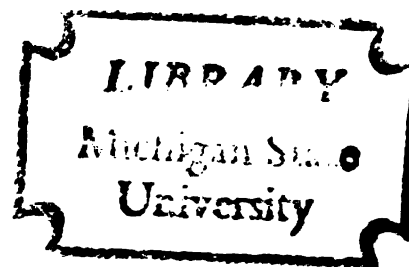


THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE: THE
FORMATIVE YEARS, 1858-1889

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
PATRICK KAY BIDELMAN
1975



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled

**THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE:
THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1858-1889**

presented by

Patrick Kay Bidelman

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in History

Donald N. Baker

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Date July 26, 1975.

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ABSTRACT

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE: THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1858-1889

by

Patrick Kay Bidelman

After more than a half century of individual and short-lived collective protests against the worsening condition of women in France, an ongoing feminist movement emerged under the Second Empire. Closely related to a broad spectrum of reformist and revolutionary tendencies, particularly the political effort to supplant authoritarian with republican rule, the first generation of this movement survived the defeat of France in the Franco-Prussian War (1870-71) and the disruption of the Paris Commune (1871) to organize an expanded campaign for women's liberation during the first two decades of the Third Republic. Once the new republic achieved a modicum of stability, French feminists held their first women's rights congress in 1878. Eleven years later, they held a second congress at the time of the centennial celebration of the 1789 Revolution. The 1889 women's rights congress roughly coincided with the death or retirement of many of the movement's founders, and after that date a second generation rapidly assumed leadership of French feminism. In their ability to effect a transition from one generation to another, the movement's creators obtained their most notable success: the breaking of the historic pattern that had reduced earlier feminist protests to sporadic, isolated outbursts.

In other respects, the movement achieved less. Most of the hundreds of legal, economic, social, and ideological constraints that shackled women under the système masculiniste remained intact in 1889. Potentially significant reforms occurred in education and divorce (re-established in 1884), but these bore a political imprint that left women with little additional control over their own lives. More critical, however, was the failure of the movement to develop a solid theoretical position on the woman question or to devise a strategy around which all feminists could rally. The chief theoretical stumbling block involved the ideal of the mère éducatrice, which assumed that woman possessed innate domestic talents and called on her to devote herself exclusively to the roles of wife and mother. At root, the mère éducatrice was only the latest of many "special nature" assumptions about women, but feminists reacted ambivalently to it because, if nothing else, it accorded some "superior" qualities to women.

The issue of strategy involved the difficulty of reconciling the movement's republican sympathies with the fact that most women seemed indifferent to democracy and in favor of traditional clerical-authoritarian government. As a result, the movement split into two camps. One subscribed to the strategy of la brèche, which focused on securing women's civil rights and put off the problem of political rights until more women underwent democratic indoctrination. The other camp adopted the strategy of l'assaut, which stressed the need for rapid enactment of woman suffrage on the grounds that the vote would permit quick removal of women's civil disabilities and provide women with practical democratic experiences. Upholders of la brèche constituted a majority throughout the movement's first generation, and, under the leadership

of Maria Deraismes and Léon Richer, they largely excluded the partisans of l'assaut, who followed Hubertine Auclert, from the women's rights congresses of 1878 and 1889.

The formative years of the feminist movement in France thus present a mixed picture. In the course of a long generation, a small minority of women and men managed to organize and to perpetuate a collective struggle against one of the most demeaning of modern abuses, but the movement failed to lay a firm foundation in either theory or practice on which subsequent feminists could build.

THE FEMINIST MOVEMENT IN FRANCE:

THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1858-1889

by

Patrick Kay Bidelman

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to

Michigan State University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of History

1975



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1975

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people have contributed in many ways to this study. Most cannot be mentioned individually, but the author would like to express gratitude to the "community of inquiry" that sustained this endeavor. The community is not to blame if this work fails to replicate the high quality of that collective support.

Specifically, the author would like to thank the dozens of persons who rendered assistance at the libraries of Michigan State University and the University of Florida, Brussels' Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, and Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale, Archives Nationales, Musée Social, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and Bibliothèque de la Ville de Paris. Madame Leantey of Paris' Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand deserves a special thanks in this context.

Teachers and colleagues at both Western Michigan University and Michigan State University provided encouragement for years, particularly the late Professor Willis F. Dunbar. Their support eventually brought the author under the guidance of a Doctoral Committee composed of Professors John B. Harrison, Donald N. Lammers, and Donald N. Baker. Chairman Baker is especially not to blame if his extraordinary insight and aid occasionally failed to reach their mark.

One section of this study depended in large part on two individuals: Charles Sowerwine, who informed the author of the existence of Hubertine Auclert's "Diary," and Beth Lindquist, who supplied the

author with a copy of that diary. The whole of this study drew on the language expertise of Professor Richard B. Bizot.

Finally, without the talent and kindness of Corin Bennett and Kathleen Sullivan, and especially Professors Dale Clifford and Jane Decker, it is unlikely that this study could have meant so much to the author, or ever reached completion.

TRANS.

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TRANSLATIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from sources cited in French are those of the author. Quotations from works by foreign authors who wrote in English or who had their works translated into English have been taken from and can be identified by the language of the title cited in the notes.

After first mention, the names of French feminist groups generally appear in shortened form, e.g., l'Amélioration for la Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme et la Revendication de ses Droits. Three repositories are regularly cited in the notes by their initials: AN for Paris' Archives Nationales, BMD for Paris' Bibliothèque Marguerite Durand, and BN for Paris' Bibliothèque Nationale.

INTRODUCTION

North of Paris stands a monument that unwittingly represents the historic subordination of women in France. The Cathedral of Saint Denis towers above a working class suburb, its twelfth-century Gothic facade casting an awkward shadow over a neighborhood that no longer toils in the name of God. Within the Cathedral, whose innovative design signalled a remarkable advance in uniting height and light, shadows of a different kind linger. Scattered about the interior are the tombs of French kings and queens, princes and princesses, who for over a thousand years (beginning in the seventh century) consigned their mortal remains to Saint Denis. Today the tombs are empty; revolutionaries destroyed their royal contents during the Reign of Terror. But the sarcophagi remain, mute witnesses to the violence and limitations of a bygone age and an attitude as old as man himself. Etched into the stone coffin covers of former kings and princes sit lions, designating courage, power, and dominance. At the feet of queens and princesses lie dogs, symbolic of loyalty, humility, and obedience. Thus, in desecrating the bones of tyrants while leaving the sarcophagi largely intact, the New Order joined hands with the Old in sanctioning one of humankind's oldest injustices, the oppression of women by men.

The roots of this oppression burrow deep into time, and there is no reason to believe that the revolutionaries who violated the tombs of Saint Denis consciously confined their iconoclasm to mortal remains in

order to preserve the stony symbols of injustice. Nonetheless, that is exactly what happened. Theirs was a small act in a larger drama that over the centuries has improved the lot of all human beings while simultaneously increasing sexual discrimination. Their selective desecration contributed almost imperceptibly to the trend described in 1971 by Évelyne Sullerot: "As civilization asserts and refines itself, the gap between the relative status of men and women widens."¹ At the turn of the century, a German feminist observed that "the European woman's rights movement was born in France; it is the child of the Revolution of 1789."² But if so it took nearly a hundred years for the child to mature in the land of its birth, and in many respects the struggle of French feminists involved a direct assault on the work of the Great Revolution. "The fourteenth of July is not a national celebration," declared a French suffragist in 1882, "it is the apotheosis of masculinity."³

The realization that men had benefited far more than women from the Revolution was not new in 1882. Throughout the intervening century, individuals had protested against the accentuation of woman's subordination and on at least two occasions, at the time of the Revolution itself and again during the upheaval of 1848, these protests assumed collective form. But despite the protests, the status gap continued to widen until by mid-century more men had more rights, while women had relatively fewer. Since that time, and although the overall gap has tended to persist, the worst of the nineteenth century's legislative abuses have

¹Évelyne Sullerot, Woman, Society, and Change, trans. by Margaret Scotford Archer (New York, 1971), 19.

²Kaethe Schirmacher, The Modern Woman's Rights Movement, trans. by Conrad Eckhardt (2nd ed.; New York, 1912), 175.

³Hubertine Auclert, La Citoyenne, 2 July - 6 August 1882.

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disappeared. In other words, although French women still face a wide variety of discriminatory attitudes and practices, many of the legal barriers to civil and political equality have fallen. How this came about is a comprehensive question involving many factors and many years, and, as such, it exceeds the scope of this inquiry. The objective of this study is to examine just one factor in this development, the establishment of the feminist movement under the Third French Republic.

Feminism can be conceptualized as the struggle in theory and practice for the right of women to control their own lives. In the course of this struggle, the feminist movement has fought on two fronts: against constraints which limited women's options and for conditions conducive to women's liberation. Feminism entails, in other words, the effort to obtain both "freedom from" and "freedom to." Only recently has feminism begun to stress the positive "freedom to" side of the struggle. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, feminism emphasized the negative. It focused primarily on eliminating the constraints that prevented women from controlling their own lives.

