

## GETTING TO THE SOURCE

*A "Truly International" Archive for the Women's Movement (IAV, now IIAV):*

*From its Foundation in Amsterdam in 1935 to the Return of its Looted Archives in 2003*

**Francisca de Haan**

It is a great pity that so many documents about the difficult period in the beginning of the struggle for the vote and rights for women, have been destroyed. Therefore we hope to convince the women of the world that here in Holland we have a safe place and that everything: books, letters, pamphlets a.s.o. can be send to us to build up a library, where the women interested in the women's movement will have the possibility to study this movement in past and present.——Letter from the IAV Librarian, E. Ferf, to Phyllis Lovell, 9 October 1936<sup>1</sup>

### **The Beginnings of the International Archives for the Women's Movement (IAV)**

The International Archives for the Women's Movement (abbreviated as IAV after its Dutch name), founded in 1935 in Amsterdam, was very much a part of the international women's world that Bonnie Anderson, Mineke Bosch, Renate Howe, Margaret McFadden, Karen Offen, Leila Rupp, and others have described.<sup>2</sup> Co-founder and first president of the IAV was Rosa Manus, a Jewish woman who also was a long-time vice-president of the International Alliance of Women (IAW) and affiliate of other international organizations. This article, based largely on a study of the pre-1940 archives of the IAV, is the first to use those pre-war archives that were stolen by the Nazis and subsequently taken by the Red Army, only to be returned to Amsterdam in May 2003. The story of their long-negotiated and dramatic return to Amsterdam provides a fitting conclusion to this article.

Individual Dutch women were involved in the international women's movement from early days, but the history of that involvement is outside the scope of this article.<sup>3</sup> In 1899, the Dutch National Council of Women, formed in 1898, joined the International Council of Women (ICW), founded in 1888 as the first of the major international women's organizations.<sup>4</sup> The

second big international women's organization, the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA), was formed in Berlin in 1904.<sup>5</sup> Six Dutch women, among them Aletta Jacobs and Johanna W. A. Naber, participated in the 1904 founding meeting. Moreover, Naber became Second Assistant Secretary of the first IWSA board. She resigned after a year because of "the pressure of her literary duties" (and was succeeded by Dutch activist Martina Kramers),<sup>6</sup> but she was to become one of the three founders of the IAV in 1935.

Besides an international orientation, national women's movements in the nineteenth and early twentieth century generally shared another characteristic—a strong interest in (re)constructing women's history.<sup>7</sup> As Karen Offen has put it, "earlier generations of European feminists understood well that 'remembrance of things past' is important for plotting the future."<sup>8</sup> In the Netherlands, Naber was the main figure in this respect; the "literary duties" that impeded her IWSA activities consisted of historical and journalistic work. Naber was born in 1859, the third child in an intellectual, financially prosperous, Protestant family.<sup>9</sup> To her deep disappointment, her father, a university professor of philology and classical languages, did not allow her to study history at a university. Nonetheless, Naber became a recognized and successful historian. After the National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898—the apex of the nineteenth-century Dutch women's movement<sup>10</sup>—she began to write histories of women, and over time became *the* specialist of the history of the Dutch women's movement. Among her successful books were *Na tien jaren, 1898–1908* (Ten Years After, 1898–1908), which commemorated the National Exhibition of Women's Labor of 1898, and *Wegbereidsters* (Pioneers), which described the lives of four British women, Elizabeth Fry, Florence Nightingale, Josephine Butler, and Priscilla Bright MacLaren, and their impact on Dutch women.<sup>11</sup> Naber's historical publications were generally based on primary research and she believed strongly in the importance of archival research. In addition to her own voluminous oeuvre, Naber contributed in various ways to the development of a historical infrastructure for the Dutch women's movement. Within the Dutch National Council of Women (NCW), in which she was active from 1900,<sup>12</sup> she initiated an ongoing bibliography of national and international publications about feminism, she kept an archive of her own work in the NCW, and she persuaded the organization to hire someone to keep its archive. By 1921, Naber made it clear that she wanted the NCW bibliography and archive to become part of or contribute to "a center of information and study."<sup>13</sup>

Rosa Manus, the second of the three founders and the first president of the International Archives for the Women's Movement, was born into an affluent liberal Jewish family in Amsterdam in 1881. Whereas Naber

had been forbidden to go to university, Rosa Manus was not even allowed to attend high school but instead was educated at home by French and English governesses, followed by a year at an international boarding school in Switzerland. Back in Amsterdam, she wanted to establish her own fashion shop, but her father forbade her to do so, perceiving paid work as a disgrace for a woman of their social class. Her only option was philanthropy.<sup>14</sup> In 1908, the fourth congress of the IWSA took place in Amsterdam. The Dutch organizers, among them, Aletta Jacobs and Johanna Naber,<sup>15</sup> invited some young women to participate in the congress. Manus was one of them, and it became a turning point in her life. From then on, she devoted herself to the women's movement, in particular to the goals of suffrage and peace.<sup>16</sup> Following the 1908 congress, Naber became secretary of the central board of the Dutch Association for Women's Suffrage, with Manus as her assistant—the beginning of a life-long friendship between the two.<sup>17</sup> In 1909, the IWSA held a congress in London in order to support the British women in their fierce struggle for suffrage with the British government. IWSA president Carrie Chapman Catt invited Manus to help her with the huge task of organizing this congress.<sup>18</sup> As Catt's assistant, Manus participated not only in all the congress meetings, but also in the receptions and parties organized by the London aristocracy and the British feminists.

Manus played a key role in the IWSA (from 1926 to 1945, the organization was called the International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship [IAWSEC]); since 1946, the International Alliance of Women (IAW). In 1910, Manus was appointed "special organizer" of the IWSA and in that capacity played an important role in preparing its congresses for the next thirty years.<sup>19</sup> She also accompanied Carrie Chapman Catt, with whom she developed very close ties,<sup>20</sup> on a nine-month international propaganda tour for women's suffrage through Latin America in 1922–1923,<sup>21</sup> and in preparation of the 1935 congress in Istanbul traveled with Catt's successor, Margery Corbett Ashby, through Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. She was vice-president of the IAW from 1926 until 1940 as well as a crucial member of its Committee for Peace.<sup>22</sup>

Manus's active involvement with peace work began in 1915 when, together with Aletta Jacobs and a few other women, she organized the famous International Congress of Women in The Hague.<sup>23</sup> After the Congress, Manus became assistant secretary of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace, which in 1919 became the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF).<sup>24</sup> From 1926, Manus was secretary of the IAW Committee for Peace and the League of Nations (which Ruth Morgan chaired until her sudden death in 1934).<sup>25</sup> She also became the vice-president of the Women's Disarmament (later

Peace and Disarmament) Committee of International Organizations, founded in September 1931, and known as the Dingman committee—a joint committee of thirteen women’s organizations to support the 1932 Disarmament Conference of the League of Nations.<sup>26</sup> It was thanks to Manus’s exceptional organizational talents and stamina that on the opening date of the conference, 6 February 1932, a petition signed by 9,414,517 people from fifty-nine countries<sup>27</sup>—“the biggest international petition there has ever been; nothing approaching it in scale was ever tried, before or since”<sup>28</sup>—was presented to the leaders of the Disarmament Conference. In 1936, the prominent British politician and leader of the British disarmament movement Lord Robert Cecil (later Viscount of Chelwood)<sup>29</sup> and the French politician Pierre Cot were invited to preside over a big international peace conference to be held in Geneva. Lord Cecil accepted on the condition that Manus would be “Organizing Secretary.”<sup>30</sup> After many difficulties, this conference took place in Brussels as Congress of the *Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix*/Congress of the International Peace Campaign.<sup>31</sup>

