Even at the time, which also Pedersen points out, Bugge-Wicksell was more than aware of the importance of education, being the first woman in Lund, Sweden to achieve a law degree.<sup>241</sup> In her reports she also showed what can only be described as genuine interest in making education more accessible and in her opinion suitable to the people in the colonies. Despite the topic of education being severely underestimated by the colonial powers at the time, it has arguably become one of the most important parts of humanitarian action in newer times. Education is listed as number 4 in the UN's list of current sustainable development goals as per 2020.<sup>242</sup> My argument is that indicating Bugge-Wicksell worked on the topic of "least importance" and that she was handed this subject based on her gender alone means underestimating her work as well as the topic of education in the mandated areas. Not much was carried out in the field of education, as Bugge-Wicksell's successor Valentine Dannevig pointed out, seeing as the Mandatory Powers as well as the PMC itself had not taken her reports seriously.<sup>243</sup> That is not to say that her work was without value. It can surely be questioned whether presenting liberal ideas of teaching the local population in the mandated areas to teach themselves, drawing up detailed overviews of the status of education and presenting this to the PMC would have happened had it not been for her. Despite being a member of the PMC, one could also argue that Bugge-Wicksell was not first and foremost a lackey to the colonial system, despite Susan Pedersen's claim that she ultimately though perhaps not intentionally contributed to upholding it, but a League of Nations delegate whom believed in the organisation's humanitarian mission, which she herself had promoted so strongly before.<sup>244</sup> She did not bring about huge change to the way Mandatory Powers administrated their areas, but the fact that she brought education to their agenda where it had been akin to completely neglected, as

---

<sup>241</sup> Bugge-Wicksell being the first woman with a law degree in Lund, Sweden can be confirmed in Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 113.

<sup>242</sup> The official website of the United Nations, page on 'Education', <https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/tag/education/>.

<sup>243</sup> Fiona Paisley, "Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts," p. 231.

<sup>244</sup> Bugge-Wicksell was a strong advocate for peace, which particularly developed throughout WWI, Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 145-176.

well as had her reports distributed to the League of Nations, do in many ways stand for important pioneer work of one of the first female delegates to the League. One could even argue that she did more than many of her male colleagues at the Assembly. This leads to the question, did Bugge-Wicksell's gender matter? There is a definite yes to this question, but perhaps also a no. Karl Erik Haug explains in his article regarding the Norwegian delegation to the League, that the gender of the Scandinavian women delegates didn't necessarily matter as much to their comparatively progressive governments, as they were all obliged to follow the same instructions regardless of gender.<sup>245</sup> Thus, the same mentality was most likely present at the Swedish parliament. As it was, there had in fact been a male Swedish candidate for Bugge-Wicksell's position, whom was not chosen as Sweden had agreed to send the 'token woman.'<sup>246</sup> More politically qualified as he would have been as former Minister of Justice, Eliel Löfgren had definitely been set up for more success than Bugge-Wicksell. However, I find little evidence that Bugge-Wicksell's gender, as well as that of Henni Forchhammer and Kristine Bonnevie, ever stopped them from claiming their space at the League. If anything, the lack of experience and knowledge seemed to prove a larger hindrance to these women than their gender. As also Susan Pedersen points out, Anna Bugge-Wicksell never seemed intimidated by being the sole woman at the PMC, and she approached her work both eagerly and with healthy scepticism.<sup>247</sup> This description could just as well be applied to the other two women. Taking for instance Bonnevie during the meetings of the Committee for Intellectual Co-operation, would often comment on proposals presented by the Committee. I see very little evidence in favour of her gender keeping her from wishing to make changes to her colleagues' recommendations, nor an argument in favour of her reviews being badly received or overlooked. Bonnevie, differently from Bugge-Wicksell, was due to her profession better prepared for taking part in the work of the CIC and seemed to find her place amongst the other members with more ease. She was unapologetically claiming her space, offering a woman's perspective but more than anything the views of a biologist invested in international cooperation. It is indeed hard to overlook that she was intended to be the 'token woman' by the Norwegian government, whom had made sure to send prominent political figures such as Fritjof Nansen as primary delegate to the Assembly. As Karl Erik Haug explains, not even the Norwegian women's organisations had hoped for more than just being

---

<sup>245</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 645.

<sup>246</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 235.

<sup>247</sup> Susan Pedersen, "Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations," p. 193.

represented at all.<sup>248</sup> The presence of just a few women at the League, symbolising women's entrance into the extremely male-dominated world of international politics, was a vital step in itself.

## Feminist influence at Geneva

An estimate of 12,000 women were gathered in a mass meeting at Albert Hall in London in February 1920 in support of the League of Nations, representing almost 80 different women's organisations. This is nothing but an impressive historical event and showed women's enthusiasm for the long awaited international initiative particularly so in England whom had been so involved in WWI.<sup>249</sup> The meeting's most important resolutions were directed at supporting the League with all of the means of the represented organisations. This huge amount of female participation might seem a surprise knowing that many women's organisations at the time had been partially disbanded or lost many members following both WWI and that women in several countries had already achieved the right to vote. This can for instance be seen by how the women's movement in Sweden became a lot less active just around the time Bugge-Wicksell was appointed delegate due to the promise of women's right to vote.<sup>250</sup> Great Britain had also changed the law more favourably to women's rights following WWI, though the suffragette movement remained in the UK till women's rights to vote was fully secured in 1928. Interestingly enough, according to Marie Sandell, women's movements did not necessarily decline after these rights were granted, but rather changed between the World Wars.<sup>251</sup> From looking inwards on national issues, the need to look outside one's own borders to reach a wider collection of women presented itself stronger than ever following the tragedy of the war. This led to an increase in members to organisations such as the International Council of Women, the International Women's Suffrage Alliance and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, whom all followed many of the same ideals as the League of Nations. Thus, it was not so surprising that multiple women's organisations supported the League strongly, both before its beginning and during its active years. Multiple women's organisations were even present at the

---

<sup>248</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen," p. 630.

<sup>249</sup> Translation of an article on *The Vote*, "De engelske kvinder og nationernes forbund," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, 1920, Vol. 34, nr. 8, p. 125.

<sup>250</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 264.

<sup>251</sup> Marie Sandell, *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood between the World Wars*, p. 14.