However, the problem that confronted nineteenth-century French feminists was not how to define themselves in a broad sense. All feminists agreed that they represented the half of humanity that had from time immemorial struggled against male domination. Instead the problem concerned (a) how to define themselves in relationship to the conditions then prevailing in France and (b) how to translate that definition into reality. On both counts, French feminists found themselves divided. Some feminists emphasized simple equality. "The word Feminism," wrote Hubertine Auclert, "synthesizes the efforts to acquire for women the rights that men possess"; while to Madame Vincent it meant simply a "doctrine or theory that puts woman on an equal footing

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with man." Others envisaged a loftier goal. Feminism "in a word is 'Humanisme intégral'," thought Léopold Lacour. Its mission involved equal rights for women but sought a transcendent ideal. "Feminism, the effort by an elite of humanity for more harmony and more justice, should disappear for the well-being of society the day when its efforts will have succeeded," explained Avril de Saint-Croix: "Feminism, like masculinism, should then give way to 'integral humanism'."⁴

Neither definition made much difference during the middle years of the nineteenth century. Regardless of whether equal rights for women constituted an end in themselves or stepping stones to a broader social transformation, no feminist could avoid the glaring contrast between the privileged status of males and the narrowed sphere accorded to females. Men dominated French society legally, politically, economically, and ideologically; and so long as their domination endured feminists could see no hope for improving woman's lot. Thus, despite variances in definitional emphasis, the general objective of feminists remained the same: to alter the conditions and to destroy the constraints that enabled men to hold women in bondage. Theirs was a simple belief, based on the premise that sex oppression represented the root cause of social injustice. Not so simple was the reformation of a society that accepted such injustice as part of the natural order of things.

A long debate over women preceded the French Revolution and drew increasing attention to the issue of sex oppression. From the vantage point of feminists, however, the debate's net effect was negative. As they saw it, the status of women failed to improve in 1789, and, as a

⁴Le Petit Almanach Féministe Illustré (Paris, 1907), 4-5.

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result of the emergency measures of the Terror and Napoléon's influence on French laws, they found themselves worse off than before. A half century later, feminists again organized in opposition to sex oppression, but the Revolution of 1848 proved no more receptive to their demands than that of 1789. On each occasion the social disturbances that permitted women to band together in pursuit of their rights also gave opponents the chance to reaffirm male supremacy. The Republic of 1848 gave way to the Second Empire, just as the Republic of 1792 succumbed to the First, and both times organized French feminism died in the transition.

Nevertheless, the Second Empire represents a watershed for French feminism. During its authoritarian phase in the 1850's, the regime of Louis Napoléon crushed the movement, but a feminist revival commenced in the late 1860's. Louis displayed a personal interest in woman's plight, in marked contrast to his great uncle's attitude, and attempted to alleviate discrimination, particularly in education. But he could not, or at least did not, move rapidly enough to satisfy feminist demands. Consequently, the most favorable regime to women's rights in three generations found itself cast in the role of villain. Feminists refused to overlook the misogynist implications of the Bonaparte name or to ignore the protests of exiled sympathizers like Victor Hugo and Jeanne Deroin. Rather than rally to the Empire, feminists joined forces with the anti-imperial coalition that hoped to overthrow Louis and reestablish republican rule in France.

Feminists derived four distinct advantages from participating in the republican coalition under the Second Empire. At a theoretical level, the vision of a republic appealed to them because it portended

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a democratic society without privileged classes, based on the will of all the people and open to peaceful reform. At a pragmatic level, their participation in the coalition permitted them to call on the support of new allies and to employ republican forums to further feminist propaganda. Psychologically they gained a sorely-needed measure of legitimacy and respectability. Finally, in aligning themselves with republicanism under the Empire, feminists found themselves within the camp that would soon rule France.

The Second Empire collapsed during the disastrous Franco-Prussian War, from which the Third Republic emerged on 4 September 1870. But, far from being the promised land imagined by feminists, the new republic exposed strains in the victorious coalition. So long as "tyranny" had reigned in the person of the Emperor, the need to present a common front had obscured differences of opinion. With success, however, the dual problem of defining and defending the republic came to the fore. Feminists quite naturally expected to participate fully in the new political order. As a group they had helped to achieve the victory, and as individuals their faith in republicanism rivaled their belief in feminism. But as the Third Republic acquired increasing stability, faith in the one and belief in the other left feminists in a quandary.

In retrospect the broad outlines of the quandary are easy to see. Feminists fought for the republic because they believed it would inaugurate an era of social justice. Once secured, however, the republic responded with great reluctance to feminist demands. Its two major concessions, expansion of educational opportunities and legalized divorce, stemmed more from a desire to mold young people into good republican citizens and to strike a blow at Church influence than from a willing-

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ness to alleviate sex discrimination. Yet, compared to alternatives advanced by monarchists, clericals, and Bonapartists, the republic at least enacted some reforms and kept alive the hope that women would one day enjoy the fruits of democracy. If the republic collapsed, feminists felt, authoritarianism and masculinism would once again combine, ending all prospect of reform. Hence, the quandary for feminists hinged on where to draw the line between criticism and defense of the new republic.

At first, in the wake of defeat by the Prussians in 1870, the disruption of the Paris Commune of 1871, and the possibility of a successful monarchist resurgence, the republic's precarious position tilted feminists in favor of defense. But after the seize mai crisis of 1877, which revealed the strength of republican sentiment, the balance began slowly to shift. Feminists held their first congress the following year and urged the republic to eliminate discrimination against women in education, employment, and civil rights. The young movement split, however, when the congress refused to discuss woman suffrage on the grounds that a call for political equality would alienate potential sympathizers and, if enacted, would jeopardize the republic by delivering countless female votes into the hands of monarchists and clericals.

As the 1880's unfolded the rift widened and partially immobilized the movement. The minority of feminists, who saw political rights as the key to woman's emancipation, adopted the strategy of l'assaut espoused by Hubertine Auclert through her group, the Société pour le Suffrage des Femmes (founded in 1876 as the Société pour les Droits des Femmes) and her newspaper, La Citoyenne (1881-1891). The majority favored the strategy of la brèche, which accorded priority to acquiring civil rights for women, and looked to Maria Deraismes and Léon Richer

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for leadership. Deraismes and Richer had brought about the feminist-republican coalition under the Second Empire, and together they had co-sponsored the 1878 Women's Rights Congress. They drifted apart somewhat during the next decade as Deraismes tried to straddle the suffrage issue, while Richer combatted it through his *Ligue Francaise pour le Droit des Femmes* (founded in 1882) and his journal, Le Droit des Femmes (1869-1891). But cooperation between them never entirely ceased, and in 1889, during the centennial celebration of the Revolution, Deraismes and Richer co-hosted the Second French Congress for Women's Rights.

The 1889 Congress marked a turning point in the development of French feminism. Auclert's absence, together with skillful managing by Deraismes and Richer, guaranteed that the issue of woman suffrage would not mar the proceedings; and not until 1908 did a French feminist congress officially place the issue on its agenda. However, the victory of one feminist strategy over another did not mark the significance of the Congress, for, despite its adherence to the brèche line, the 1889 Congress failed to achieve either organizational or programmatic unity. Instead, its significance lay in the emergence after years of struggle of an ongoing movement. Feminists would no longer have to start anew as they had after 1789 and 1848. For the first time, a second generation of French feminists could build directly on the consciousness and dynamic of its immediate predecessor.

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CHAPTER I
CONDITIONS AND CONSTRAINTS: WOMEN AND
FEMINISTS UNDER THE SYSTÈME MASCULINISTE

From the vantage point of feminists, the condition of French women during the second half of the nineteenth century was bleak. A complex array of legal, ideological, and socio-economic factors held women in a state of distinct inferiority. Taken together these factors constituted the système masculiniste. Women found themselves completely excluded from many areas of French life, such as politics, higher education, and the professions. Where exclusion could not or did not operate, as in the home and in some branches of industry, women found themselves in a subordinate position, subject to the control of men. Individual and class differences affected the way in which women reacted to their condition. But for feminists the differences in discrimination meant little. In their eyes, all women suffered to a greater or lesser extent. "Woman is neither free nor happy in France," exclaimed Olympe Audouard in the course of declaring a "War on Men" in 1866.¹

The Code

The principal constraint on which the système masculiniste rested was the Code Napoléon. Officially promulgated in 1804, the

¹Olympe Audouard, Guerre aux hommes (Paris, 1866), 57.