Rosa Manus had particularly close ties with Aletta Jacobs, who was also Jewish and the most prominent Dutch feminist, both nationally and internationally. After her death on 10 August 1929, Jacobs bequeathed her books and papers to Manus. Not long after, on 20 May 1930, Manus wrote to Clara Hyde, Catt’s secretary: “Dr. Jacobs’ books have come to me now, and I am organising a real feministic library which I hope, will prove useful to the feminists.”<sup>32</sup> While historians Bosch and Everard have concluded from this that “we can now be sure that we own the IAV to her [Rosa Manus],”<sup>33</sup> I find this conclusion too strong. It took a third person to become involved for the IAV really to become established. This third person was the economist Willemijn (Lil) Posthumus-van der Goot, who in 1930 became the first Dutch woman Ph.D. in economics. In 1931 she married N.W. Posthumus, a well-known professor in economic history. In the first half of the 1930s, Posthumus-van der Goot became a conscious and active feminist. While the Dutch women’s movement at the time had lost much of its earlier vigor, the Dutch Association for Women’s Interests and Equal Citizenship (DAWIEC), with Rosa Manus as vice-president,<sup>34</sup> was the most active feminist organization at the time. A 1934 DAWIEC study conference about the government’s reactionary policies regarding women’s paid employment made a number of younger feminists, many of them academics and including Posthumus-van der Goot, aware of how little they actually knew of the history of women’s struggle for the right to paid employment.<sup>35</sup> Their wish for “scientific knowledge” of women and the women’s movement in past and present provided the final impetus—after Naber’s wish for a “center of information and study” and Manus’s

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intention to organize "a real feministic library"—for the establishment of the International Archives for the Women's Movement.<sup>36</sup>

Posthumus-van der Goot brought not only youthful enthusiasm to the project, but also a connection that would yield the necessary material support for the new archives. In 1914, her husband had established the Netherlands Economic History Archive. He took a broad view of economic history and collected a large number of trade union archives. When in the 1930s the rise of fascist, Stalinist, and national-socialist regimes in large parts of Europe posed a threat to the "documentary legacy" of the opponents of these regimes—socialists, communists, and anarchists, in particular—Posthumus decided to establish a separate institute for social history. He was supported in this endeavor by the co-founder and director of the Central Workers Insurance and Deposit Bank, which had grown out of the Dutch Social Democratic Party, and the Municipality of Amsterdam, which "lent [to the International Institute of Social History] a beautiful building"<sup>37</sup> on Keizersgracht 264. The International Institute of Social History (IISH) was established on 25 November 1935, while its official opening took place on 11 March 1937.<sup>38</sup>

After "consultations" by Posthumus-van der Goot with "the founders of the IISH," Naber, Manus, and Posthumus-van der Goot—each representing a different generation in Dutch feminism and thereby contributing to the strength of the IAV—established the International Archives for the Women's Movement on 3 December 1935.<sup>39</sup> Manus became president, Posthumus-van der Goot, secretary of the board of the IAV, and the new archive was housed in two spacious rooms in the IISH.<sup>40</sup> In addition, the IISH and IAV signed a "Treaty of Friendship," stipulating among other things that the IISH would support the IAV with a yearly sum of money.<sup>41</sup> The crucial importance of this concrete and material support from the IISH becomes all the more apparent when we compare the success of the IAV with the failure of a quite similar contemporary American plan to establish a World Center for Women's Archives. After five years of working on the project, first conceived of by the Hungarian feminist, pacifist, and refugee Rosika Schwimmer, and despite the support of influential women and women's organizations, the plan for the World Center for Women's Archives was given up in 1940 due to lack of money<sup>42</sup> (which, in turn, seems to have been the consequence of disagreement among the organizers).<sup>43</sup>

### Goals and Character of the IAV

The official goal of the International Archives for the Women's Movement was "to further the knowledge and scientific study of the women's movement in the broadest sense of the word."<sup>44</sup> At the official opening of

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the IAV on 19 December 1936, Posthumus “spoke some friendly words to the sister-institute and co-occupant of Keizersgracht 264, emphasizing the importance of not only collecting material, but—by means of scholarly publications—of stimulating and contributing to a better understanding of the women’s movement.”<sup>45</sup> The importance of “scientific study” of women and the women’s movement was emphasized again and again, not only at the opening of the IAV, but also, for instance, in a speech by historian Jane de Iongh, board member of both the IISH and the IAV, at the first annual meeting of the IAV Advisory Board. De Iongh made a passionate plea for the “objective” study of women and their history, something she maintained men throughout the ages had been unable to do, blinded as they were by prejudices against women.<sup>46</sup>

One of the first concrete results of the scientific ambitions of the IAV founders was the 1937 publication of the multi-lingual *Yearbook International Archives for the Women’s Movement*. It contained eight articles, five in Dutch (among them a “First Attempt at a Chronological Overview of the History of the Women’s Movement in the Netherlands” by Naber), one in German (“Die ökonomische Lage der erwerbstätigen Frau des österreichischen Mittelstandes” by Dr. Felicitas Buresch), one in English (“Some Autobiographical Notes,” by E. Sylvia Pankhurst, with an introduction by Dr. Jane de Iongh), and one in French (“Quelques Aperçus sur le Féminisme et la Province Française [1830–1850],” by Marie-Louise Puech, M.A.). A second yearbook, published in 1938, contained six articles, mainly about suffrage, and only one of them in Dutch.<sup>47</sup>

It was not by chance that the IAV yearbooks were so internationally oriented. Besides being “scientific,” a focus on the “international” was the second key component of the IAV identity and that which distinguished this institute from other women’s or feminist libraries. A few weeks after the IAV was founded, its board decided that in addition to a (Dutch) Advisory Board the Archives also should have an “International Advisory Council.” Established in 1937, it consisted of Margery I. Corbett Ashby (IWSA/IAW president 1923–1946), C. Brunschvicg (former Under-Secretary of State for Education in France, active in the ICW and French delegate to the IAW), Carrie Chapman Catt (IWSA founder and first president, 1904–1923), Dorothy A. Heneker (Secretary of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women’s International Organizations), Bertha Lutz (IAW board member), la Baronne M. Pol Boël (ICW President 1936–1947), and Elsie M. Zimmern (General Secretary of the ICW from 1925).<sup>48</sup> The support of these prominent women for the IAV clearly was a result of Rosa Manus’s wide, and by this point decades old, international network in the women’s movement. The contacts between the IAV and IAW (of which Manus was president and vice-president, respectively) went fur-

ther than the strong IAW representation on the IAV Advisory Board. *The International Women's News* (the IAW journal) regularly reported about the IAV,<sup>49</sup> and in May 1936 the IAW board held a three-day meeting in the IAV. Posthumus-van der Goot, head of the Dutch delegation to the 1939 IAW Congress in Copenhagen, also represented the IAV there.<sup>50</sup> The IAV also was included in the list of "Fraternal Delegates" in the 1939 *Congress Report*.<sup>51</sup>

That the IAV was strongly embedded in the international women's movement is also clear from visits by women such as Marie Ginsberg, Librarian at the League of Nations, in 1937, members of the IAW board together with members of the Peace and Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations in 1938,<sup>52</sup> and Kunwar Rani Lady Maharaj Singh from British India, Vice-President of the IAW, in 1939.<sup>53</sup> On such occasions, a tea was organized in the IAV, at which the visitors gave a talk and met with Dutch women.