League of Nations Assembly, as formerly mentioned, lobbying extensively for their cause. With all this in mind, it is not without reason that one can say the three pioneer women had thousands of women's expectations resting on their shoulders. The organisations were realistic in their approach to the League, however, and knew that three women could only do so much within the masculine dominated field international politics. Many women's organisations even expressed both the disappointment of women only being appointed substitute-delegates and seemed to have little hope for any of their agendas becoming important topics at the coming Assembly.<sup>252</sup> Many seemed to have been pleasantly surprised, however, especially by Henni Forchhammer during the first Assembly the following year. Claiming that a whole world of women stood by Forchhammer on the issue of women and children in the Near East, and that her particularly engrossing speech in 1920 had aroused attention amongst the other delegates, the editorial staff of Norwegian women's journal *Nylænde* seemed substantially more optimistic in 1921.<sup>253</sup>

It is important to note that in these progressive countries whom had granted many rights to women already, there seemed to be perhaps an even stronger movement to help women elsewhere and maintain the peace.<sup>254</sup> Karl Erik Haug spends his article claiming that Norwegian women at the League of Nations made little change to the women's cause in their homeland, except symbolically.<sup>255</sup> This is not particularly surprising, seeing as I find few examples of women's organisations or these three women themselves wishing to use the League to frame issues from 'back home' such as women's right to vote. What women first and foremost wanted was to be involved in the international peace processes, building peace through equality between genders by participating in the international processes. Many women had been hard at work while their men had been sent to war and they now regarded themselves as a crucial part of the plan for a peaceful future, as seen illustrated by Catherine Gladstone in 1920:

*There must be many women who miss the scope for their activities which their war work gave. Let them now employ their energies in the cause of lasting peace. The need for their*

---

<sup>252</sup> Randi Blehr, "Nationernes forbund og kvindene," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, 1920, p. 348-349.

<sup>253</sup> Frederikke Mørck, "Nationernes forbund," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, 1921, p. 1-3.

<sup>254</sup> Catherine Gladstone, "What Women Are Doing for the League of Nations," *Woman's Leader and the Common Cause*, 1920.

<sup>255</sup> Karl Erik Haug, "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen."



*help is urgent. The power that women have for influencing public opinion has never been so great as it is to-day.*<sup>256</sup>

Despite the Scandinavian countries remaining neutral throughout WWI, the three women making the several days long journey south to Geneva all had a strong wish to contribute to the world's biggest peace-project to date. Sent by their governments as 'token women' whom were included to please the masses of women claiming female representation at the League of Nations, these women all sought to contribute not under but alongside the male delegates and had perhaps more reason than many of them to make use of their position. The number of women were few, and despite an increase over the years, never reached a substantial amount, only reaching 7 in total by the end of this thesis' covered time span. Thus, it can be argued that women never left much of a mark on the League of Nations before its eventual downfall. In this thesis, however, my aim has been to qualitatively approach three of these women's experiences of being the very first to ever step foot on an international arena of this size. Naturally three women to an Assembly of more than three hundred delegates could only do so much, but my conclusion is that their contribution to the League's work was indeed more than just symbolical. By looking away from the big picture of disarmament and peacekeeping, these women were framing the protection of women of children and fronting access to education alongside their male colleagues. They were a part of the processes started by the League and in many cases overtaken by the United Nations following WWII, standing as pioneers in the field.

## Conclusion

There is in many ways a certain disagreement between the scholarly literature debating the League of Nations, and the biographies written on the various women. A trend in the biographies is that viewing the work of the three women from their own perspectives can lead to some overemphasis on certain achievements. Perhaps especially so due to these women's personal feelings of standing at the great Assembly as the only women, knowing that many of the men present were quite shocked to see them there, raised a particular feeling of importance in

---

<sup>256</sup> Catherine Gladstone, "What Women Are Doing for the League of Nations," *Woman's Leader and the Common Cause*, 1920.

themselves as well.<sup>257</sup> On the other hand, I argue that there is a certain leaning in the opposite direction in the scholarly debate on the League, where a lot of the women's achievements are overlooked or deemed unimportant. An example of this is how Anna Bugge-Wicksell is mentioned about a handful of times in Susan Pedersen's book *The Guardians*; which covers the organisation extensively throughout its approximately 400 pages, but barely mentions the first woman of the Commission. Naturally it could be argued that the little impact she left on the PMC was the cause of this, however it could also be the question of interpretation. As seen previously, Wetterberg describes a very different Bugge-Wicksell than Pedersen. In this thesis I also question what the aims of the women's organisations at the time were, and whether the international organisations in particular, wanted to use the international sphere to combat discrimination at home. My findings in this thesis shows that despite IWSA and WILPF being closely related to the women's rights movements which continuously pushed for better rights for women even in the more progressive countries, I find little evidence that they wanted to use the League to advance these rights. This was perhaps particularly the case for ICW, which organisation Henni Forchhammer had been an active member of. Forchhammer already during the first Assembly, became perhaps one of the best examples of the influence of women's organisations at the League. Forchhammer was the only woman to speak before the Assembly in 1920, and she arguably exceeded the expectations of many women's organisations by her achievements regarding the cause for women and children. Bonnevie on her part entered a most exclusive Committee of intellectuals, not just symbolically representing women scholars, but also participating in the creation of the Paris Institute. Having examined the minutes of the meetings these women were part of, I find a great sense of respect and mutual civility between the delegates. Delegates ranging from French to Chinese, generally showed interest in the women's feedback and several delegates seemed eager to honour the female participation at the League. Women were in many ways confined to the humanitarian aspect of the League, but considering that many nations even in Europe had yet to grant women formal access to politics, it is not unreasonable to consider this participation to still be quite impressive. This again comes back to the topic of perspective, where the author's emphasis on the importance of humanitarian action directs much of the credit which have been given these women.

---

<sup>257</sup> Christina Carlsson Wetterberg, *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*, p. 207.

There is undoubtedly a lot more material on later female delegates to the League which has yet to be explored, as the topic remains relatively untouched to date. A great amount of this material remains mostly untouched at the League of Nations Archives at Geneva. Thus, my thesis only serves as a small portion of many potential studies regarding women's participation in international politics in the interwar period.