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Code locked women into a "paper Bastille" of legal restrictions.²

Legend holds that in a museum somewhere is one of Napoléon's chairs, marred by rips and gashes. The story goes that the Emperor disfigured it in a rage when faced with critics who felt the Code treated women too harshly.³ Whatever the truth of the story, the Code certainly reflected Napoléon's low opinion of women. Female greatness, he asserted in a famous tilt with Madame de Staël, had only one dimension, fecundity. The idea that "genius has no sex" is absurd, he added; nothing is "more detestable than the woman who thinks."⁴ The Code also reflected Napoléon's imperial approach to the organization of society. Every institution required a leader of unquestioned authority. He had provided that for France as a whole; now men, as husbands and fathers, would provide that for the family. Woman belongs to man, Napoléon maintained, as the tree and its fruit belong to the gardener.⁵

Thus, under the Code the family emerged as a miniature empire.⁶ In return for protection, the wife owed obedience to her husband. She

²La Citoyenne, 2 July - 6 August 1882.

³Winifred Stephens, Women of the French Revolution (New York, 1922), 166.

⁴Francis I. Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France (London, 1937), iii.

⁵Françoise Guélaud-Leridon, Recherches sur la condition féminine dans la société d'aujourd'hui (Paris, 1967), 93. "What we ask of education," Napoléon wrote, "is not that girls should think, but that they should believe." Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times (Chicago, 1960), 90.

⁶For information on the Code and feminist reaction to it, see: H.M.J. Wattel, ed., Code Napoléon (Amsterdam, ca.1888); Women's Position in the Laws of the Nations, prepared by the International Council of Women (Karlsruhe, 1912), 97-126; Léon Richer, Le Code des Femmes (Paris, 1883); Maria Verone, La Femme et la loi (Paris, 1920);

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could not have a separate residence, obtain a hunting license, or attend a university without his consent. He had total control over community property, and without his permission she could neither give, sell, mortgage, nor buy. A wife could not work if her husband forbade it, and whatever she earned in wages or royalties belonged to him. While he lived she had no legal authority over her children and was incompetent, regardless of her marital status, to witness certificates of marriage, birth, and death. Children under twenty-one needed parental consent to leave home or to marry, but if the parents disagreed the father's consent alone sufficed. Upon a simple request to the courts, a father could imprison his children for various lengths of time without the mother's permission.⁷ A father could also assign guardianship to a third party in the event that he predeceased his wife.

A wife's adultery could bring imprisonment of three months to two years or more; a husband's went unpunished unless he defiled the marriage bed, which, even then, would cost him only a fine of 100 to 2,000 francs. All children born in wedlock belonged to the husband, and he could file a paternity suit if necessary, but no illegitimate

Ph. Sagnac, La Législation civile de la Révolution Française 1789-1804 (Paris, 1898). The Code, referred to above in the singular, included not only the Civil Code of 1804 but four other codes (penal, commercial, civil procedure, and criminal procedure). France's legal tradition derived from Roman law, whereas England subscribed to a common law tradition and the United States developed a system based on both common law and constitutional law. The significance of this separate tradition for women in France stemmed from the Roman emphasis on private law. "French law was, accordingly, more apt to intervene in relations within the family than English law." Ross Evans Paulson, Women's Suffrage and Prohibition: A Comparative Study of Equality and Social Control (Glenview, Illinois, 1973), 43.

⁷Fathers could imprison offspring for one month if under sixteen, six months if between sixteen and twenty-one. Illegitimate children had no inheritance rights whatsoever. "Society has no in-

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⁹La Citoy

child or unwed mother could file a paternity suit. Article 324 of the Penal Code sanctioned acquittal for husbands who killed their wives caught in flagrant délit. Foreign women who married Frenchmen acquired instant French citizenship; French women who wed aliens lost theirs. In general, announced Article 1124 of the Civil Code, unfit persons according to the law were minors, ex-convicts, and married women.

In depicting married women as unfit while attributing unquestioned authority to husbands and men in general, the Code also established the legal and "spiritual" premises for a series of judicial and administrative decisions that further narrowed the rights of women in the course of the nineteenth century. Unless the statutes clearly read in woman's favor, administrators and judges invariably ruled against her. The denial of political rights to women came about in this way, as did the denial of other rights. Married women lost postal privacy, for example, when the courts ruled that in light of "the domestic authority conferred upon him by law" a husband could open his spouse's mail "to seek the proof of an offense against his honor or some grave lapses to the obligations of marriage of which his wife might be guilty."⁸ Women lost the right to hunt in 1883 when a Corsican appeals court upheld the conviction of a widow, who, in taking up the sport on her doctor's advice, had violated a decree to the contrary by a local mayor. The widow in question drew a fine of sixteen francs and had her gun confiscated.⁹

terest in having these bastards recognized," Napoléon exclaimed. Robert B. Holtman, The Napoleonic Revolution (New York, 1967), 90-1.

⁸Sanche de Gramont, The French: Portrait of a People (New York, 1969), 400.

⁹La Citoyenne, 7 January - 4 February, 5 March - 1 April 1883.

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Single women, divorcees, and widows fared somewhat better under the Code, but in turn they had to confront a hostile society without male "protection." Divorce, available from 1792 to 1816 and again after 1884, therefore amounted to a mixed blessing. Women without husbands could make use of the provisions guaranteeing equal inheritance for offspring. But beyond this the Code did not go. Women enjoyed neither the right to vote nor the right to hold office, which most males lacked as well under the Empire, but men at least had received compensation -- the right to be domestic tyrants.

In only one respect did the Code prove beneficial to women -- as a focus of attack for subsequent French feminists. By giving legal articulation to misogynist customs, it provided clear-cut objectives and convenient labels for reformers. Numerous campaigns, for example, developed in opposition to Article 340, which prohibited paternity suits, and one feminist group, Jeanne Schmahl's *l'Avant Courrière* (1893-1907), spent over a decade in pursuit of just two goals, woman's right to serve as a legal witness of public and private acts and a wife's right to dispose of her income without her husband's authorization.¹⁰ But nearly a century had elapsed by then, and Schmahl could work through a movement that had already acquired a generation of experience. The feminists who built that movement were not so fortunate.

The Church

The Roman Catholic Church constituted a second constraint in the système masculiniste. Centuries, as well as opposing views on matters spiritual and temporal, separated Napoléon from Saint Paul.

¹⁰ France enacted a law permitting paternity suits in 1912. For an interesting article on *l'Avant Courrière* and its relationship

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Yet on at least one issue the two men transcended the intervening years and their ideological differences. Both agreed that order required woman's subordination to man. "The husband is the head of the wife," wrote Paul, "even as Christ is the head of the Church."¹¹ In feminist eyes, the Church represented a powerful influence that, in its structure, ideology, and institutional role, fostered the subordination of women.

The structure of the Church appalled nineteenth-century feminists on two counts. As a model for social organization the Church not only resembled the anti-woman regimes of Napoléon I and his nephew, but also, in its hierarchical and authoritarian aspects, the Church represented the antithesis of what feminists considered to be the prerequisite for women's liberation: a democratic republic susceptible to change from below. The second count involved the personnel of the Church, which reserved its most influential posts to men while denying to all of its officials what feminists and non-feminists alike considered to be one of woman's unique capabilities, procreation.

In ideology the Church abetted the système masculiniste by relegating women to a subordinate position within a single institution, the family. "Women belong to the family, and not to political society," wrote Louis de Bonald (1753-1840), a leading spokesman for traditional, authoritarian Catholicism, "and nature has made them for domestic cares, and not for public functions." To women fell "almost exclusively" the task of raising children, he explained, which entailed

to other feminist groups in France, see Jeanne E. Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," Forum, XXII (September, 1896), 79-92.

¹¹ Ephesians 5:23

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¹² Le Vicom
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¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

that "all, in their education, ought to be directed towards domestic utility, as all, in the education of young men, ought to be directed towards public utility:"

. . . Look at nature, and admire how it distinguished the sex that it calls to exercise public functions from that which it destines to the cares of the family: it gives to the one, from the most tender age, the taste for political and even religious action, the taste for horses, for arms, for religious ceremonies; it gives to the other the taste for sedentary and domestic works, for household cares, for dolls: these are the principles, and the best education system should develop them.¹²

Women possessed a unique nature, the negative aspects of which required special handling:

The powerful recourse to emulation, so effective in raising men, because it awakens in them the most generous passions, ought to be employed with extreme care in the education of women, among whom it may arouse vanity, source of their misfortunes, their faults, their ridicules.¹³

Intuition predominated in the "weaker sex," Bonald maintained, and "we should, in the education of young women, speak to their heart as much as to their reason . . . because women have received in sentiment their portion of reason."¹⁴

Sentiment permitted women to know "so many things" without learning them, Bonald added, but men must nonetheless retain unquestioned authority within the family:

¹²Le Vicomte Louis de Bonald, Législation primitive (4th ed., Paris, 1847), 414-17. In this work, originally published in 1802, Bonald referred to women as "personnes du sexe." But during the Restoration, "the expression le sexe, so in vogue thirty years earlier, disappeared." Évelyne Sullerot, Histoire de la Presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848 (Paris, 1966), 6. Hereafter cited as Sullerot, Presse.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

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The paternal power is independent from other members of the family; because, if it were dependent, it would not be power. It is therefore absolute or definitive; because, if it were not, it would be dependent, and there would be a power greater than it, that of disobedience.¹⁵

In short, nature had destined women to play the role of subordinate intermediaries:

The mother, placed by nature between the father and the children, between the power and the subject, and by the means or the ministry through which is accomplished productive and preservative action, the mother receives from the one in order to transmit to the other, obeys the former in order to have authority over the latter. . . . Thus, if she partakes of man through reason, she partakes of the child, as all physiologists have observed, through the delicateness of her organs, the sensitivity of her nerves, the changeableness of her moods, and we could call her a homme-enfant.¹⁶

In addition to the general effect of its ministry on the attitudes of male and female parishioners, the Church played an institutional role that touched women in a number of ways. It consistently opposed divorce, for example, which was unavailable in France from 1816 to 1884.¹⁷ In education it exercised a powerful influence, and, as a result of the Falloux Law of 1850, acquired a near monopoly of girls' schools.¹⁸ Within the economy, where women constituted one-third

¹⁵Vicomte Louis de Bonald, Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société (Paris, 1830), 102.