The IAV also cooperated with feminist libraries abroad, in particular by exchanging duplicates with the Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand in Paris and the Women's Service Library (for a long time known as The Fawcett Library, now The Women's Library) in London.<sup>54</sup> With respect to acquiring material, the now-retrieved IAV archive shows that all Dutch and international contacts (individuals and associations) were encouraged both to send in material and to make known the IAV and its goals, as in the following request from Rosa Manus to Brazilian feminist Bertha Lutz: "We should be most grateful to you Bertha, if you would write a little article in your feministic paper and perhaps in your press, in order to encourage your women [to send in material] and make the I.A.V. known."<sup>55</sup> Hundreds of letters were sent to women's organizations around the world, asking them to send periodicals and other material, or informing them if some issue(s) had not arrived. Here again, Manus's numerous contacts were crucial.<sup>56</sup>

A memorandum issued in English in 1937 and signed by all IAV board members clearly demonstrates how central the international dimension was for the institute:

The joint action carried on by many countries, has made Feminism, right from its inception, an international Movement. . . . [By] *collecting, arranging and making accessible to the public all books, documents and other data regarding the Women's Movement in the fullest sense of the word* . . . the I.A.V. not merely wishes to preserve from destruction much important material which threatens to become lost, but also aims at giving the Women's movement the *scientific basis* to which, as an important cultural movement, it is entitled. . . . the I.A.V. has successfully approached the Women's

organizations of every country in the world. At . . . present . . . , the I.A.V. is receiving gratuitously a large number of periodicals and publications, even from such distant countries as Egypt, British India and Persia. The request for books, brochures and archives has also been generously responded to: shortly the I.A.V. hopes to receive in Amsterdam a.o. the Karin Jeppe archives, left in Armenia by her. . . . The I.A.V. which is *the first and only institution* of its kind in the world, has a very high conception of its task of *international coordination*, the more so as they are convinced that a better and *centralized* organisation of the Women's Movement throughout the world is not only of scientific importance but is also apt greatly to strengthen international friendship and thereby add to the maintenance of peaceful relations.<sup>57</sup>

The major international women's organizations, as historian Leila Rupp has made clear, from the 1910s, but especially in the 1920s and 1930s, tried to overcome their earlier narrow membership and orientation—that is, their European and “Neo-European” domination—and to become more “truly international.”<sup>58</sup> Interestingly, but hardly surprising considering the close connections with in particular the International Alliance of Women, this was very much the spirit in which the IAV worked; representatives of the IAV regularly used almost the same words—“wir versuchen möglichst ‘international’ zu sein,” “[our] sincere wish to be as international as possible.”<sup>59</sup> While the wish to be “as international as possible” surely was genuine, it seems that in the memorandum quoted above the board got carried away (the IAV correspondence, extensive as it is, certainly does not buttress the claim that the IAV had “successfully approached the Women's organizations of every country in the world”) and, more generally, was not aware of the limitations to its international “outreach.” The IAV correspondence was wide-ranging, yet limited to Europe (the United Kingdom, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Sweden, Estonia, Switzerland, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Portugal), the Dutch East-Indies and Surinam, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Egypt, South Africa (the white Suid-Afrikaanse Vrouwe Federatie), Palestine (individual Jewish women and various Jewish women's organizations, but no Muslim or Arab women), Japan, Brazil, the Philippines, India, and Ceylon; in short, fairly consistent with those countries and regions represented in the international women's movement, but hardly the entire world.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the international IAV correspondence was conducted in English, French, and German (the same languages as used in the *IAV Yearbooks*) but not in other world languages such as Spanish, Arabic, or Chinese. The global relations of dominance of the late colonial period that



shaped the international women's movement also shaped the IAV, which was a part of that world. The fact alone that the IAV was established in Amsterdam and not in Calcutta, Nairobi, or São Paulo underscores this point.

## The Events in World War II

By 1940, the IAV had collected a number of archives from Dutch women's organizations and well-known women, including such valuable pieces as the manuscript of the 1897 novel *Hilda van Suylenburg* (which had caused a great stir in the whole country, was reprinted several times, and "converted" many young women to feminism),<sup>61</sup> about 4500 books and brochures, including first editions of Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1694),<sup>62</sup> Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) and of "Jane Austen," (of which no other information was supplied) and a unique collection of some 150 contemporary journals from about twenty countries, in addition to precious older ones, such as the complete *Tribunes des femmes* (1833).<sup>63</sup> The institute had become a true "treasury of feminist valuables"<sup>64</sup> used by feminists in the Netherlands and abroad (the librarian replied to written inquiries, and books and even journals were sent on request, although the latter no longer after 1939). World War II, however, had devastating consequences for the flourishing IAV.

The German troops invaded the Netherlands on 10 May 1940, and five days later the Dutch government surrendered. In June, German officials (dressed as civilians) inspected the IAV twice. By the end of that month, they closed and sealed the institute.<sup>65</sup> It is hard to imagine what a blow it must have been, especially for Manus, when the IAV—"her love and her pride"<sup>66</sup>—turned out not to be "a safe place" after all. On 2 February 1940, she wrote to Carrie Chapman Catt: "The European situation is certainly very grave and one cannot think who will make an end to it. I fear this disaster [sic] may last a few further years. I have started to clear out many things, f.i. a great part of my documents and letters which I have gathered since 30 years have gone to our International Archives; much of my library had already gone there too. It will prove more useful in the future to have it all there and as everything was already filed, it was quite easy to remove things."<sup>67</sup> "Useful" it was, but then for the *Sicherheitspolizei* (German Security Police)<sup>68</sup> which, on behalf of the Reich Headquarters for Security Services (RSHA) VII, on 12 July 1940, took away the entire IAV contents, packed in about forty boxes: archives, books, brochures, journals, photographs, memorabilia, even the furniture and curtains.<sup>69</sup> Their only "oversight" was missing the safe in the women's bank in which money and some valuables were kept, including part of Aletta Jacobs's papers.<sup>70</sup>

Different answers have been given to the question of why the IAV was closed and all of its materials removed to Germany. When the *Sicherheitspolizei* sealed the IAV, they also left a call for Rosa Manus to come to their headquarters to be questioned. Because Manus was very afraid, IAV treasurer Charlotte Matthes went instead, and tried to make the Germans reconsider their decision about the Archives. The answer she got was that "the women in Berlin want to have the IAV."<sup>71</sup> For several reasons, however, it seems unlikely that this would explain what happened. To begin with, it is unlikely that the *Sicherheitspolizei* would tell Matthes the real reason for their action. Their answer sounds much more like a convenient excuse to silence her. Second, and most importantly, the IAV materials were not taken to "the women in Berlin," but to the Berlin Headquarters of the RSHA VII, Eisenacherstr. 12, as has been established in 1961.<sup>72</sup> The third point is more ambiguous, but even so does not seem to support the theory that the *Sicherheitspolizei* would have closed and then looted the IAV to fulfill a wish of "the women in Berlin." In 1947, when the RSHA VII's involvement was still unknown and "the women in Berlin want to have the IAV" looked like the best lead, Posthumus-van der Goot made inquiries along this line. In response, Gerda Walther<sup>73</sup> wrote to her from München: "The German women probably didn't know anything about it and therefore could not wish to have the IAV, except perhaps for the leader of the Nazi women's organization, Frau Scholz-Klinck."<sup>74</sup> In December 1948, while interned in the Tübingen prison, the unrepenting Gertrud Scholtz-Klink<sup>75</sup> (Gertrud Heissmeyer, née Treusch, alias Scholz-Klinck), was interrogated about the IAV. Surprisingly, she did confess having had IAV books in her office ("but . . . not more than five hundred"). Despite this concrete answer, however, she mentioned no further involvement. What is significant, moreover, is that she had received the IAV books only in the course of 1942, that is, two years or more after their confiscation. (They remained in her office in Berlin "until the end of 1944," when her office library was evacuated for reasons of safety.)<sup>76</sup>

The second reason that has been given for the closing of the IAV was that it was an international institute, and as such it had to be closed down. In a speech on occasion of the reopening of the IAV in 1947, Posthumus-van der Goot mentioned this as the reason for what had happened in June 1940 (combined with the practical fact that following the word "International," the IAV was the first organization in the phonebook).<sup>77</sup>

In my view, the closing of the IAV was due to its international character and the circumstance that Rosa Manus was its founder and president. Manus embodied not one but various categories that the Nazis viewed as their archenemies and were bent on destroying. She was not only Jewish, but she was also a feminist internationalist, a well-known pacifist, had

been the organizing force behind the more than nine million signatures presented to the Disarmament Conference, and had been the organizer of the high profile international Congress of the *Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix* / Congress of the International Peace Campaign held in September 1936 (that is, when she already was IAV president), which many on the Right had labeled and besmirched as a "communist" affair. Indeed, charges had gone so far that the Brussels chief of police summoned Manus to the police station to be questioned and have her fingerprints taken. Not only was Manus angry and hurt,<sup>78</sup> but her involvement with the *Rassemblement Universel pour la Paix*, with its left-wing/communist reputation, also made her appear even more dangerous as far as the Nazis were concerned.<sup>79</sup>