# Bibliography

## Secondary literature: Books and articles

- Agerholt, Anna Caspari. *Den Norske Kvinnebevegelses Historie*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1973.
- Blom, Ida, Sølvi Sogner, and Kari Melby. "Husmorens Epoke," Essay. In *Med Kjønnsperspektiv på Norsk Historie: Fra Vikingtid Til 2000-års skiftet*, 238–39. Oslo: Cappelen akademisk forlag, 1999.
- Baukes, Edel Havin. "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen." *Tidsskrift for Internasjonal kvinneliga for fred og frihet* 75, no. 2, 2014: 18-19.
- Christiansen-Ruffman, Linda. "Participation Theory and the Methodological Construction of Invisible Women: Feminism's Call for Appropriate Methodology." *Journal of Voluntary Action Research* 14, no. 2-3, 1985: 94-111. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F089976408501400212>.
- Clavin, Patricia. *Securing the World Economy: the Reinvention of the League of Nations, 1920-1946*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Crowdy, Rachel. "The League of Nations: Its Social and Humanitarian Work." *The American journal of nursing* 28, no. 4, 1928: 350-52.
- Ekmekcioglu, Lerna. "Republic of Paradox: the League of Nations Minority Protection Regime and the New Turkey's Step-Citizens." *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 46, no. 4, 2014: 657-679. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020743814001007>.
- Gzoyan, Edita. "The League of Nations and Armenian Refugees. The Formation of the Armenian Diaspora in Syria." *Central and Eastern European Review* 8, no. 1, 2014.
- Gzoyan, Edita. "Women Survivors of the Armenian Genocide: Liberation and Relief at the Aleppo Rescue Home." *Central and Eastern European Review* 13, no. 1, 2019: 13-30. : <https://doi.org/10.2478/caeer-2020-0003>.
- Hagemann, Gro. "Citizenship and Social Order: Gender Politics in Twentieth-Century Norway and Sweden." *Women's History Review* 11, no. 3, 2002: 417–29. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09612020200200329>.
- Hambro, C. J. *Folkeforbundet Og Dets Arbeide*. Oslo: Aschehoug, 1931.
- Haug, Karl Erik. "Folkeforbundet i den norske kvinnekampen." *Historisk tidsskrift* 92, no. 4, 2013: 625-50.

- Johanssen, Irene. *Kvinnor mot krig: aktioner och nätverk för fred 1914-1940*. Phd Thesis. Lund: Lunds Universitet, 2001.
- Jones, S. Shepard. *The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations*. London: Oxford University Press, 1939.
- Knepper, Paul. "International Criminals. The League of Nations, the traffic in women and the press." *Media History* 20, no. 4, 2014: 400-415.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13688804.2014.949428>
- Laqua, Daniel, and Marie Sandell. Essay. "A real meeting of the women of the East and the West," In *Internationalism Reconfigured Transnational Ideas and Movements between the World Wars*, 161–86. London: I.B. Tauris, 2011.
- Lønnå Elisabeth. *Stolthet Og Kvinnekamp: Norsk Kvinnesaksforenings Historie Fra 1913*. Oslo: Gyldendal, 1996.
- Maksudyan, Nazan. "The Armenian Genocide and Survival Narratives of Children." *Childhood Vulnerability* 1, 2018: 15-30. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41255-019-00002-8>.
- Miller, Carol Ann. *Lobbying the League: Women's International Organizations and the League of Nations*. Phd Thesis. Oxford: University of Oxford, 1992.
- Nordal, Inger, Dag O. Hessen, and Thore Lie. *Kristine Bonnevie Et Forskerliv*. Oslo: Cappelen Damm, 2012.
- Nordal, Inger, Dag O. Hessen. "Kristine Bonnevie – Norges første kvinnelige professor." *Tidsskrift for kjønnsforskning* 36, no. 2, 2012: 150-51.
- Nordqvist, Liv Wicksell. *Anna Bugge Wicksell En Kvinna före Sin Tid*. Enskede: TPB, 1986.
- Offen, Karen M. *European Feminisms: 1700-1950: a Political History*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press, 2000.
- Petrini, Gulli. *Anna Bugge Wicksell: en internationell märkeskvinna*. Stockholm, 1934.
- Paisley, Fiona, Joy Damousi, and Patricia O'brien, "Looking with their eyes and feeling with their hearts: The Permanent Mandates Commission and reform in the mandates," In *League of Nations: Histories, Legacies and Impact*. Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2018.
- Pedersen, Susan. "Metaphors of the Schoolroom: Women Working the Mandates System of the League of Nations." *History Workshop Journal* 66, no. 1, 2008: 188–207. <https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbn025>.
- Pedersen, Susan. *The Guardians: the League of Nations and the Crisis of Empire*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015.

- Rimmen, Hanne, et al. *Handlingens kvinder*. Samfundslitteratur, 2001.
- River, Charles. *The League of Nations: the Controversial History of the Failed Organization That Preceded the United Nations*. Lieu de publication non identifié: Charles River Editors, 2016.
- Rodríguez García, M. "The League of Nations and the Moral Recruitment of Women." *International Review of Social History* 57, no. s20 (2012): 97-128.  
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0020859012000442>
- Sandell, Marie. *The Rise of Women's Transnational Activism: Identity and Sisterhood between the World Wars*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020.
- Simensen, Jarle. "Glenda Sluga, Patricia Clavin, (Red.): Internationalisms. A Twentieth-Century History." *Historisk tidsskrift*, 97, no. 1 (January 9, 2018): 78–82.  
<https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-2944-2018-01-09>.
- Sluga, Glenda, Carolyn James, and Madeleine Herren. "Gender and International Relations through the Lens of the League of Nations." Essay. In *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, 182–201. London: Routledge, 2016.
- Sluga, Glenda. *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
- Stone, David R. "Imperialism and Sovereignty: The League of Nations' Drive to Control the Global Arms Trade." *Journal of Contemporary History* 35, no. 2 (2000): 213–30.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/002200940003500204>.
- Tournès, Ludovic. "American Membership of the League of Nations: US Philanthropy and the Transformation of an Intergovernmental Organisation into a Think Tank." *International Politics* 55, no. 6 (2017): 852–69. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-017-0110-4>.
- Tsagourias, Nicholas. "The League of Nations and Visions of World Order." *International Community Law Review* 22, no. 3-4, 2020: 291-309. <https://doi.org/10.1163/18719732-12341431>
- Waage, Hilde Henriksen, Rolf Tamnes, Hanne Hagtvedt Vik, and Øyvind Tønnesson. "Folkeforbundet - En Tragedie?" Essay. In *Krig Og Fred i Det Lange 20. århundre*, 211–33. Oslo: Cappelen Damm Akademisk, 2013.
- Watenpaugh, Keith David. "The League of Nations' Rescue of Armenian Genocide Survivors and the Making of Modern Humanitarianism, 1920—1927." *The American Historical Review* 115, no. 5 (2010): 1315-339.
- Wetterberg Christina Carlsson. *Jag saknar fruntimmer här: en biografi över Anna Bugge Wicksell*. Stockholm: [Natur & Kultur Allmänlitteratur](https://www.natur-och-kultur.se/), 2020.