¹⁶Ibid., 103-4.

¹⁷In his Syllabus of Errors (1864), Pius IX specifically condemned divorce as one "of the principal errors of our time." It was wrong to believe, Pius maintained in error #67, that "by the law of nature, the marriage tie is not indissoluble, and in many cases divorce properly so called may be decreed by the civil authority." Anne Fremantle, ed., The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Context (New York, 1955), 143-50.

¹⁸The 1850 education reform bore especially hard on women. "It provided that nuns could teach without obtaining the certificate of capacity which was obligatory for lay teachers. The congregations' schools were thereby given an enormous competitive

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of the labor force, the Church, through its convent workshops, undercut wages, provided supervisors for "sweated labor," and, on at least one occasion, permitted nuns to break a strike of women workers.¹⁹

The Economy

Economic conditions and practices formed a third constraint in the système masculiniste.²⁰ Although most French women did not hold jobs, women nevertheless comprised more than a third of the non-agricultural work force in France during the second half of the nineteenth century. Most feminists, however, considered the distinction between working and non-working women to be a factor of secondary importance.²¹ Working women confronted discrimination on a vast scale, in employment opportunities, in pay rates, in work conditions, etc. But those who did not have to work found themselves in a state of dependence, unable to

advantage over the secular schools and quickly outnumbered them." Persis Hunt, "Feminism and Anti-Clericalism under the Commune," The Massachusetts Review, XII (Summer, 1971), 419.

¹⁹In 1869 the sisters of Saint Vincent de Paul sent a hundred women to replace strikers at Paris' Magasins du Louvre. Ibid., 420.

²⁰Unless otherwise noted, the data in this section are drawn from: Évelyne Sullerot, Histoire et sociologie du travail féminin (Paris, 1968); Jean Daric, L'Activité professionnelle des femmes en France (Paris, 1947); and Madeleine Guilbert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914 (Paris, 1966). See also: Kaethe Schirmacher, Le Travail des Femmes en France (Paris, 1902); Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles: Home and Work (London, 1956); Michel de Juglart, "L'Émancipation juridique de la femme en France et dans le monde," Histoire mondiale de la femme: sociétés modernes et contemporaines, published under the direction of Pierre Grimal (Paris, 1965), 293-346; and Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France.

²¹For an elaboration of this point of view, see Hubertine Auclert's articles in La Citoyenne, of 24 July 1881, 30 July 1881, May 1885. "With only minor variations, every census since 1906 showed women as forming roughly one-third of the working population (36.6 per cent in 1906, 33.7 per cent in 1926, 34.8 per cent in 1946) The structure and composition of this female labour force in France has,

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ensure by their own efforts the welfare of either themselves or their children. Some women who needed employment but could not find it turned to the système's most exploitative occupation, prostitution.

In raw numbers, excluding agricultural occupations, working women totaled over 2.7 million in 1866 and approached 4.5 million on the eve of the First World War. The size of the female agricultural work force expanded at approximately the same rate, growing from slightly over 1.8 million in 1866 to more than 3.2 million in 1911. As a percentage of the entire female population, which exceeded the male total throughout the life of the Third Republic, women workers, agricultural and non-agricultural alike, amounted to slightly less than 25% in 1866 and nearly 40% in 1911.

Among women workers the young and the single predominated. In 1906, for example, over 43% of the women aged 18 and 19 held non-agricultural jobs, as did more than one-third of the women in the 20 to 39 age bracket. Only 20% of the non-agricultural female work force was married in that year. Domestic service, clothing, and textiles attracted the majority of women workers, but a significant shift in occupational opportunities occurred during the first two generations of the Third Republic. Better education for women, restrictive labor legislation, and expansion of the tertiary sector brought about a marked increase in the number of women clerks and secretaries and a marked decrease in the number of female domestics.²²

of course, changed in these decades, but its total strength in relation to the male working population has remained more or less constant." Myrdal and Klein, Women's Two Roles, 46.

²²The number of women in domestic service declined from 1,050,735 in 1866 to 781,200 in 1906. The number of women employed by banks and commercial establishments rose from 238,000 in 1866 to

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Nevertheless, despite the size and, by implication, the importance of the female work force to the French economy, women workers confronted a complex array of discriminatory factors. Industrial wages rose throughout the century for both sexes, but most women received far less than their male counterparts. After several decades of relative progress, for example, a study by the Office du Travail revealed that in 1891-3 women's pay averaged 3 francs per day in the Department of the Seine and 2.10 in the rest of the country, compared to 6.15 and 3.90 respectively for men.²³ These figures did not include female "cottage" workers, who numbered nearly a million at the turn of the century and who earned only five to twenty centimes per hour.

771,000 in 1906. Guibert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914, 14. Wider utilization of women as secretaries also reflected a profound shift in attitudes towards woman's place in the work force. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Alexandre Dumas père warned that woman "would lose all her femininity by stepping foot into an office." Sullerot, Histoire et sociologie, 119. Males monopolized that position throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, which explains the anecdote about Madame de Persigny, a promiscuous representative of the Second Empire's titled elite. While her husband served as ambassador to England, Madame de Persigny's taste for embassy clerks led the amused to ask: "Mme de Persigny is lost; it is impossible to find her." "Well, have you looked carefully under all the furniture? The tables, buffets, and secretaries?" Roger L. Williams, The World of Napoleon III (New York, 1957), 29.

²³ Women earned excellent pay in only one job category, the cutting and polishing of precious stones, according to the Office du Travail survey for 1891-3. In this field, both sexes received 9.25 francs per day in the Department of the Seine, while outside the Seine women outearned over 5.15 francs per day to 4.65. None of the other jobs held by women paid nearly as well. Guibert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914, 18.

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The effect of such low wages on working women, eighty percent of whom were not married, had been documented some years before. In his L'Ouvrière (1861) Jules Simon calculated that, barring sickness and unemployment, a woman could earn about 500 francs per year. But according to Simon, once rent, fuel, clothing, and other essentials had been taken care of, a woman would have only 60 centimes per day for food — "enough not to die of hunger."²⁴ Female wage rates at the time ranged from 1.30 francs a day in the provinces to 2.10 in Paris, while in the one profession then open to women, teaching, more than 4,000 schoolmistresses earned under 400 francs per year. Five years later, Julie Daubié pointed out the link between subsistence wages and prostitution in her La Femme pauvre au XIXe siècle:

The inadequate pay of the urban working-woman sometimes drives her, even during a period of industrial prosperity, into meeting her budget by selling her body; this is called the fifth quarter of the day. During periods of unemployment, this kind of right to work fills the entire day Generally the poverty of women is such that among 6,000 [prostitutes] registered in Paris, only 2,000 had any resources. One woman can be mentioned who struggled three days against the tortures of hunger, before giving in.²⁵

In addition to low pay, hours were long, twelve to fifteen per day in most cases, and industrial conditions miserable. Seasonal work rivaled the business cycle as a cause of unemployment. Seamstresses labored fourteen hours per day, for example, but only from March to May and from September to January. Competition from convent workshops depressed wages for women in general, and the single girls who

²⁴Jules Simon, L'Ouvrière (Paris, 1861), cited in Edith Thomas, The Woman Incendiaries, trans. by James and Starr Atkinson (New York, 1966), 6.

²⁵Julie Daubié, La Femme pauvre au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1866), Ibid., 8.