These international, peace, and "communist" activities made the IAV a target for the RSHA VII, whose task it was to "evaluate 'enemy' publications and to administer material that had been confiscated from political parties and organizations, Jewish communities and organizations, Masons and individual politicians, in particular [but not exclusively]<sup>80</sup> in France."<sup>81</sup> According to Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "the RSHA VII had a higher priority for archival loot (and the necessary accompanying library materials) deemed essential for intelligence and *Reinigung* [social purging] operations in locating and eliminating all elements adverse to the Nazi regime. . . . the RSHA apparently had priority for archival materials needed for operational functions. . . . Initially working out of its Berlin Headquarters (Berlin-Schöneberg, Eisenacherstr. 12), the Seventh Division . . . had separate units for collecting, evaluating, and analyzing materials relating to the designated prime enemies of the Reich including the Jews, Masons, and other religious groups, as well as Marxists, anarchists, and other left-wing socialists in various European countries."<sup>82</sup> All of this is consistent with what happened to the IAV and Rosa Manus. And to return briefly to the books in Scholtz-Klink's office, it is possible that she received a part of the IAV library after the RSHA had done its work of "evaluating" and "analyzing" the "'enemy' material."

Manus was arrested by the Gestapo on 16 or 17 August 1941, just a few days before her sixtieth birthday, something she had been expecting to happen.<sup>83</sup> Although Manus did not appear before the *Sicherheitspolizei* when summoned in June 1940, she was interrogated later by the Germans because of her presidency of the IAV, but released because of her "*anständiges Benehmen*" (her decent behavior).<sup>84</sup> In spring 1941 she was questioned twice by the Gestapo.<sup>85</sup> In addition, she had long been aware of the persecution of Jews in Germany. Not only did she have many Jewish family members and friends there (whom she tried to help), but she was also a co-founder in 1933 of the Neutral Women's Committee for Refugees, which assisted those who had fled Germany "for political or pacifist

reasons or because of racial persecution."<sup>86</sup> Being under no illusion whatsoever regarding the Nazis' intentions, she nonetheless declined Catt's repeated invitations to move to the United States because she did not want to leave her family.<sup>87</sup>

After her arrest, Manus was imprisoned in Scheveningen, where she stayed for some weeks. From there, she was transported for seven weeks through Germany, from one prison to another, to end up in Ravensbrück, a concentration camp for women, where she was placed in the section for Jewish women.<sup>88</sup> Although earlier reports mentioned that she died in Auschwitz in 1942, it is now believed that she died in Ravensbrück in 1943.<sup>89</sup> In 1948, Manus was commemorated during an IAW Congress in Amsterdam. The stone placed on the family grave has as its final line: "Few have surpassed Rosa Manus in dedication and altruism."<sup>90</sup>

### A Partial Recovery of the IAV after 1945

Besides Rosa Manus, IAV co-founder Johanna Naber also died during the war, but in a hospital in her residence The Hague and of natural causes.<sup>91</sup> Of the three IAV founders, then, only Lil Posthumus-van der Goot survived the war. She became president of the institute and as such headed the reopening in 1947 as well as attempts to locate and reclaim the stolen property. Despite many efforts, there were only two minor successes. In 1947, "a few boxes" were returned;<sup>92</sup> in 1966, Ivo Krikava, a librarian in Hradec Králové in Czechoslovakia unexpectedly sent back four books with the IAV stamp.<sup>93</sup>

The whereabouts of most of the looted materials, therefore, remained unknown. The IAV, however, had lost more than its treasures; its original "spirit" and direction were no longer there either. Rosa Manus's death marked the end of the international orientation of the institute, at least for a number of decades. She had been the "*trait d'union* with the women's world outside of the Netherlands,"<sup>94</sup> and this personal contact was now largely gone. Although Posthumus-van der Goot had been involved in the IAW in the late 1930s, she did not pursue the archives' prewar international scope. Moreover, after 1948, when Posthumus-van der Goot edited a book published by the IAV about women and the women's movement in the Netherlands since 1800,<sup>95</sup> the IAV as such did not rank high among her priorities. In the 1950s and 1960s, although some minor books were published, the IAV led a quiet and somewhat "introverted" existence. According to Jolande Withuis, the IAV even became an almost "private enterprise" of Posthumus-van der Goot and a small circle around her, including her very close friend Mies Boissevain; they emphasized "women's psychology" and women's roles in the modern world.<sup>96</sup>

Over the course of the 1960s, the IAV moved across Amsterdam; in 1969 it again moved in with the IISH. At the Herengracht, the institute experienced a period of enormous growth, due to the second wave of feminism. The IAV collected the movement's books, journals, action programs, minutes, official documents, students' theses, pamphlets, posters, pictures, and other memorabilia related to contemporary activism. Increasing subsidies from the Dutch government enabled the IAV to buy more books and to hire more staff and the number of visitors exploded. Within a few years time, the institute almost burst out of its rooms. In 1981, the IAV moved to Keizersgracht 10, which also housed the feminist journal *Lover* and the Information and Documentation Center for the Women's Movement (IDC). In 1988, the IAV, IDC, and *Lover* merged to become the International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (abbreviated as IIAV).<sup>97</sup> The building at the Keizersgracht soon became too small, and in 1994 the IIAV moved to its present beautiful and spacious housing in the former Majella Church, Obiplein 4, in Amsterdam.

### The Return of the Looted Archives: A Miracle from Moscow

In the 1980s, the archival department of the IAV professionalized, resulting among other things in the publication of an *Overzicht van de archieven in het Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging* (A Guide to the Archives of the IIAV).<sup>98</sup> After more than fifty years, nobody expected to hear anything again about the looted materials. Then, in January 1992, the most unexpected thing happened: Marc Jansen, a Dutch historian specializing in Russian history, reported in a major Dutch newspaper that the Russian authorities were willing to return more than thirty archival collections which had disappeared from the Netherlands during World War II, including materials of the former IAV. The Red Army had taken the archival materials from Germany and Nazi-occupied territory, and since 1945 or 1946 these materials had been kept in the *Osobyi* (Special) *Archive* in Moscow.<sup>99</sup> After this most exciting news, however, the patience of many archivists and historians was to be tested. Although a treaty about the return of archival material was signed in 1992, the Russian Parliament was not willing to ratify it, and it slowly became clear that the return of the looted archives was far more political and complicated than originally perceived. Subsequent plans for a visit of IAV representatives to the *Osobyi Archive* were cancelled because of the "extremely delicate character of the [official but secret] negotiations."<sup>100</sup> Nonetheless, and using personal contacts of her own, Heleen Massee of the IAV picture department in 1993 went to the *Osobyi Archive* in Moscow and was allowed to make notes about the contents of six boxes. A year

later, historians Mineke Bosch and Myriam Everard were allowed to spend four days in the *Osobyi Archive*, during which they made a preliminary inventory of the IAV materials, consisting of 203 files with more than 28,000 pages, including many hundreds of pictures dating back as far as the 1890s. They were able to conclude that the IAV materials, of which the archives of the pre-war IAV and of Rosa Manus were the biggest and most interesting, would substantially enrich our knowledge of the first feminist wave in the Netherlands and of Manus's many, and until then only partly known, international activities. They also noticed that obvious treasures as a "box Jacobs" and the manuscript of the novel *Hilda van Suylenburg* were not there.<sup>101</sup>

Despite continuing visits from ambassadors and other high-ranking officials, the Dutch archives remained where they were until the announcement of Queen Beatrix's visit to Russia in 2001 finally set the bureaucratic wheels in motion. In January 2002, twenty-two Dutch archives were returned, but nine archives, including that of the IAV, were still kept in Moscow, not having gone through the necessary procedures. It was March 2003 when these last archives were returned to the Netherlands, and May of that year when the IAV boxes arrived in Amsterdam.<sup>102</sup>

### The IAV and Its Collections in 2004—Conclusions

The return of the IAV archives, then, has made it possible to write this history of the institute. On the basis of these materials and in comparison to what we knew before, three things emerge. The first is that the pre-1940 IAV was a very dynamic institute with a strong international identity and embedded in the international women's movement, especially the International Alliance of Women. Although the *IAV-Yearbooks*, of which copies were available, always made it possible to get an idea of the importance of "the international" for the IAV, this conclusion was not drawn before. The returned IAV archive, in particular the rich correspondence—including the hundreds of letters and such pieces as the memorandum issued by the IAV board that I quoted above—has made the international dimension abundantly clear. The second insight made possible by the returned archives is Rosa Manus's central and shaping role in the pre-war IAV. Moreover, and finally, by making clear the scope and contents of Manus's international and pacifist activities, the returned archives also allow us to understand better why the IAV was closed and looted. This, as I have argued, was both because of the international character of the institute and because of all that its president represented.