Whitehead, Clive. "The Concept of British Education Policy in the Colonies 1850-1960," *Journal of educational administration and history* 39 no. 2, 2007:161-173.

## Websites

Kangaspunta, Kristiina. "A Short History of Trafficking in Persons," *Freedom from Fear Magazine*, UNICRI. Cited fall 2020.

<http://f3magazine.unicri.it/?p=281><http://f3magazine.unicri.it/?p=281>

Lønnå, Elisabeth. *Kvinnens rettigheter i Norge fra 1814 til 1913*. *Store norske leksikon* at snl.no. April 10, 2019. Cited fall 2020.

[https://snl.no/Kvinnens\\_rettigheter\\_i\\_Norge\\_fra\\_1814\\_til\\_1913](https://snl.no/Kvinnens_rettigheter_i_Norge_fra_1814_til_1913)

Nielsen, Hanne Rimmen. "I Folkeforbundets Tjeneste: Henni Forchhammers Rejsbreve Fra Geneve 1920-27." *Fredsakademiet*, August 11, 2009. Cited fall 2020. <http://www.fredsakademiet.dk/library/henni.htm>.

Paisley, Fiona. "Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Education at the Permanent Mandates Commission." *Australian Women's History Network*, September 24, 2018. Cited fall 2020.

<http://www.auswhn.org.au/blog/anna-bugge-wicksell/>.

The official website of the United Nations, page on 'Education.' Cited fall 2020.

<https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/blog/tag/education/>.

## Primary literature: journals and letters

Blehr, Randi "Nationernes forbund og kvinderne," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening* 34, no. 22, 1920: 348-49.

Bugge, Anna "De praktiske reformer," *Nylænde Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening* 2, no. 24, 1888: 369-72.

Frederikke Mørck, "Nationernes forbund," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening* 35, no. 1, 1921: 1-3.

Forchhammer, Henni Rejsbrev nr. 2, 1926.

Gladstone, Catherine. "What Women Are Doing for the League of Nations," *Woman's Leader and the Common Cause*, 12, no. 16, 1920.

Translation of an article on *The Vote*, "De engelske kvinder og nationernes forbund," *Nylænde: tidsskrift utgivet av af Norsk kvindesagsforening*, 34, no. 8, 1920: 125.

*The Lancet* 199, no. 5151, 20<sup>th</sup> May, 1922: 1004.

Unknown, "Mlle. Henni Forchhammer," *Woman's Leader and The Common Cause* 12, no. 47, 1920:100.

Unknown, "Organised Women and the League of Nations," *Woman's Leader and The Common Cause* 11, no. 544, 1919:100.

Unknown, "Sex märkliga kvinnors livsverk," *Svenska Socialdemokraten*, September 29<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

## Sources from the League of Nations Archives at Geneva

### Books

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the First Session, Geneva, August 1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup>, 1922.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Second Session, Geneva, July 26<sup>th</sup>- August 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1923.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Third Session, Paris, December 5<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Fourth Session, Geneva, July 25<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>, 1924.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Fifth Session, Paris, May 11<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Sixth Session, Geneva, July 27<sup>th</sup>-30<sup>th</sup>, 1925.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Eight Session, Geneva, July 26<sup>th</sup>-29<sup>th</sup>, 1926.

Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, Minutes of the Ninth Session, Geneva, July 20<sup>th</sup>-26<sup>th</sup>, 1927.

Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Geneva, 1921-1924.

Minutes of the Permanent Mandates Commission, Geneva, 1924-1928.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the First Assembly, Geneva, 1920.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Second Assembly, Geneva, 1921.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Third Assembly, Geneva, 1922.



Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Fourth Assembly, Geneva, 1923.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Fifth Assembly, Geneva, 1924.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Sixth Assembly, Geneva, 1925.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Seventh Assembly, Geneva, 1926.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Eight Assembly, Geneva, 1927.

Minutes of the League of Nations, Records of the Ninth Assembly, Geneva, 1928.

Monthly Summaries of the League of Nations, 1921, July 1<sup>st</sup>.

Monthly Summary of the League of Nations, Vol. II No. 2, 1922, p. 14.

## Documents

Extract From Report of Conference of Women's Societies held at Caxton Hall, September 4<sup>th</sup>, 1919. (23/1042/1042)

Florence Wilson's report, June 23<sup>rd</sup>, 1920, page 3. (23/5359/3554)

Henni Forchhammer's Statement to the Fifth Committee regarding Conference on Traffic in Women and Children, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921. A.V./5.1921.

Letter from Anna Bugge-Wicksell to William E. Rappard, June 29<sup>th</sup>, 1923. (1/27996x/27995)

Letter from Anna Wicksell to Eric Drummond, March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921, Nomination de Mme Bugge-Wicksell. (1/11448X/284)

Letter from Leonora de Alberti to Eric Drummond, January 9<sup>th</sup>, 1923. (1/11025x/248)

Letter from the British Dominion Women Citizens Union to the League, February 28<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

Letter from the International Women's Suffrage Alliance to the Council of the League of Nations, 18<sup>th</sup> February, 1921. (1/11025/248)

Letter from William E. Rappard to Anna Bugge-Wicksell, July 4<sup>th</sup>, 1923. (1/27996x/27995)

Letter from William E. Rappard to Madam Bugge-Wicksell, June 5<sup>th</sup>, 1923. (1/27996x/27995)

Note by Mrs. Wicksell on Education Policy, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924. (3/27029x/27029)

Some Coloured schools in the United States: Memorandum by Mrs Anna Wicksell, 1927.  
(1/61775/61775)

The Resolution from Women's International Suffrage Alliance to the League of Nations, June 6-12, 1920. (23/5359/3554)

VIIIth Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, Geneva, June 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>, 1920.  
(23/5359/3554)

## Reports by the Fifth Committee

Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Henni Forchhammer, 1924.

Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Rapporteur: Mlle. Bonnevie, 24<sup>th</sup> September, 1923.

Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1921.

Report submitted to the Assembly by the Fifth Committee, September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1923.

Report Submitted to the Fifth Committee, M. Maurice Sarraut, 1924.

Statement by Miss Henni Forchhammer, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921.

## Photos

Frontpage photo: Kristine Bonnevie, Anna Bugge-Wicksell and Henni Forchhammer at Geneva, Kvindehistorisk Samling, Statsbiblioteket at Århus, Denmark.

# Attachment I

League of Nations Archives at Geneva: Henni Forchhammer's Statement to the Fifth Committee regarding Conference on Traffic in Women and Children, September 16<sup>th</sup>, 1921. A.V./5.1921.

Statement regarding Conference on Traffic  
in Women and Children  
by  
Henni Forchhammer.