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worked in them, subject to the rule of silence and unable to leave the premises unless accompanied by a nun, seldom made more than 150 francs per year. Factory laws, which most feminists opposed in principle, proved inadequate to "protect" women because they were difficult to enforce and, when enforced, they restricted women's employment opportunities and earnings.²⁶ Working women also derived little benefit from two of the Third Republic's major reforms in the 1880's, education and unionization. Inadequacy replaced unavailability in women's education in that decade, but, except for a possible correlation between fundamental language skills and secretarial work, the public girls' schools paid scant attention to job or career training. Trade unions won legal recognition in 1884, but, for a variety of reasons, women workers remained largely outside the movement. In 1900, for instance, women accounted for only 6.3% of union membership even though they represented 34.5% of the work force.

²⁶The Factory Law of 22 March 1841 covered only children without distinction as to sex. The law of 2 March 1848, which also made no sex distinctions, limited the work day to 12 hours in mines and factories, but it died with the provisional government that enacted it. The law of 19 May 1878 forbade night work to women under 21 and to men under 16; it also forbade all underground work to women. The law of 2 November 1892 prohibited women, irrespective of age, to work at night and limited their work day to eleven hours. It also required a weekly day of rest for women workers and provided for better supervision. But, as inspection reports indicate, enforcement proved extremely difficult and, moreover, the law itself permitted a great many exceptions to its provisions. Guilbert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914, 23-4. For an opinion pro and con on the law of November 1892 see: Rapport du Comité de Résistance pour la défense de la loi du 2 Novembre 1892 (Lyon, 1896) and Yves Guyot, La Réglementation officielle du travail (Paris, 1894). Feminists opposed the 1892 law from the moment debate began, see the article by Marya Chéliga-Loévy in Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, 15 April 1890. The only piece of protective legislation that won feminist endorsement was the "seat law" of 29 December 1900, which required shop owners to provide chairs for female clerks. "Feminists, adversaries of all special legislation in matters of work, have not,

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Reinforcing the miserable conditions confronted by female workers was the pervasive belief that non-domestic labor represented an illegitimate activity for women. This belief rested on three assumptions. First, as minors in the eyes of the law, women ought not to exercise the male prerogative of choosing among various occupational roles. Second, as creatures uniquely destined for family service, women ought not to assume the male responsibility of making contact with the world outside the home. Finally, as laborers, women ought not to hold jobs because their presence in the work force depressed male wages and contributed to male unemployment. Individuals from various schools of thought echoed one or another of these assumptions with mind-affecting regularity. Liberal republicans like the historian Jules Michelet and the journalist Emile de Girardin, both of whom displayed great concern for the plight of working women, sided with positivist August Comte in asserting that woman's liberation depended on freeing her from labor outside the home.²⁷ Conservatives and Catholics followed the lead of Albert du Mun and Frédéric Le Play who, in demanding factory laws to protect women, subscribed to the ideal expressed in Pope Leo XIII's

Rerum Novarum (1891):

Women, again, are not suited for certain occupations; a woman is by nature fitted for home work, and it is that which is best adapted at once to preserve her modesty and to promote the good bringing up of children and the well-being of the family.²⁸

so far as we know, protested against this concession, however humiliating in their eyes for commercial employees." Schirmacher, Travail des Femmes, 351.

²⁷For an interesting analysis of Comte and his views on women, see Louise-Marie Ferré, Féminisme et Positivisme (Saint-Léger-en-Yvelines, 1938).

²⁸Fremantle, ed., The Papal Encyclicals in Their Historical Context, 186. The difficulty of establishing a nexus between the

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Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, one of the chief mid-century spokesmen for the French working-class male, propounded another version of this belief. He proclaimed the congenital inferiority of women, calculating their worth at 8/27's of men's, and considered women unfit for anything other than reproduction. Society committed no injustice in discriminating against women, Proudhon wrote:

Equality of civil and political rights would mean that the privileges and grace that nature has bestowed on woman would become bound up with man's utilitarian faculties. The result of this bargaining would be that woman, instead of being elevated, would become denatured and debased . . . This would mean the end of the institution of marriage, the death of love, and the ruin of the human race.²⁹

So long as disobedience marred woman's character, Proudhon added, man should exercise the power of life and death over her. Women who worked deprived men of jobs and should therefore be considered as thieves. Nature gave women only two options, Proudhon maintained, "ménagère ou courtisane" — housewife or whore.

Education

Discriminatory education represented a fourth and, for most feminists, a decisive constraint in the système masculiniste. Since the Middle Ages, individuals had complained about the unavailability and inadequacy of girls' schools; but, as progress through better education became a national myth in the post-revolutionary era, such complaints assumed a more frantic character. "Just as today the majority

ideal of woman and the actual conditions under which women lived and worked is suggested by Sullerot, who pointed out that "prevailing ideology is insufficient to explain differences in the rates of employment that often run counter to the dominant social norms and reflect economic or demographic pressures." Sullerot, Woman, Society, and Change, 111.

²⁹ Stewart Edwards, ed., Selected Writings of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, trans. by Elizabeth Fraser (New York, 1969), 256.

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of the members of our society admit that economic growth is the essential objective of the collectivity," wrote a French scholar in 1968, "so in the second half of the nineteenth century one believed in education."³⁰

Statistics reveal the significance of the problem at mid point in the nineteenth century. Illiteracy affected approximately 40% to 45% of the adult population of France in 1851, with women exceeding the men in this group by a ratio of 3 to 2. Two decades later, the overall rate of illiteracy had dropped to 31%, but the sex ratio remained constant. In 1872, for instance, nearly eighty percent of French bridegrooms and military recruits could write their names, compared to sixty-five percent of French brides. By the time of the Second French Congress for Woman's Rights in 1889, male illiteracy had fallen to nine percent for bridegrooms and eleven percent for recruits, but illiterate brides totaled fifteen percent. Only in the next decade did the illiteracy ratio begin to vary in women's favor. It stood at 6 to 5 for brides and bridegrooms in 1900, and in 1901 illiterate women barely outnumbered their male counterparts in the population as a whole, 15,914 to 15,269.³¹

This gradual but uneven improvement in literacy during the course of the nineteenth century stemmed in part from public policy. Francois Guizot created a nation-wide system of primary schools for boys in 1833, and in 1850 the Falloux Law extended the system to girls. But neither reform made provision for training women teachers and, out

³⁰Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967 (Paris, 1968), 191.

³¹Carlo M. Cipolla, Literacy and Development in the West (Baltimore, 1969), 113-130.

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of deference to the parental prerogative, attendance remained voluntary. As a result, many communities refused to establish girls' schools, and where they did come into existence, the Church exercised a predominant influence. In the 1860's Louis Napoléon's Minister of Education, Victor Duruy, attempted to expand as well as reform primary education for both sexes, and to create a system of secondary schools for girls. To offset popular fears, Duruy stipulated that only women could teach needlework and that mothers who had doubts about the program could accompany their daughters to class. He also attempted to eliminate religious instruction from state schools, but that step, combined with his challenge to the clergy's virtual monopoly of girls' education, aroused the wrath of the Church. Bishop Dupanloup of Orléans condemned the experiment as immoral, and L'Ossevatore Romano, the official papal journal, threatened Louis Napoléon with the loss of Catholic electoral support unless he dismissed Duruy. The Emperor refused to bow to the threat, and the Express retaliated by enrolling her two nieces in the Sorbonne, but the scale of Duruy's reforms suffered.³² In 1877, the French Ministry of Education reported that "most lay schools have only one class and employ only one person."³³

All that began to change two years later, and by the end of the 1880's women had much wider access to education. A law in 1879 required every department to establish a normal school for women primary teachers. Teachers for these schools would receive their education at a special normal school in Fontenay-aux-Roses, founded by decree in

³²Williams, The World of Napoleon III, 173-208.

³³Cipolla, Literacy and Development in the West, 36.

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1880. Legislation creating a system of secondary schools for girls passed in the same year, and in 1881 another law located a normal school for women secondary instructors at Sèvres. In the meantime, a bill making primary education free for both sexes passed the Chamber and Senate, and in 1882 elementary instruction became compulsory. Each of these measures reduced the role of the clergy in French education. State scholarships assisted girls to attend secondary schools, which numbered sixteen lycées and nineteen collèges by 1886-7. Female teachers also received the vote and eligibility for the Conseil Supérieure de l'Instruction Publique, the chief policy making committee in the system.³⁴

As women acquired greater access to education in the 1880's, the problem of inadequacy came to the fore. Indeed, the growth in the number of girls' schools accentuated other deficiencies long associated with women's education in France. Among these deficiencies, failure to grant equal degrees to women ranked as one of the most important. Success through education in general, as well as access to higher education in particular, required a baccalauréat. Julie Daubié, who earned a bac through the University of Lyons in the 1860's, opened the examinations to women, and by 1881 there were eighty-eight bachelières in France.³⁵ But, despite Daubié's precedent, the girls' secondary schools that came into existence in the 1880's could award only an inferior diplôme de fin d'études secondaires. Women remained eligible to take the bac examinations, but passage demanded a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin, two subjects that had no place in the curriculum of

³⁴Evelyn Martha Acomb, The French Laic Laws 1879-1889 (New York, 1967), 153-82.

³⁵Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967, 263.