In 1940, the IAV was still in an early and formative stage of its existence. I have little doubt that Manus, had she lived longer, would have

suggested housing the archives of the major International Women's Organizations—the ICW, IAW, and WILPF, the “superinternational coalitions” such as the Peace and Disarmament Committee<sup>103</sup>—in the IAV. At the thought of this, anyone who has worked on the history of the international women's movement and who knows how dispersed its archives are (if remaining at all) can only sigh . . . .

Besides the return of the archival materials, what should be emphasized as well is that the *Osobyi Archive* did not hold some of the most valuable pieces—none of the 4,500 books and only a few of the 150 periodicals of the pre-war IAV. Thus, no matter how important the return of the looted archival material is (including the many pictures), the main body of the original collections, and that which at the time was considered as the main treasure,<sup>104</sup> is still missing and is probably lost forever.

Some readers may have wondered—or may have wondered initially—why “archives” would be “looted”; after all, they are not precious in the same way as paintings, pieces of music, or other works of art. To both the Nazis and the Russians, however, their importance was clear enough. What they realized was the extent to which the women's movement was part of the wider political context of its time—and a (potentially) powerful player in that field. The Nazis did not confiscate the materials out of a primitive “fear of women,” but because they saw the peace and other international activities of women such as Manus and the organizations she represented as dangerous and powerful. The content of the IAV, therefore, was not only relevant to women, but its political implications were realized by at least two governments.

The IIAV continues to grow. At the beginning of 2004, the IIAV collections consisted of 85,000 volumes of books, brochures, reports, and papers; over 6,000 titles of women's journals, both national and international (about 500 meters); 500 archives of women and women's organizations (almost 1,000 meters); 60 meters of dossiers containing pamphlets, press releases, announcements, and clippings from Dutch newspapers; biographical dossiers with clippings on 7,200 women; 20,000 photographs; and 6,500 posters.<sup>105</sup> The IIAV has a strong international orientation again, reflected not only in its fantastic library collection but also in its department of International Cooperation, which is responsible for developing and implementing tools and services with its partners worldwide.<sup>106</sup> However, the IIAV is also increasingly acquiring archives that are important for the history of women's studies and women's history internationally, such as the archives of the anthropologist Hanna Papanek and of organizations such as the International Federation of University Women and the International Federation for Research in Women's History. Clearly, this is how its founders had envisioned the role of the I(I)AV.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup>Archive IAV, no. 20, outgoing correspondence C, International Information Centre and Archives for the Women's Movement (abbreviated in Dutch as IIAV).

<sup>2</sup>Bonnie S. Anderson, *Joyous Greetings: The First International Women's Movement, 1830–1860* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Mineke Bosch, with Annemarie Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship: Letters from the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 1902–1942* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1990); Renate Howe, "The Australian Student Christian Movement and Women's Activism in the Asia-Pacific Region, 1890s–1920s," *Australian Feminist Studies* 16, no. 36 (2001): 311–23; Margaret H. McFadden, *Golden Cables of Sympathy: The Transatlantic Sources of Nineteenth-Century Feminism* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1999); Karen M. Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2000); and Leila J. Rupp, *Worlds of Women: The Making of an International Women's Movement* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997).

<sup>3</sup>See Annemieke van Drenth and Francisca de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).

<sup>4</sup>*Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women Since 1888* (London: Routledge, 1966); and Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 15–21.

<sup>5</sup>At a 1902 conference in Washington, a "temporary" "International Woman Suffrage Committee" was formed, which in 1904 in Berlin was reorganized into the IWSA. The meeting in Washington was convened by the National American Woman Suffrage Association. *Report First International Woman Suffrage Conference* (New York 1902), 17; *Report Second and Third Conferences of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance* (Copenhagen 1906), 42–44; *Report of the Fourth Conference of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance* (Amsterdam 1908), 54–55; Adele Schreiber and Margaret Mathieson, *Journey Towards Freedom: Written for the Golden Jubilee of the International Alliance of Women* (Copenhagen: International Alliance of Women, 1955), 2–4; Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 21–22; and Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*, 8–9.

<sup>6</sup>*Report Second and Third Conferences of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance* (Copenhagen 1906), 44–45; and Maria Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte: Johanna Naber (1859–1941) en de vrouwenstem in geschiedenis* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 65. Mineke Bosch has recently discovered a black notebook among the belongings of a niece of Martina Kramers with minutes of the 1902 meeting in Washington at which the "International Woman Suffrage Committee" was formed. The notebook is now in archive IWSA, IIAV. See Mineke Bosch, "Het zwarte schriftje van Martina Kramers: Over historische sensatie en de politieke verhoudingen in de internationale vrouwenkiesrechtbeweging," *Historica* 26, no. 1 (2003): 6–9.



<sup>7</sup>For Lithuania, see Indre Karčiauskaitė, "Visions of the Social Role of Women in Poland and Lithuania at the Beginning of the 1920s" (master's thesis, Central European University, Budapest, 2003).

<sup>8</sup>Offen, *European Feminisms*, 6.

<sup>9</sup>See Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*.

<sup>10</sup>On the National Exhibition of Women's Labor, see Maria Grever and Berteke Waaldijk, *Transforming the Public Sphere: The Dutch National Exhibition of Women's Labor in 1898* (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2004); and Francisca de Haan, *Gender and the Politics of Office Work, the Netherlands 1860–1940* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), 30–33.

<sup>11</sup>J. W. A. Naber, *Na tien jaren 1898–1908: herdenking der Nationale Tentoonstelling van Vrouwenarbeid* (Groningen: G. Römelingh, 1908); and J. W. A. Naber, *Wegbereidsters* (Groningen: G. Römelingh, 1909).

<sup>12</sup>From 1900 to 1910, she was the Dutch delegate in the Press Committee of the ICW; from 1910 to 1914 she presided over this committee. She was a board member of the NCW from 1910 to 1914 and presided over it from 1917 to 1922. Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 74–75.

<sup>13</sup>Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 193–95, quotation on 195.

<sup>14</sup>Clara M. Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat: Leven en werken van Rosa Manus* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1946), 11–16.

<sup>15</sup>Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 66 and 410.

<sup>16</sup>The most complete biography so far is Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*. See also Mineke Bosch, "Rosette Susanna Manus," *BWSA 6* (Amsterdam: St. Beheer IISG, 1995), 139–42, and for a very brief biographical sketch in English, Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*, 13–14.

<sup>17</sup>Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 69, 90–92, 410.

<sup>18</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 21.

<sup>19</sup>In each case, months before the congress she went to the city where it would take place, in order to establish contact with the women who knew the local situation and could help with the actual organization. Also, a congress office was established. A few weeks before the opening of the congress, Manus went back and from then on personally supervised all the preparations—always with a clear mind, a lot of energy, and strong nerves. During the congress meetings, she generally stayed in the background. Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 21–24. Although there is no mention of Manus's organizing role in the IWSA/IAW *Congress Reports*, Meijers can be relied on because she knew Manus very well and was active in the IAW herself: from 1929 she was Financial Advisor to the IAW board, and in 1935 she was Deputy member for Holland of the Committee for Like Conditions of Work for Men and Women. *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Report of the Eleventh Congress Berlin . . . 1929* (n.p., n.d.), 8; and *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Report of the Twelfth Congress Istanbul . . .*

1935 (London, n.d.), 133. A picture from April 1929 shows Manus in Berlin; the caption explains that she was there to prepare the IAW congress in June 1929. Picture Archive no. 100014745, IIAV. Manus's role as IAW congress organizer is also mentioned in "De International Peace Campaign," *NRC*, May 1936 (in archive Elly Winkel, IIAV). Manus can be seen in Schreiber and Mathieson, *Journey Towards Freedom*, pictures number 17, 20, 22, 23, 24, and 30.