-----

1. I shall not take up the time of the Commission by going into detail about this vicious traffic which I am sure everybody agrees with me is a blot on civilisation, but limit myself to a few historical observations.

After some attempts to combat the evil by national effort it was soon found that only carried on internationally could the fight have any chance of success, and in 1899 the first international conference was held and the International Bureau for the suppression was founded.

The first official Conference of Government representatives was held in 1902, and in 1904 an International Agreement was signed by certain Governments.

This was followed in 1910 by an International Convention. The text of both the Agreement and the Convention are found in Annexes II and III, pages 19 - 33 of the Report laid before you.

Under Article XXIII(c) of the Covenant the League of Nations has certain responsibilities imposed upon it in connection with Traffic in Women and Children.

"The Members of the League will entrust the League with the general supervision over the execution of agreements with regard to the Traffic in Women and Children."

This question was dealt with in the II Commission of the First Assembly; and at a meeting of the Assembly itself, December 15th 1920, a Resolution was passed authorising the Secretariat to issue a questionnaire to all Governments asking what legislative measures had been taken by them to combat the Traffic and what additional measures they were proposing to take in the future.

It was also decided that an International Conference should be held before the next Assembly to co-ordinate the replies to the Questionnaire, and endeavour to secure a common understanding between the various Governments with a view to future united action.

In accordance with this Resolution a Questionnaire was sent to all Governments, and after a meeting of the Council in February 1921, an invitation was sent to the Governments to send representatives to a Conference at the seat of the League of Nations.

The Conference took place at Geneva from June 30th to July 5th, 1921, under the Presidency of Monsieur Levie.

Thirty-four Governments sent representatives - delegate and technical advisers - to the Conference - that is many more than on any other previous occasion, which gives a special weight to the decisions of this Conference.

While most of the Governments represented are members of the League of Nations, and have representatives on this Committee, some non-members, such as Germany, Hungary and Monaco have also shown their anxiety to contribute to the success of the meeting by sending representatives.

After careful consideration a number of Resolutions or Recommendations were passed and embodied in the Final Act signed by the Governments' delegates (see Annex 1 page 9 & following) and it was, I believe, the intention of the Conference that those recommendations which involve modifications of or supplements to <sup>the</sup> existing International instruments should be embodied in a new Convention. The Commission will be glad to observe that a draft Convention has already been prepared and presented by the British Representative. In view of the fact that it is obviously impossible to carry out half the wishes expressed unanimously by the Conference without having recourse to an additional convention, if the Assembly wishes the work to proceed, it will decide that immediate steps be taken to make such a Convention binding on States.

In the Resolution passed last year it was understood that the Conference should report to the Council. This has been done, and the Acta Finale has been approved by the Council; the Council has put the report on the Agenda of the Assembly, and I now have the honour to present to you the following Resolution:-

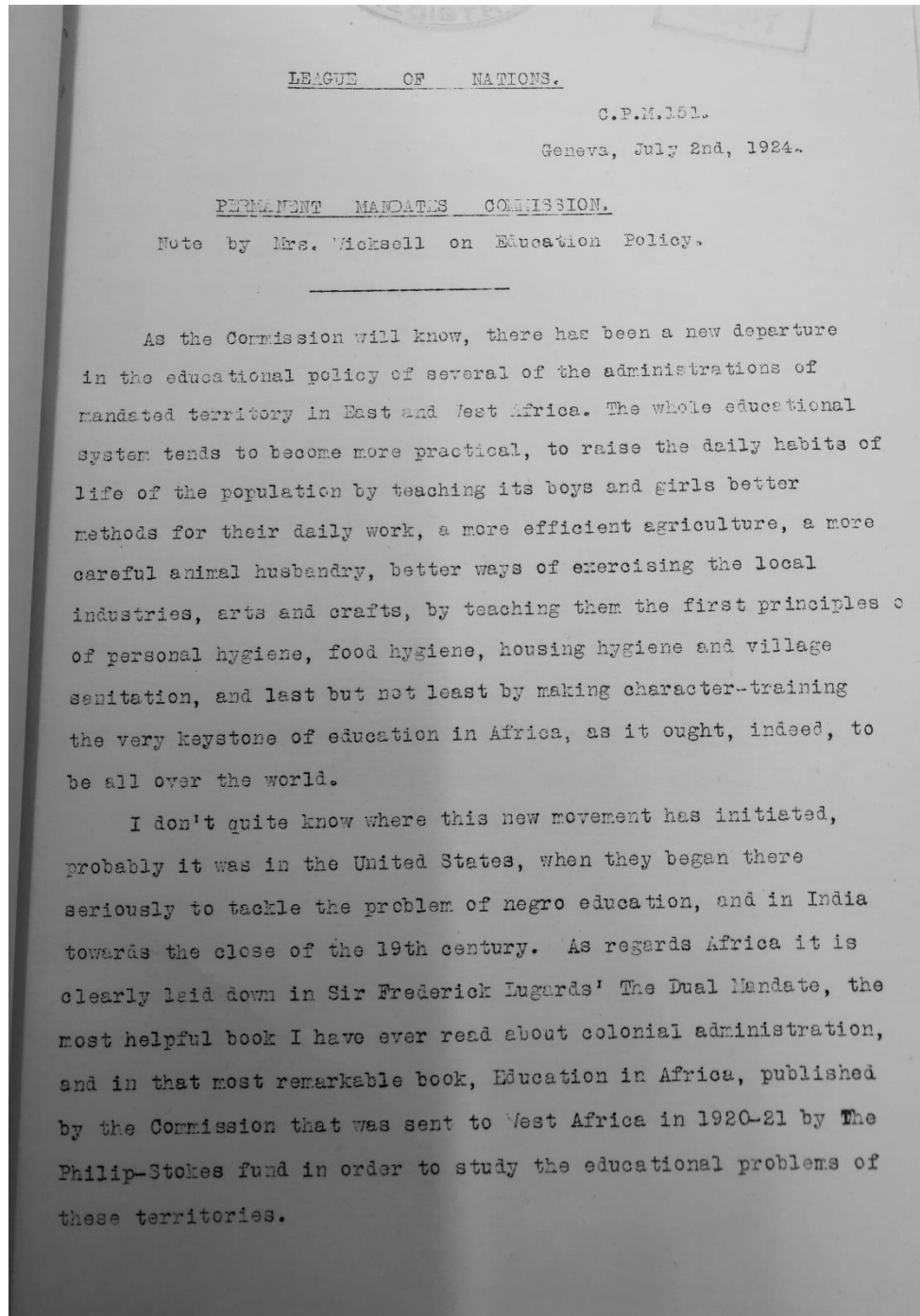
"The Fifth Commission  
"(a) recommends the Assembly to confirm  
"the Final Act of the Conference on  
"Traffic in Women and Children  
"(b) recommends that immediate steps  
"should be taken to make a Convention  
"giving effect to those recommendations  
"which modify or supplement the existing  
"International instruments".