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the new girls' schools. Not until 1924 did girls' schools offer the same course of study and grant the same degrees as boys'.

Another deficiency stemmed from the failure to integrate the new girls' schools into the preexisting system of higher education. Even with the bac, women found themselves excluded from most professional training at the university level. Blanket application of an 1802 decree stipulating that "no woman can be lodged or received in the interior of Lycées and Collèges" had given way to a more liberal attitude in the course of the nineteenth century, but access to specialized programs remained difficult for women.³⁶ Only in medicine, which Duruy opened to women in 1868, had there occurred a breakthrough prior to the founding of the Third Republic. Other breakthroughs occurred after 1870, but these brought women face to face with yet another obstacle, the resistance of the various all-male professional associations. A long struggle over internships ensued after Duruy permitted women to attend medical school, for example, and in law, which became available to women at the university level in 1884, the male-dominated bar refused to admit women until 1900.³⁷

The apparent contradiction between the significant expansion of education for French women in the second half of the nineteenth century and its general inadequacy reflected the interplay of social-sexual stereotypes and political exigencies. The stereotypes that infused the educational system emphasized woman's special nature and

³⁶ Francoise d'Eaubonne, Histoire et actualité du féminisme (Paris, 1971), 108.

³⁷ Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France, 54-5.

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special destiny. A school inspector at Bordeaux, for instance linked the two in his 1870 report:

In the girls' schools as well as the boys', the education offers all the guarantees of morality which families could desire. The schools are run by teachers, both nuns and lay-women, who bring to their task, from the standpoint of moral education the most attentive care. Both nuns and laity receive with deference and docility the instructions which are given them by the administration. As I always say, devotion and a sense of duty, generally stronger in persons of this sex, help to compensate for their weakness in other respects . . .³⁸

A report for Paris in the same year reiterated the special nature theme:

The women teachers, both lay and religious render perhaps even greater services [than the men teachers]. Their knowledge and teaching ability leave something to be desired, but they are morally superior, more tactful, and more devoted.³⁹

The political exigencies that contributed to the inadequacy of women's education grew out of the feeling that women represented a threat to the republic, and, unless weaned from their superstitious attachment to Church and monarchy, they would undermine French democracy. "Women must belong to Science or to the Church," argued Jules Ferry, one of the chief architects of the expansion. Better education for girls would not only stabilize the family but would impede the machinations of the Old Regime, that "edifice of regrets, beliefs, and institutions which does not accept modern democracy," Ferry maintained:

In this combat [between democracy and monarchy], women cannot be neutral; optimists who do not wish to see to the bottom of things imagine that she does not take part in the battle, but they do not perceive the secret and persistent

³⁸Hunt, "Feminism and Anti-Clericalism under the Commune," 419.

³⁹Ibid., 420.

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Yet educators must take care lest women lose their femininity, Ferry warned; a woman's knowledge of science need not exceed the requirements of domestic life, nor was it necessary to provide her with professional training.

Nexes of Constraints

A fifth and final constraint under which women lived in the système masculiniste involved a complex arrangement of attitudes, customs, influences, assumptions, and practices. Diverse in nature and variable in impact, these factors could at times interact in such a way as to give rise to "nexes," the cumulative effects of which added yet another dimension to the oppression of French women and the problems faced by French feminists. An impression of how these nexes worked, as well as a clearer suggestion of what is meant by the term in this context, can be derived from examining three rather speculative themes. Two of these themes, immobilization and deflection, attempt to pull together factors that affected women in general. The third deals with one of the major obstacles confronted by feminists, the idea of feminism as an aberrant phenomenon.

French women found themselves immobilized in a number of ways. In respect to spatial movement, the law forbade married women to live where they pleased or to leave the country without their husbands' consent. No woman, regardless of marital status, could attend political rallies, according to a little enforced but potentially threatening law; nor, according to custom, could women sit in the press gallery of

⁴⁰ Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France 1800-1967, 268-9.

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the Chamber of Deputies.⁴¹ Women could appear in public, although their numbers might be regulated in times of crisis, but in doing so they risked humiliation at the hands of the Morals Police. They also encountered inconvenience in Paris, where municipal restrooms for men outnumbered those for women 20 to 1. Women could buy train tickets, but few would travel by rail unaccompanied.⁴² In respect to personal mobility, the law forbade women to wear pants, while popular styles dictated dresses of encumbering length, hats of unwieldy size, and corsets of constrictive and, as a contemporary minority maintained, unhealthy design.⁴³ Moreover, if the word "movement" can be stretched a bit, the

⁴¹Observance of the law excluding women from political rallies seemed to depend on the prevailing political climate. In 1875, with fear of reaction in the air, Louis Blanc spoke at St-Mandé to a gathering of 600 men. The women who accompanied them waited in a nearby garden while the rally took place behind closed doors and windows. A year later, women attended political gatherings throughout France, including a 14 July celebration at the St-Mandé hall from which they had been excluded the year before. L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 August 1876, 6 January, 1877.

⁴²In 1880 the Union Internationale des Amies de la Jeune Fille, founded earlier by the Fédération Bratinnique et Continentale, became the Union des Amies de la Jeune Fille. The importance of the name change stemmed from a new service, providing intranational, as well as international, assistance to young female travelers. In France the Union had its headquarters at Lyon, with an 150 member branch at Paris. Paris hosted the Union's international congress in 1888. Under the direction of Mlle. Venet and M. and Mme. Siegried, the Union secured permission to post its address in French train stations. Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, April 1891.

⁴³The law forbidding women to wear pants was enacted on 9 Brumaire IX, and it remains on the books. Sullerot, Presse, 102. For an interesting article on the corset controversy, see David Kunzle, "The Corset as Erotic Alchemy: From Rococo Galanterie to Montaut's Physiologies" in Thomas B. Hess and Linda Nochlin, eds., Woman as Sex Object: Studies in Erotic Art, 1730-1970 (New York, 1972), 90-165.

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atmosphere of sexual repression in which women lived not only impeded heterosexual expression but threatened as well the freedom to explore their own bodies. Taboos against the "hideous vice" of masturbation weighed heavily on both sexes, but for women addicted to this form of "hysteria" an 1864 surgical report recommended excising the clitoris and suturing the vaginal orifice.⁴⁴ Given these and other restrictions on women's behavior, it is not surprising that exceptional French women often adopted male attire, despite the law, or employed male pseudonyms, as in the cases of George Sand, Daniel Stern, André Léo, and the Vicomte de Lannay. Nor is it surprising that they tended to create "distance"

⁴⁴D'Eaubonne, Histoire et actualité du féminisme, 102. In general in the nineteenth century, wrote John Demos, "the whole subject of sex was enveloped in a pervasive hush, which remained virtually unbroken until our own [twentieth] century. . . Masturbation became the phobia of the times; to practice this secret sin was to risk intemperance, insanity and death. . . For many women, of every status, the situation was more tortured still [than for men]. Recent research on the history of gynecology has uncovered a demand, in an astonishing number of cases, for the surgical procedure of clitoridectomy. Evidently this was the last resort of women who, contrary to expectation, found themselves afflicted with "sensual" wishes." John Demos, "The American Family in Past Time," The American Scholar XLIII (Summer, 1974), 437. A principal cause of female masturbation lay in youthful drinking, according to an 1886 report to the Société Française de Tempérance. If young girls drank, explained Dr. A.-J. Devoisins, two consequences would "almost inevitably" result: premature menstruation and l'onanisme. Marital drunkenness would also cause women to bear idiotic, epileptic, and hysterical enfants. Women possessed a "marvelous" ability to adapt to their "natural destination," but the traumatic passage through puberty had to come at the proper moment without external stimuli: "It is perhaps at that epoch of life when the sensitivity of woman is the most strangely tormented in a contrary sense. It is also without doubt one of the stormiest periods of her existence. Her nervous system assumes attributes of the most accentuated susceptibility. Woman effects due to menstrual hemorrhage an excessive irritability, her imagination takes on an unusual activity, sometimes even disordered, her senses splinter, and among subjects so predisposed, attacks of hysteria or epilepsy appear or recur. One also ascertains peculiar caprices, bizarre tastes, and changes in character, that grow into a disposition to melancholy, irascibility, hypochondria, etc." A[bert]-J[oseph] Devoisins, La Femme et l'alcoolisme, Paris, 1885, 33-4. For information on the campaign against alcoolisme in France, see Chapter II.