<sup>20</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 25–26; and Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*, 38–42.

<sup>21</sup>See, for example, Mary Gray Peck, *Carrie Chapman Catt: A Biography* (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1944), 373–89.

<sup>22</sup>Rosa Manus was first elected officer of the IWSA in 1923. She had received the same number of votes as Dr. Paulina Luisi of Uruguay and subsequently withdrew. *The International Woman Suffrage Alliance. Report of Ninth Congress. Rome, Italy . . . 1923* (Dresden [1923]), 69–70; see also the IAWSEC Reports of the Tenth, Eleventh, Twelfth, and Thirteenth Congresses; Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 21–25; and Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*, 280–82.

<sup>23</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 39–40; Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915–1965* (Oxford: Alden Press, 1980), chap. 1; and Bosch, "Rosette Susanna Manus."

<sup>24</sup>Archive Aletta Jacobs, no. 449, *Monthly News-Sheet of the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace*, no. 3, 1 September 1915, IIAV; and Bussey and Tims, *Pioneers for Peace*, 25 and 32.

<sup>25</sup>The IAW Congress in Paris, 1926, decided to create this Committee. See for its first Report, *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship. Report of the Eleventh Congress Berlin . . . 1929* (n.p., n.d.), 264–67. Manus organized the first work of the Peace Committee, a study conference in Amsterdam, 17–19 November 1927. It was "very well attended" and "an unqualified success" (*Ibid.*, 266). Manus also chaired the IAW Women Police Committee, see for its extensive Report to the Berlin Congress, *Ibid.*, 272–83. Ruth Morgan's death is mentioned in *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Report of the Twelfth Congress; Istanbul, April . . . , 1935* (London, n.d.), 158.

<sup>26</sup>Rosa Manus, "Report of the Work of the Disarmament Committee of Women's International Organizations," in *International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Report of the Twelfth Congress; Istanbul, April . . . , 1935* (London s.n.), 160–64. See also Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 41–43.

<sup>27</sup>*International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship: Report of the Twelfth Congress; Istanbul, April . . . , 1935* (London, n.d.), 156. According to the *Rapport officiel des déclarations et des pétitions présentées par le Comité du désarmement créé par les organisations féminines internationales à la Conférence du Désarmement, Genève, 6 février 1932/Official Record of the Declarations and Petitions Presented by the Disarmament Committee of the Women's International Organizations to the Disarmament Conference, Geneva, February 6th, 1932* (n.p. [1933]), 18, a total of 8,003,674 individuals (not just women, as is sometimes thought) signed the petition. In addition, signed petitions were received from organizations in six countries, bringing the total up to

9,414,517. *Ibid.*, 18–19. According to Philip Noel-Baker, *The First World Disarmament Conference 1932–1933 and Why It Failed* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1979), 74, the petitions of the women's organizations "bore the signatures of more than twelve million adult citizens who demanded that the Conference should disarm the world and so establish peace."

<sup>28</sup>Noel-Baker, *The First World Disarmament Conference 1932–1933 and Why It Failed*, 68.

<sup>29</sup>Lord Cecil was to be the leader of the British Delegation to the 1932 Disarmament Conference. But because the British Labour Government had fallen from power, Cecil attended the Conference as a private citizen. See about his role, Noel-Baker, *The First World Disarmament Conference 1932–1933 and Why It Failed*, esp. 65–68 and 74–76.

<sup>30</sup>Lord Cecil was awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1937. Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 42. Archive Elly Winkel (Winkel was Manus's personal secretary for the Geneva/Brussels peace conference), NRC May 1936, IIAV.

<sup>31</sup>The English name is mentioned by Rosa Manus in a letter to Amy Mayer, Toledo, Ohio, in which she mentions her work for this Congress before informing her of the opening of the IAV and asking for material. Archive IAV, no. 22, letter 24 December 1936, IIAV.

<sup>32</sup>Archive Rosa Manus, letter by Rosa Manus to Clara Hyde, 20 May 1930, IIAV; also printed in Myriam Everard and Mineke Bosch, "Feminisme als oorlogstrofee: De vooroorlogse IAV-archieven in Moskou," in *Feminisme en verbeelding: Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis 14*, ed. Mineke Bosch et al. (Amsterdam: St. Beheer IISG, 1994), 200. Similarly, Manus wrote to Jane Addams on 29 July 1930: "Her [Jacobs's] papers and intimate letters as well as her library have come to me and I am organising in my office a feministic library in connection with my own books and it is my intention to make this library useful to the women of the world." Archive Rosa Manus, IIAV.

<sup>33</sup>Everard and Bosch, "Feminisme als oorlogstrofee," 196–97.

<sup>34</sup>The DAWIEC since 1930 was the successor of the two main women's suffrage associations, the Association for Women's Suffrage, and the Dutch Women's Suffrage League. Manus mentions her function in her letter of 20 May 1930 to Clara Hyde, Archive Rosa Manus, IIAV.

<sup>35</sup>See about the government's policies and women's struggle for the right to paid employment, De Haan, *Gender and the Politics of Office Work*. Johanna Naber reacted to the increasing attacks on women's rights by publishing a brochure in which she urged women to defend their hard-won freedom: *Wat heeft het Feminismeder Nederlandsche Vrouw gebracht? Wat mag het daarom van deze verwachten?* (What has Feminism Brought the Dutch Woman? What Can it Therefore Expect From Her?) (n.p., n.d. [1934]).

<sup>36</sup>Francisca de Haan and Annette Mevis, "W. H. Posthumus-van der Goot," in *BWSA 8* (Amsterdam: St. Beheer IISG, 2000), 58–61; and *Overzicht van de archieven in het Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging* (Amsterdam: IIAV, 1991), 10.

<sup>37</sup>Archive IAV, no. 22, letter from Rosa Manus to Bertha Lutz, 27 March 1936, IIAV.

<sup>38</sup>Jan Lucassen, *Tracing the Past: Collections and Research in Social and Economic History: The International Institute of Social History, the Netherlands Economic History Archive and Related Institutions* (Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer IISG, 1989), 13–15, quotation on 14. Maria Hunink, *De papieren van de revolutie: Het Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis 1935–1947* (Amsterdam: Stichting IISG, 1986), 116–17.

<sup>39</sup>R. Manus and W. H. Posthumus-van der Goot, “Eerste Jaarverslag,” in *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek I. Yearbook International Archives for the Women’s Movement* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1937), 165.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 160–68.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 160. See Archive IAV, no. 146, “Treaty of Friendship,” IIAV. According to Archive IAV, no. 3, minutes of IAV board meeting 2 July 1940, IIAV, the annual sum was 600 guilders.

<sup>42</sup>Anne Kimbell Relph, “The World Center for Women’s Archives, 1935–1940,” *Signs* 4, no. 3 (1979): 597–603. It is interesting that “Chairman” Inez Haynes Irwin, in the letter in which she announced the end of the project, did not mention the IAV, although she likely would have known about it. There had been correspondence between representatives of the IAV and the WCWA since at least December 1936, IAV board member Matthes in 1937 visited the “WCWA” (and reported back somewhat relieved that there “was no ‘Center,’ although they do seem to have members”), and some well-known women who supported the plan for the WCWA (for example, Eleanor Roosevelt) also contributed to, or otherwise supported the IAV. Archive IAV, no. 1, minutes of board meetings, 5 February 1937, IIAV.