It has been said that the Traffic is dead, killed by passport and other restrictions made necessary by the war. I am afraid it is not so, there are already signs that it is reviving, and it is to be feared that it will soon again be in full force, and perhaps seeking new channels.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, it is necessary to act and act quickly, and therefore I recommend the resolutions I have presented to you for your attention and decision.

## Attachment II

League of Nations Archives at Geneva: Note by Mrs. Wicksell on Education Policy to the Permanent Mandates Commission, Geneva, July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1924. C.P.M.152.



According to these authors education in tropical countries has the double end, on the one side of teaching the indigenous population itself to develop the economic resources of these rich countries, to its own profit and the benefit of the world in general, and on the other hand of raising the status of the population to gradually higher civilisation by making them, even their rank and file out in the remote little villages, more healthy and wealthy and wise, than they are at present.

To accomplish this the educational system has to embrace both boys and girls, to base the elementary instruction on the teaching of better methods for an improved local production, agricultural and industrial, as well as of improved hygienic conditions of the homes and the village; it must continue its work by making it possible to collect the most intelligent of the new generation in district schools, where their knowledge in the agricultural, industrial and sanitary needs of the country can be deepened and where at the same time they can be made fit either to go back to their villages, there to be the leaders of their countrymen and the intermediaries between those and the administration, or to pass on to a more professional training, for government service or private firms, for the teaching profession, for medical, veterinary and agricultural assistance, different handicrafts and so forth, according to the natural capacity of each and every one. And on all these stages the primary objects of all schools should



be the formation of character and habits of discipline, the teaching of loyalty, truthfulness, justice and cooperation.

This is a large plan, and certainly it can not be realised from one week to another. But still, the plan has left the purely theoretical and propaganda stages, it has become government policy, and it has begun to be brought into practical exercise. In Nigeria and the Gold Coast the strivings of the administrations have long gone in this direction, in Tanganyika, as may be seen in the last report from that country, the elementary schools of the Government have a curriculum including, beside the three R's, Kiwabili and geography, also short courses in hygiene, simple instruction in agriculture and the improvement of economic industries. A garden is attached to every school, where some demonstration in alignment and proper spacing can be given and where experimental crops can be tried and good quality seed can be planted. In some districts permanent school plantations of bananas and coffee trees have been established. Among the cattle owning tribes some tuition in animal husbandry is planned, and in the Tabora school the wealthier parents of the first pupils have generously contributed the nucleus of a herd of cattle. Nurseries of trees have been started at several schools, and the cooperation of the agricultural, Veterinary and Forestry Departments has been obtained. There is, of course, a shortage of fully trained teachers, but as the teaching staff becomes by and by more numerous. These elementary schools will ...

extend more and more over the country.

In the territories under French mandate, as the Commission have seen, the Administration is fully aware of the importance of this new educational system, and in The Gold Coast, to which is confided the administration of British Togoland, the problem has now been tackled from the top in a way which promises to be of great service also to the other territories of West Africa. The Administration has, in March this year, laid the foundation stone of Adrinota College, where the African youth will receive, first and foremost, character-training of such a nature as will fit him - in a future I hope even her to be a good citizen, and secondly the higher education necessary to enable him to become a leader in thought, in the professions or in industry among his fellow-countrymen. General education, and technical training will be given there to the teachers on whom Administration must rely for staffing the secondary schools and for improving the primary schools sufficiently to render both the former and the latter a success. When this college is ready built, by 1926, it is hoped that it will afford hospitality to suitable candidates also from other parts of Africa and send them back again to their respective countries, able to take an intelligent part in further developing the educational systems of the territories in the direction here outlined.

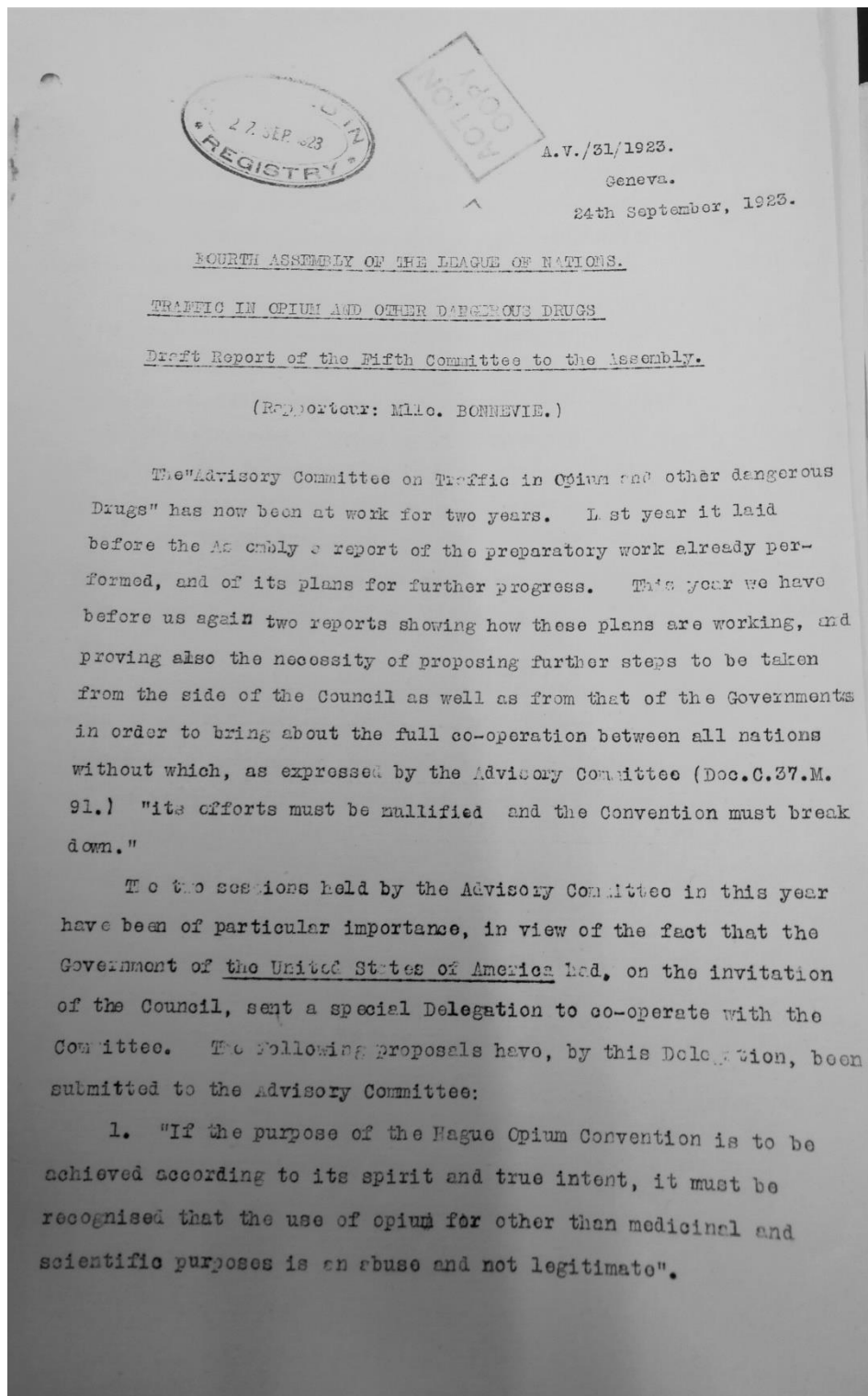
To me there is no doubt, but that there are sound