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between themselves and other women, echoing a version of Madame de Staël's disdainful comment: "I am glad I am not a man, for if I were I would have to marry a woman."⁴⁵

The theme of deflection involves some of the various countervailing influences that, from a feminist point of view, "guided" females into "womanhood" and males into "manhood," rather than both into personhood. Legal, religious, economic, and educational constraints figured in the deflection, of course, but other and perhaps equally powerful influences assisted in the feminine-masculine bifurcation of French society. Symbols, or the lack thereof, relate to this theme, from "La Belle France," an expression for the French collectivity with "feminine" overtones of moral superiority and honor in need of protection, to statues and street names, almost none of which paid homage to women.⁴⁶ But more harmful in their deflective effect on the women and

⁴⁵Edward Lewis, ed., The French on Life and Love (Kansas City, 1967), 39. The tendency of women to create distance between each other and to demean each other is characteristic of minority groups. As with racial and ethnic minorities, women tend to accept the dominant group's stereotyped conceptions, which result in "mea culpa" breast-beating, applying severe moral standards to other women, preferring to work under men, and finding the company of women repugnant. In short, "like those minority groups whose self-castigation outdoes dominant group derision of them, women frequently exceed men in the violence of their vituperations of their sex." Helen Meyer Hacker, "Women as a Minority Group," condensed in Nona Glazer-Malbin and Helen Youngelson Waehrer, eds., Woman in a Man-Made World (Chicago, 1972), 39-40.

⁴⁶According to Larnac, women represented only eight per cent of the entries in French biographical dictionaries. Jean Larnac, Histoire de la littérature féminine en France (Paris, 1929), 248. Dronsart claimed that the decision by the Paris Municipal Council to name a street after Maria Deraismes in 1896 represented the first act of this kind, so far as she knew: "Le quartier n'est pas beau (square des Epinettes [in the 17th arrondissement]), la rue n'est pas jolie; c'est plutôt une impasse, mais enfin le principe est sauf." Marie Dronsart, "Le Mouvement Féministe," Le Correspondant, 10 October 1896, 116. Of the thousands of statues in Paris, according to Simone de Beauvoir, only ten honor women: three to Jeanne d'Arc and the others to Madame de Ségur, George Sand, Sarah Bernhardt,

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men who feminists sought to convert were female consumerism, the feminine press, and children's stories.

Female consumerism assumed massive proportions during the second half of the nineteenth century as municipal entrepreneurs, particularly Parisians, attempted to tie the provincial market into a new business phenomenon, the department store. The great names in this field acquired their start under the Second Empire — Au Bon Marché in 1852, Le Louvre in 1855, Le Printemps and La Samaritaine in 1865 — and their success stemmed in large part from tapping female purchasing power. Middle and lower class women could not afford exclusive shops or follow the example of "fashionable women" who changed their clothes six or seven times per day, but they could and would participate to some degree in the arid but everchanging business of style if two requirements were met. Prices had to come down, and the identification of adornment and self, so characteristic of aristocratic circles, had to filter into the ranks of the other classes. The great department stores met the first requirement through stocking less expensive, ready-made goods, and they tackled the identification requirement through advertisements and other promotional gimmicks. Financially the dual assault on women proved spectacularly successful. Aristide Boucicaut, for example, who founded Au Bon Marché in 1852 and who "focused his attention primarily on women, encouraging them to browse and spend money freely," increased his gross ten-fold to five million francs per

Madame Boucicaut, Baroness de Hirsch, Rosa Bonheur, and Maria Deraismes. Simone de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, trans. by H.M. Parshley (New York, 1952), 122. Deraismes' statue, the only one to a woman active in the organized feminist movement under the Third Republic, was raised in the Square des Epinettes shortly after her death in 1894; only its base remains today.

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year by 1860.⁴⁷ Against this background of success with the female walk-in clientele, which made the department store one of the few places where women could move freely, the prospect of capturing the female provincial market through highly illustrated mail-order catalogues emerged as the next logical step to take.⁴⁸

The feminine press, journals about and directed to women, antedated the consumerist phenomenon by over two centuries. The first of this genre in France, La Muse Historique, appeared in 1650. By 1800 thirty-four journals had come out, two-thirds during the opening decade of the Revolution. Another seventy-one appeared by 1845, bringing the total, which included several feminist sheets, to slightly over one hundred for the period 1650-1845. Since that time and as a correlate to improved female literacy, an additional 200 to 300 titles have seen the light of day. Many of these publications proved to be short-lived. Of the seventy-one that appeared during the first half of the nineteenth century, for example, forty-nine folded within two years and only sixteen survived five years or more. But the few that did survive,

⁴⁷S. C. Burchell, Imperial Masquerade: The Paris of Napoleon III (New York, 1971), 67-9.

⁴⁸Bardèche attributed the general improvement in women's education to two factors: expanded primary instruction and mail-order catalogues sent into the provinces by the large department stores. He called the new-style women "created" by these stores "la cliente-type." Maurice Bardèche, Histoire des Femmes (Paris, 1968), II, 314-29. Females outnumbered males throughout the second half of the nineteenth century in France. According to Daric, there were 38,000 more women than men in France in 1866, 93,000 more in 1881, 423,000 in 1896, and 617,000 in 1901. Daric, L'Activité professionnelle des femmes en France, 15. Van de Walle calculated the total female population in France for these years as 19,274,100 in 1866, 18,964,700 in 1881, 19,441,600 in 1896, and 19,533,900 in 1901. Etienne Van de Walle, The Female Population of France in the Nineteenth Century: A Reconstruction of 82 Departments (Princeton, New Jersey, 1974), 125.

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especially those that lasted into or originated under the Third Republic, tended to acquire enormous readerships. Le Moniteur de la Mode (1843-1919) had 200,000 subscribers in 1890, for instance, while Le Petit Écho de la Mode, which still exists, leaped from a run of 5,000 copies in 1879, the year of its founding, to 175,000 in 1884 and to 210,000 in 1893. Newspapers and magazines of a feminist persuasion, in contrast, had runs of only a few thousand until 9 December 1897 when, during the movement's second generation, La Fronde printed 200,000 copies of its first edition.⁴⁹

In content, the feminine press contributed to deflection by promoting frivolity and by emphasizing neo-traditional roles for women. The identification of adornment and self that characterized the business boom in women's goods found an ally in many of the journals of this genre. Dozens of publications, some of which depended in whole or in part on industry subsidies, promoted the latest in "mode," "vogue," "fashion," "toilette," "nouveau," and "bon ton."⁵⁰ Like the short-lived Musée des Modes Parisiennes (1843), they inundated their readers with "designs of elegant fashions, sketches of ridiculous fashions, discussions of the latest feminine products, the clamor of the salons," etc.⁵¹ The emphasis on women's neo-traditional roles involved an

⁴⁹For information on the feminine press in France, see: Évelyne Sullerot, La Presse Féminine (Paris, 1966) and Sullerot, Presse. La Fronde's initial run of 200,000 copies probably reflects an attempt to advertise the new venture rather than an indication of the number of its subscribers.

⁵⁰Twenty-eight of the seventy-one feminine journals that appeared between 1800 and 1845 employed one or more of the following words in their titles: mode, vogue, fashion, toilette, bon ton, miroir, boudoir, élégant, nouveau, galant. Sullerot, Presse, 217-8.

⁵¹Sullerot, La Presse féminine, 22.

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exaggerated concern for domestic life, reflected in titles such as La Mère de Famille, La Femme chez Elle, and Le Bon Ange du Foyer. The first of the Roman Catholic journals of this type, La Mère de Famille (1833-6), contributed to a trend that grew in strength throughout the nineteenth century. This trend effected a juncture between moral imperatives, the "Duties" of woman as wife and mother, and the social entity that dominated bourgeois society, the conjugal family. The juncture in turn amounted to a veritable cult, regardless of religious overtones, in which "the woman is very forcefully integrated into [the family] by tradition and her role is narrowly dictated to her; while at the same time her moral sense is molded in such a way that she tends to think that she is the one who deliberately chooses, desires, freely accepts that place, that role, that destiny."⁵²

The third deflective influence, children's stories, arose out of a combination of factors whose precise formula is as difficult to determine as the impact of the stories themselves. Heated exchanges over breast-feeding and swaddling at the end of the eighteenth century engendered a voluminous, wide-ranging inquiry into child-rearing in the nineteenth century. Women found themselves doubly burdened as a result, saddled simultaneously with heavier child-related responsibilities and fewer outlets for their own creativity. For some, especially those who wrote for the feminine press, children's stories represented the best and, to a certain extent, the only available way to reconcile the contradictions of the double burden. Consequently, dozens of literary-minded, child-oriented, middle-aged, Christian women relieved their frustrations by devoting their talents to the service of youth. The

⁵²Sullerot, Presse, 189.

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women who wrote for Le Journal des Femmes (1832-8), for example, authored enough stories to fill fifteen pages of bibliography. With reprintings, which numbered thirty in forty years for Alida de Savignac's Les Petits garçons d'après nature, the quantity of paper consumed by such works alone proved enormous. "But what influence have they had, really," one might ask along with Évelyne Sullerot, "these women story tellers who soothed the infancy of so many children and inculcated into them this moral current, these clichés of vocabulary, these religious impulses, this subdued Manicheanism and this view of society, their place and their duties that mark a mentality, a sensibility, even when the adult does not retain a very clear memory of them!"⁵³

The final theme, feminism as an aberrant phenomenon, concerns the emergence of the idea that women's liberation represented an illegitimate social objective. Any protest from whatever quarter against the système masculiniste might engender potentially "illegitimizing" counter-attacks of a particularly virulent nature. Consequently, by mid-century French feminists confronted a society that not only imposed countless constraints on women, but perpetuated as well the idea that feminists, as advocates of an essentially illegitimate cause, deserved a full measure of contempt and ridicule.⁵⁴

⁵³Ibid., 81-3, 117, 171-4. Quote is on page 173.