<sup>43</sup>Barbara K. Turoff, *Mary Beard as Force in History* (Dayton, OH: Wright State University, 1979), 62: “Publicly, Beard offered a similar explanation. However, a reading of her correspondence very clearly reveals that the projects failed because of a lack of solidarity among the members.”

<sup>44</sup>“Uittreksel uit de Statuten van het Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging,” *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek I*, 153. *Overzicht van de archieven in het Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging*, 14. For the early history of the IAV, see also Jolande Withuis, “‘Een schatkamer van feministische kostbaarheden.’ Het Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging tussen 1935 en 1952: betrokkenen, beweegredenen, beleid,” in Jolande Withuis, *De jurk van de kosmonaute* (Amsterdam/Meppel: Boom, 1995), 114–41.

<sup>45</sup>Manus and Posthumus-van der Goot, “Eerste Jaarverslag,” 165.

<sup>46</sup>Archive IAV, no. 14, lecture by Jane de Iongh, 18 December 1937, IIAV.

<sup>47</sup>The two yearbooks also contained a Bibliography; List of Periodicals on File at the IAV (both in English); Information about the IAV, its Statutes, Advisory Board, and so on (in Dutch); Annual Report by the Secretary (in Dutch and English); and a Report by the Librarian (in Dutch). A third yearbook was in preparation but never came out because of World War II.

<sup>48</sup>*Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1938), 194.

<sup>49</sup>For instance, *The International Women's News (IWN)* February 1936, June 1936, February 1937, August–September 1937.

<sup>50</sup>Archive IAV, no. 14, Jaarverslag van de Bibliotheecresse Januari 1939–Februari 1940, 3, IIAV.

<sup>51</sup>*IAWSEC, Report of the Thirteenth Congress, Copenhagen . . . 1939* (Kent, n.d.), 118 and 122. The IAV is listed incorrectly as “International Archives of Women.” The names of the two women mentioned and the address of the IAV also contain mistakes.

<sup>52</sup>Archive IAV, no. 1, minutes of board meetings, 14 March 1938, IIAV.

<sup>53</sup>Archive IAV, no. 1, minutes of board meetings, undated report of Kunwar Rani Lady Maharaj Singh's visit on 21 July 1939, IIAV.

<sup>54</sup>[E. Ferf], “Verslag van de Bibliotheecresse, *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek I*, 170. She also pointed out that the Women's Service Library was “exclusively nationally oriented,” whereas the IAV tried to be “as international as possible.” Archive IAV, no. 22, letter to Dr. Bertha van Hoosen in New York, 4 December 1936, IIAV. Another difference between the two institutes was that the collection of the Women's Service Library for a long time focused on the suffrage movement, whereas the IAV collected material about and from all kinds of women's organizations, women's broader social, economic, political, and cultural position, and the lives and achievements of individual women. In the words of the then IAV Librarian, M. van Toulon van der Koog, in 1938: “We collect everything in connection with women and the women's movement.” Archive IAV, no. 20, letter 24 January 1938, IIAV.

<sup>55</sup>Archive IAV, no. 22, letter from Rosa Manus to Bertha Lutz, 27 March 1936, IIAV.

<sup>56</sup>As acknowledged by E. Ferf in her letter to Dr. Bertha van Hoosen in New York, 4 December 1936: “So we owe for a great deal to her [Rosa Manus], that we are in touch with women's organisations from all over the world.” Archive IAV, no. 22, IIAV.

<sup>57</sup>Archive IAV, no. 14, annual reports a.s.o., IIAV; emphasis in the original. The memorandum was sent in April 1937 to the Carnegie Foundation in London. Archive IAV, no. 20, outgoing correspondence, IIAV.

<sup>58</sup>“The process [in the inter-war period] of recruiting members and sections in parts of the world where the groups were not well represented came to be called making the [international women's] movement ‘truly international.’” Leila J. Rupp, “Challenging Imperialism in International Women's Organizations, 1888–1945,” *NWSA Journal* 8 (1996): 11.

<sup>59</sup>Both quotations in Archive IAV, no. 22, outgoing correspondence, IIAV.

<sup>60</sup>See Rupp, *Worlds of Women*, 16–18.

<sup>61</sup>On *Hilda van Suylenburg*, see De Haan, *Gender and the Politics of Office Work*, 27–30; and Francisca de Haan, “Unser Land ist in Aufruhr: Geschlechterdebatten in den Niederlanden um 1900,” *Feministische Studien* 18, no. 1 (2000): 8–21.

<sup>62</sup>Mentioned several times in the correspondence; see for example, Archive IAV, no. 22, letter from the IAV librarian to Miss Douie of the Women’s Service Library, 22 March 1939, IIAV.

<sup>63</sup>According to the “List of Periodicals on File at the I.A.V.,” *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek II*, 186–91, the IAV then had journals from nineteen countries, plus twelve “international” journals such as the *Bulletin of the International Council of Women*, *World’s Y.W.C.A. Monthly*, *Pax International* (published by the WILPF), and *WIZO-Revue: Pioniere und Helfer. Halbjahresschrift*. According to Posthumus-van der Goot in 1947, the IAV before 1940 had had journals from 23 countries. Archive IAV, no. 498, IIAV. [E. Ferf], “Verslag van de Bibliothecaresse,” *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek I*, 174–75; Archive IAV, no. 161, letter to the Schade-Enquête-Commissie, 18 March 1949, IIAV, also printed in Vilan van de Loo, “Moet terug: Privaat eigendom.” *De roof, het zoekraken en de uiteindelijke terugkeer van de IAV-archieven* (Amsterdam: IIAV, 2003), 22–23.

<sup>64</sup>Words of [E. Ferf], “Verslag van de Bibliothecaresse,” *Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging Jaarboek I*, 174, quoted by Withuis in the title of her fine article about the history of the IAV, “Een schatkamer van feministische kostbaarheden.”

<sup>65</sup>No documents have been unearthed yet about the exact date of the closing and sealing of the IAV. According to Posthumus-van der Goot, in a speech at the reopening of the IAV in 1947, the Archives were closed “in June” 1940. Archive IAV, no. 498, IIAV. In my view, this is consistent with the minutes of an IAV board meeting on 2 July 1940. Archive IAV, no. 3, IIAV.

<sup>66</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 53.

<sup>67</sup>Cited in Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*, 257. According to Manus’s close friend Clara Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 53, the closing and looting of the IAV caused Rosa “incredible sadness. It was the beginning of her suffering, . . . and a blow from which she has not recovered.”

<sup>68</sup>An observation earlier made by Withuis, “Een schatkamer,” 130.

<sup>69</sup>Collection 281, box 52 [Collection A.J. van der Leeuw], A. J. van der Leeuw, *Entziehung öffentlicher und privater Bibliotheken in den besetzten Westgebieten und ihre Verbringung nach Deutschland*, Amsterdam, 7 June 1961, 16, NIOD: ‘In den Niederlanden sind mir bisher nur zwei Fälle bekannt geworden, in denen das RSHA, Amt VII selbst Bibliotheken beschlagnahmt hat. Der eine Fall betrifft die nicht sehr umfangreiche Bibliothek des ‘Internationaal Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging’; . . . Sicher hat aber auch in den Niederlanden die Sicherheitspolizei in vielen anderen Fällen einiges für das RSHA ‘gesichtet.’” The date of 12 July 1940 is mentioned in a brief letter from J. de Jongh to Naber, in which she officially informs the latter of the events. Archive IAV, no. 106, 12 July 1940, IIAV.

<sup>70</sup>Withuis, “Een schatkamer,” 130–31.

<sup>71</sup>Archive IAV, no. 161, Letter by Charlotte A. Matthes to (probably) F.A. Slichtenbree-Tiddens, IAV librarian, 16 May 1960, IIAV, also printed in Van de Loo, "Moet terug," 14–15.

<sup>72</sup>Collection 281, box 52 [Collection A.J. van der Leeuw], A.J. van der Leeuw, *Entziehung öffentlicher und privater Bibliotheken in den besetzten Westgebieten und ihre Verbringung nach Deutschland*, Amsterdam, 7 June 1961, NIOD.