lines for education in practically all the territories under B. and C. mandate. With the consent of the Commission, I should therefore like to have inserted among our general remarks this year the following resolution. It goes without saying, that I shall be only too happy to accept amendments to it, tending to make it clearer in form or in substance.

The Permanent Mandates Commission note with satisfaction the tendency that has grown up in several mandated territories in Africa so to place in the centre of the instructions given to native boys and girls the work and the needs of their daily life. The Commission are of opinion, that by making character-training and discipline, the teaching of agriculture and animal husbandry, local and other economic industries and simple hygiene the keynote of educational policy, the gradual civilisation of the native populations as well as the economic development of the countries will be furthered in the best way possible. The Commission therefore ask the Council to call the attention of all the mandatory powers, possessing B. and C. mandates, to this system of education as being particularly suitable to African conditions.

## Attachment III

League of Nations Archives at Geneva: Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, Traffic in Opium and Other Dangerous Drugs, Draft Report of the Fifth Committee to the Assembly, Rapporteur: Mlle. Bonnevie, 24<sup>th</sup> September, 1923. A.V./31/1293.



2. "In order to prevent the use of these drugs, it is necessary to exercise the control of the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-medical and non-scientific purposes."

These proposals were, after a very full examination, accepted by the Committee and recommended to the League of Nations as embodying the general principles on which the International Convention of 1912 is based and by which the Governments should be guided.

In accepting these proposals, the representatives of the Governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal and Siam, made the following reservation:-

"The use of prepared opium and the production, export, and import of raw opium for that purpose are legitimate so long as that use is subject to and in accordance with the provisions of Chapter II of the Convention.

The representative of the Government of India also accepted the American proposals, with the following reservation:-

"The use of raw opium, according to the established practice in India, and its production for such use, are not illegitimate under the Convention".

India concurs also in the reservation made by the other countries mentioned above.

In this connection may also be mentioned the declaration made by Lord Hardinge, Delegate of India, at the twelfth meeting of the Fifth Committee with regard to the control of the sale and consumption of opium in India:-

"In consequence of the observations that have reached me in connection with my remarks the other day on the subject of opium, I would like to make the following statement:-

ly words on that occasion were: "Opium is now, and has for three years been, a matter dealt with by the Provincial Governments and in all Provinces, except Assam, <sup>which</sup> is administered by Indian Ministers".

I would like to amplify that statement by saying that the administration of the control of opium in all but one province is in the hands of an Indian Minister and the power to deal with the question rests with bodies which contain an effective majority of members elected by the people. If, therefore, popular demand exists for a modification of the policy hitherto followed, and if a Provincial Council wishes to restrict still further the sale of opium for eating in India or to prohibit the sale of opium except for medical and scientific purposes it is, in all provinces but one, open to the Indian Minister to initiate legislation in that sense. In Assam, the one province referred to, I understand that the Government has concerted, in consultation with Indian Members of the Legislature, a scheme for further progressive restrictions.

I would further add that in the event of any such legislation being initiated in any province it would undoubtedly receive support from the Government of India."

The co-operation with the United States was continued also in the Fifth Committee, where the same Delegation, as consultative members of the Committee, have taken an interested part in our discussions. This co-operation will, I am sure, be welcomed by all Governments as being of great importance for the success of our fight against the abuse of the narcotic drugs.

The Fifth Committee, after having examined the two reports laid before it by the Advisory Committee, considering

all the valuable facts therein contained and all the interesting resolutions forming together a practical program of further action, proposes to the Assembly to express its deep appreciation of the work performed by the Advisory Committee and to adopt its reports and resolutions, requesting the Council to take the necessary steps to put these resolutions into effect (Resolution 1).

The Fifth Committee has, however, also found it necessary to emphasise some points of great importance for the whole work and in a series of resolutions to propose a special action to be taken.

(a) With regard to the ratification of the Opium Convention of 1912, progress - even if slow - can be reported among the States Members of the League.

A further step forward of great importance is the fact that by the Treaty of Neusanne Turkey has now undertaken to adhere to the convention. In view of the great importance of Turkey as an opium-producing country, the Committee has considered it desirable to recommend that Turkey should be invited by the Council, as soon as she has actually ratified the Convention and put it into force, to send a representative to the Advisory Committee. (Resolution 2).

(b) The Fifth Committee have learnt from the reports of the Advisory Committee that it is still waiting for the ratification of the Convention by Switzerland which had been expected in consequence of the declaration made last year by M. Ador on behalf of the Swiss Government and mentioned in the report of this Committee to the Assembly. The same is the case also with Persia, although the Persian Delegation has repeatedly recommended to the Government to withdraw its reservation.

The urgent importance to the whole work of such ratification was, in the Fifth Committee, emphasised by several Delegates, while on the other hand the Delegates of Switzerland and of Persia have both explained, in declarations annexed to the Minutes of the Commission, the reasons which until now have made it difficult for their Government to ratify the Convention of 1912. In Switzerland the question about ratification of the Opium convention has raised problems partly of juridical partly also of economical kind. The juridical problem concerning the power of the Federal Government in relation to the sovereignty of the cantons has, however, already been solved, while the economical side of the question is still under discussion.