<sup>73</sup>Dr. Gerda Walther was known as a philosopher and someone who was interested in parapsychology, mysticism, and so on.

<sup>74</sup>"Die deutschen Frauen wussten vermutlich nichts davon und konnten es sich also nicht wünschen, vielleicht die Leiterin der Nazifrauenschaft, Frau Scholtz-Klink—aber sonst?" Archive IAV, no. 161, Letter by Dr. Gerda Walther to W.H. Posthumus-van der Goot, 7 June 1947, IIAV, also quoted in Van de Loo, "Moet terug," 19.

<sup>75</sup>See Claudia Koonz's interview with Scholtz-Klink in *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987), preface.

<sup>76</sup>The text of Scholtz-Klink's interview was quoted in a letter from Herta Gotthelf (letterhead: *Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands—der Parteivorstand*) to Annie Adama van Scheltema (IISH librarian), 23 February 1949, Archive IAV, no. 161, IIAV. The original transcript of Scholtz-Klink's interrogation is in the *Institut für Zeitgeschichte*, Munich, no. OMGUS 51344.

<sup>77</sup>Archive IAV, no. 498, speech by Posthumus-van der Goot, IIAV.

<sup>78</sup>Archive Elly Winkel, Diary, IIAV; Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 42–44; and *Vrouwen vochten voor de vrede*, 216.

<sup>79</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 42–44, 60; and interview with "Mrs. K.," the wife of a nephew of Manus's, 15 December 1987, cited in A. du Burck et al., "Laat ze maar lachen. Wij komen er toch wel!! Een ontmoeting met Rosa Manus" (unpublished typescript, The Hague 1988), 20.

<sup>80</sup>Collection 281, box 52 [Collection A. J. van der Leeuw], A. J. van der Leeuw, *Entziehung öffentlicher und privater Bibliotheken in den besetzten Westgebieten und ihre Verbringung nach Deutschland*, Amsterdam, 7 June 1961, NIOD.

<sup>81</sup>*Enzyklopädie des Nationalsozialismus*, ed. Wolfgang Benz, Hermann Graml, and Hermann Weiss (Munich: dtv, 2001), 694. This translation is mine.

<sup>82</sup>Patricia Kennedy Grimsted, "New Clues in the Records of Archival and Library Plunder: The ERR and the RSHA VII Amt Operations in Silesia," in *The Return of Looted Collections (1946–1996): An Unfinished Chapter* (Amsterdam: St. Beheer IISG, 1997), 60.

<sup>83</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 60, mentions 17 August 1941. According to Archive Rosa Manus, Appendix A (but unclear to what), IIAV, it was 16 August 1941.

<sup>84</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 60.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 46–47.

<sup>87</sup>W. H. Posthumus-van de Goot, "Manus, Rosette Susanna (1881–1943)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland 1* (Den Haag 1979).

<sup>88</sup>Meijers, *Een moderne vrouw van formaat*, 60–61.

<sup>89</sup>Archive Rosa Manus, IIAV.

<sup>90</sup>Bosch, "Rosette Susanna Manus," 142.

<sup>91</sup>In May 1941, at age 82. Grever, *Strijd tegen de stilte*, 92–93. In May 1937, Naber had made a will in which she left her archives and a small sum to the IAV. After the Germans sealed the IAV and then took away its contents, she quickly changed her testament and left everything to a nephew. Her important archive finally came to the IAV in 1994. Ibid., 37–38.

<sup>92</sup>Van de Loo, "Moet terug," 21. Unfortunately, the information about this (Archive IAV, no. 38, annual report about 1947 and 1948, and no. 498, report about the reopening, IIAV) is not very precise and we only know that the boxes contained books.

<sup>93</sup>Annette Mevis, "Women's Archives Recovered," in *The Return of Looted Collections*, 115–16.

<sup>94</sup>W. H. Posthumus-van de Goot and Anna de Waal, eds., *Van moeder op dochter* (Utrecht/Antwerp: A. W. Bruna & Zoon, 1968), 266. There were three editions of *Van moeder op dochter*. The 1948 edition (note 95) Posthumus-van de Goot edited alone; the later two editions she co-edited with Anna de Waal.

<sup>95</sup>W. H. Posthumus-van de Goot, ed., *Van moeder op dochter: Het aandeel van de vrouw in een veranderende wereld* (Leiden: Brill, 1948); reprinted and updated in 1968 (see previous note) and 1977. This is still the main handbook for the history of the women's movement in the Netherlands. See further Mineke Bosch, "History and Historiography of First-Wave Feminism in the Netherlands, 1860–1922," in *Women's Emancipation Movements in the Nineteenth Century: A European Perspective*, ed. Sylvia Paletschek and Bianka Pietrow-Ennker (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004), 53–76, esp. 63–65.

<sup>96</sup>Withuis, "'Een schatkamer,'" 133, 136–39.

<sup>97</sup>*Overzicht van de archieven in het Internationaal Informatiecentrum en Archief voor de Vrouwenbeweging*, Introduction.

<sup>98</sup>Another result was the publication of Mineke Bosch and Annemarie Kloosterman, eds., *Lieve Dr. Jacobs: brieven uit de Wereldbond voor Vrouwenkiesrecht, 1902–1942* (Amsterdam: Feministische Uitgeverij Sara, 1985), later published as Bosch, with Kloosterman, eds., *Politics and Friendship*.

<sup>99</sup>Marc Jansen, "Rusland geeft Nederlandse archieven terug," (Russia returns Dutch archives) *NRC Handelsblad* (14 January 1992), also printed in Van de Loo, "Moet terug," 26–27.



<sup>100</sup>Van de Loo, "*Moet terug*," 30.

<sup>101</sup>*Ibid.*, 31–32. Everard and Bosch wrote about these days and their findings in "*Feminisme als oorlogstrofee*." Another conclusion, drawn later by archivist Annette Mevis, was that the materials were completely mixed up. The IISH continued to be helpful: thanks to its director, Jaap Kloosterman, all IAV materials in Moscow were put on microfilm.

<sup>102</sup>The boxes probably became wet during the journey home and the materials mildewed. So they first had to be treated and quarantined before they were finally (!) returned to the IIAV in May 2003. Van de Loo, "*Moet terug*," 34.

<sup>103</sup>A lot of material of the PDCWIO was already at the IAV: see archive IAV, no. 23, letter from the IAV librarian to the secretary of the PDCWIO, 15 December 1936, IIAV.

<sup>104</sup>In Archive IAV, no. 49, report about the IAV in the war years, 1947, IIAV, the IAV and Manus archives are not mentioned. Similarly, the list of stolen IAV material, submitted to the Schade-Enquête-Commissie on 18 March 1949 (Archive IAV, no. 161, IIAV, also printed in Van de Loo, "*Moet terug*," 22–23) mentions 1) the lost part of the library, 2) lost newspaper collections, 3) lost archives, 4) lost furniture, and 5) lost catalogue. Under 3) lost archives, the IAV archive and that of Manus are not mentioned, but only those received from others.

<sup>105</sup>For more information, see <[www.iiav.nl](http://www.iiav.nl)> or write to <[info@iiav.nl](mailto:info@iiav.nl)>.

<sup>106</sup>They are ATHENA, A Higher Education Network of Women's and Gender Studies Programs at universities, research institutes, and documentation centers in Europe; European Women's Thesaurus Maintenance and Development Group: a group of eight women's libraries and documentation centers from seven European countries; European and North American Women Action 2000: eight regional information and advocacy alliances, representing hundreds of organizations in Europe and North America; Global WomenAction 2000: A steering committee of ten partners representing more than forty information and advocacy alliances, covering all regions of the world; Gender and Water Alliance: 100 gender and water experts and organizations throughout the world; KnowHow Conference Permanent Committee: eleven representatives of information and documentation centers from all regions of the world; NOVIB and its 100 partner organizations that work to eradicate violence against women; UNESCO: Women and Gender Unit and the Informatics Unit, Paris, France; WINE: Women's Information Network Europe; a network of approximately 20 women's libraries and information centers in Europe.