In Persia the greatest difficulty consists in finding some lucrative growth which might for the peasants replace the cultivation of the poppy. Persia would welcome the calling of an economical conference to study such practical difficulties. Both Delegates have, however, again confirmed the interest and endeavours of their Government in overcoming such difficulties, and the declaration of M. Ador finishes with an assurance that "the Federal Council is still faithful to the principle expressed in the declaration of last year" and that "its active co-operation in the great task undertaken by the League of Nations in the field of dangerous drugs" will, it is hoped, soon be established.



The importance of ratifications by countries so deeply interested in the production of and trade in opium and other drugs as those just mentioned is clearly evident, the endeavours of the Advisory Committee to bring about a control of production and limit of abuse, being more or less hopeless so long as a full co-operation between interested powers has not been attained. And the adherence even of countries which can be counted neither among producers, nor among manufacturers of opium, etc., is also of great importance, such countries easily becoming centres of illicit traffic. (x)

The Fifth Committee, therefore, recommends that the Council should, once more, make an appeal to the Governments concerned. (Resolution 5.)

(c) With regard to the system of import certificates, unanimously approved by the Assembly in 1921 and again recommended in 1922, the information has been given that at present 20 States have adopted this system and put it into force, while 13 other States have accepted the principle. The Advisory Committee regrets, however, that a number of States, Members of the League, and Parties to the Opium Convention, have not yet signified their adoption of this system. (z)

---

(x) The following countries, members of the League, have not yet ratified the Opium Convention; Argentina, Columbia, Costa Rica, Latvia, Lithuania, Paraguay, Serbia, Switzerland.

(z) Amongst such states are: France, Roumania, Serb-Croat-Slovenia.

A resolution was passed by the Assembly last year, asking the Advisory Committee to examine the question of the measures to be taken towards countries not adopting the import-certificate system. The complicated and technical character of the issues involved in the resolution mentioned, was examined by the Advisory Committee at its extraordinary meeting in January this year.

As, however, the adherence of the three important countries, Switzerland, Persia and Turkey, would make the solution of the whole question much easier, and as these countries had all given hopes of their ratification of the Convention at an early date, Switzerland having declared itself willing to adopt also the import certificate system, the Advisory Committee resolved to postpone a final decision in regard to the Assembly's resolution.

In view of the urgency of this matter, the Fifth Committee proposes to the Assembly a resolution in which the Advisory Committee is requested to proceed with its investigations of the question and to report specially to the next Assembly on the whole situation. (Resolution 4.)

(d) During the past year the Advisory Committee has further been engaged in its work of investigating the question of the world's needs of the manufactured drugs for medicinal and scientific uses with a view to the eventual limitation of the productions of those drugs. Much and valuable material has been sent to the Committee in Annual Reports and otherwise; a series of documents now exist, for the first time, regarding the cultivation of opium in the world (Doc. O.C. 109.), its production in China (Doc. O.C.117), the quantities of narcotic drugs considered as necessary by the Governments (Doc. O.C. 115.), the world's requirements of such drugs (Doc. O.C.116.)

The Committee is, however, still without the statistics of the production of the drugs in France and Holland, and a number of countries have failed to supply the Committee with the estimates of the amount of the drugs required for the internal consumption of their countries, as recommended by the third resolution of the Assembly last year. The failure to supply this information creates a great difficulty for the Advisory Committee.

The delegate of the Netherlands has before the Fifth Committee recalled the declaration, given at an earlier date also before the Advisory Committee, with regard to the reasons which make it impossible for the Government of that country to publish the statistics of manufacture of morphine and cocaine, so long as other countries parties to the Convention are not yet co-operating in the same manner.

The delegate of France, on his side, declared that, when ready, the statistics would by the French Government be sent to the Advisory Committee.

(e) A few words must be said as to the position in the Far East. It is satisfactory to note that the efforts made to stop the illicit traffic in the drugs in this part of the world has not been without result and that large seizures have been made by the authorities. The situation appears, however, to remain very grave. In China, the cultivation and sale of opium have increased and it would appear from the latest reports that they are now being carried on to an enormous extent. The smuggling of the manufactured drugs also continues, in spite of the measures taken by the Japanese and other Governments. It will be seen from the fifth report of the Advisory Committee that now and more stringent regulations have been brought into force in Japan and we may perhaps express a hope that the Japanese Government will be able, even in the terrible catastrophe which has fallen upon that country, to maintain the efforts, which it has

begun, to stop this evil.

In accordance with a recommendation made last year by the Advisory Committee with the approval of the Council (21.7.1922), the authorities of Japan and China have now, as communicated to the Fifth Committee by the Japanese delegate, entered into negotiations with a view to establishing a mixed commission of control of the traffic in opium and other drugs.

(f) The Fifth Committee has learned from the reports of the Advisory Committee that it has found the time ripe for taking measures towards a more effective application of Chapter II of the Opium Convention concerning the "gradual suppression" of the use of prepared opium in territories where such use has not yet been prohibited, as well as <sup>to</sup> a reduction of the quantity of raw opium imported into these territories for the purpose of smoking.

Basing itself on a resolution passed by the Advisory Committee, the Fifth Committee proposes that a Conference should be called for this purpose (Resolution 5).

This resolution was passed in the Fifth Committee by a majority, a division of opinion having been expressed with regard to the question of the composition of the Conference, as well as to the words "for the purpose of smoking".

The American delegation, while agreeing with the resolution as carried, made with regard to the meaning of these words the following reservation:-

"The representative of the United States of America desires to place on record that the term "opium for smoking" appearing in Resolution II, does not occur in Chapter II of the Hague Convention of 1912, which refers only to prepared opium, and that the use of the said term "opium for smoking" is not to be construed as an interpretation of the Convention".

(g) With great satisfaction we read in the report that the Advisory Committee, in reviewing the work carried out during the past two years, has found that the information now available makes it possible to take steps towards a limitation of the production of the drugs. It has proposed that the Governments concerned in such production should enter into immediate negotiations to consider whether an agreement could be reached on this point.

The Fifth Committee recommends a resolution to be passed to the effect that a conference should be called <sup>also</sup> for this purpose, suggesting at the same time for the consideration of the Council, the advisability of enlarging this Conference so as to include within its scope all countries which are Members of the League, or Parties to the Convention of 1912, with a view to securing their adhesion to the principles that may be embodied in any Agreement arrived at (Resolution 6).

With regard to this suggestion, the delegate of the Netherlands declared that although in full sympathy with the object of the proposed conference, the reasons for its extension did not appear in any way conclusive. It was to be feared, for instance, that the countries where at present the drug was not manufactured would stand aside when the new agreement was ratified on the plea that no such manufacture existed in their territory .....