⁵⁴Elizabeth Janeway's analysis of myth and role-playing in Man's World, Woman's Place (New York, 1971) provides an interesting insight into the stigma. According to Janeway, the social-sex division of society rests on myth, and "so old is this partition and so built into our minds and our cultural background that it produces an illusion of inevitability and revealed truth." (7) "Now the preservation of the order of the world is the formally stated function and consciously held purpose of myth," (42) and "the way myths affect individuals is through holding up roles for them to play." (70) These roles can either conform to the norm or deviate from it. The most common form of deviation

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The stigma of illegitimacy did not result from organized opposition to feminism as such. Indeed, by the time Charles Fourier coined the word "feminism" in 1808, the stigma had already begun to spread.⁵⁵ It appeared occasionally in the early nineteenth century.

is the shift from accepted to unaccepted behavior, from positive role-playing to the mythic opposite, negative role-playing. The effect of such shifts is to reinforce the prevailing myth by permitting deviants to be stigmatized as social enemies. Conventional labels illustrate this for, as Janeway maintained, "if the witch is the dark shadow side of the mother and the shrew the negative of the public, pleasing women whose business it is to charm men, the bitch shadows the private, loving women." (199) Specific male fears about females -- what d'Eaubonne called "gynophobie" in her Histoire et actualité du féminisme, 104 -- and general apprehensions about what may happen next accentuate this tendency: "The role-breaker threatens the order of the universe not just by her own challenge to it, but by disturbing the accustomed connection with this order which is felt by other peoples." (125) Hence, in addition to the institutional disabilities that weighed on women, feminists in France and elsewhere confronted a situation in which their campaign suffered from the ease with which the prevailing social-sex myth could stigmatize them as illegitimate.

One dimension of this process involved vocabulary. In his study of over 1,500 words that apply to women in France, George C. S. Adams concluded that "the descriptive terms fall into a number of groups. In the greatest number of instances unseemly behavior is designated. Next in importance are terms denoting unattractive physical appearance. The two types of meaning are often found in combination. More than half of the terms derive their significance from the extension of meaning of terms applied to animals (horses, dogs, etc.), unmentionable parts of the body, and inanimate objects of various sorts. There are also a fair number of terms used primarily as injurious epithets. That nearly all of the descriptive terms are of a derogatory nature is due to the fact that there is a general tendency, when speaking ill of a person, to sum him up in a word; whereas when one speaks well of a person, he usually makes use of locutions rather than single words." George C. S. Adams, Words and Descriptive Terms for 'Woman' and 'Girl' in French and Provençal and Border Dialects. University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, Number 11 (Chapel Hill, 1949), 90.

⁵⁵ Charles Fourier, Théorie des quatre Mouvements et des destinées générales (1808).

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Subsequently, as the new word came to be associated with certain critics and certain types of criticism of the système masculiniste, there emerged a reaction that in retrospect could be called anti-feminist. But not until the end of the century, when feminism had acquired more support, did a specific, determined opposition arise. And, even then, this opposition tended to be both highly individualistic and numerically insignificant. Théodore Joran devoted a considerable portion of his journalistic career to combating the "lie of feminism," for example, but he found it unnecessary to go beyond literary assault. Existing institutions could supply Joran with whatever additional support his cause might need. His work on Le Mensonge du féminisme won the acclaim of the Académie française, while his attack in 1913 on Le Suffrage des femmes earned him the prix du budget of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques.⁵⁶

Rather than a product of determined, organized opposition, the stigma represented the cumulative effect of a wide variety of general

⁵⁶Théodore Joran, Le Suffrage des femmes (Paris, 1914). In addition to Le Suffrage des femmes, Joran's works on feminism include Le Mensonge du féminisme (Paris, 1905); Autour du féminisme (Paris, 1906); Le Féminisme à l'heure actuelle (Paris, 1907); Au coeur du féminisme (Paris, 1908); La Trouée féministe (Paris, 1909); and Les Féministes avant le féminisme (2 vols., Paris, 1910, 1935). He also wrote the preface to Neera's /Anna Radius Zuccari/ Les Idées d'une femme sur le féminisme (Paris, 1908). His non-feminist works reflected an interest in language and education and included Le Péril de la syntaxe et la crise de l'orthographe. recueil de locutions vicieuses, dressé par ordre alphabétique (6th ed., Paris, 1916) and Université et enseignement libre, deux systèmes d'éducation (2nd ed., Paris, 1905). In a review of Joran's Suffrage, the Earl of Cromer agreed that even moderate feminists showed defects of character that would "render it undesirable that direct political power should be conferred on women." Like Joran, Cromer identified feminists with a trinity of "anarchism, collectivism, and anti-militarism," seeing in them a threat to family, religion, and morality. E.B. Cromer, "Feminism in France," Living Age, CCLXXIX (6 December 1913), 589-93. Some of Joran's letters on feminism can be found in BMD, Dossier Misme. For feminist reaction to his opinions, see: L'Entente, June 1906 and February 1908; Léon Abensour, Le Problème féministe: Un cas d'aspiration collective vers l'égalité (Paris, 1927), 167-8; and La Française, 29 November 1908.

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impressions and selectively-interpreted incidents. Each had spokesmen who could command large audiences on occasion, but theirs was less campaign than comment. Few of the spokesmen, despite the virulence of their attacks, accorded primacy to the struggle against feminism. Nor, for that matter, did many of them speak out often on the subject. Yet the effect of their infrequent, passionate remarks proved substantial. Preexisting sexist attitudes acquired new, more up-to-date reinforcement, and, as a corollary, feminists found themselves singled out for specific, derogatory treatment. On a collective scale anti-feminism assumed a significance inversely related to either the constancy of its purveyors or the strength of the movement. In short, the stigma had its roots in ubiquity.

The stigma of illegitimacy drew its operative force in part from a plethora of "guilts by association." At the deductive level, feminists could hardly avoid the popular assumptions that denigrated women in general. These ran a metaphysical gamut of special natures and special roles, each of which tended to undermine feminist credibility. Women were only large children in the eyes of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for example, while to others they were even less.⁵⁷ "Oh! Monsieur," responded a Breton farmer to an inquiry by Ernest Legouvé, "I haven't any children; I have only daughters."⁵⁸ For those who admitted woman's potential for post-infantile development, there existed other negative

⁵⁷Léon Abensour, La Femme et le Féminisme avant la révolution (Paris, 1923), 374.

⁵⁸Charles Laurent, Les Droits de la femme: Droits politiques (Paris, 1888), 4.

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assumptions. Many believed along with liberal priest Félicité de Lamennais that women lacked the ability to think: "I have never met a woman capable of following an argument for half a quarter-hour."⁵⁹ Or, if women's minds proved sound, they lacked moral integrity: "Madame, remember this," adjured Police Prefect Lacour to an English abolitionist, "that women continually injure honest men, but no man ever injures an honest woman."⁶⁰

At an inductive level, feminists found themselves associated with a multitude of individual women who had transgressed the standards of the système masculiniste. These too ran a gamut, the whole of French history. Sometimes, as with Marie Antoinette, the individual might be referred to by name. At other times, the reference was less precise. Was the philosophe Antoine-Léonard Thomas thinking of Catherine de Medici and her role in the Saint Bartholomew Day's Massacre of 1572, for instance, when he wrote that women "lack that calm strength that knows how to stop: all that is moderate torments them"?⁶¹ Occasionally the individuals had only a collective identity. The Goncourt brothers, for example, who considered Rousseau to be a great liberator of women, employed the phrase "pillow government" to characterize the debilitating influence of a few women on the Second Empire's ruling elite; and a great many French citizens under the Third Republic attributed the destruction

⁵⁹Joran, Les Féministes avant le Féminisme, II, 309.

⁶⁰The objective of the abolitionist movement in Europe was to eliminate the legal regulation of prostitution. The English abolitionist to whom Lacour spoke was Josephine E. Butler, who needed his permission to observe conditions in the women's prison of Saint Lazare in 1874. Josephine E. Butler, Personal Reminiscences of a Great Crusade (London, 1896), 129.

⁶¹Joran, Les Féministes avant le Féminisme, II, 138.

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uring the Paris Commune of 1871 to another small group of women, the pétroleuses.⁶² Myth mingled with reality in these attributions, of course, but the effect remained. Feminists suffered from having to contend simultaneously with particular assumptions about women in general and with the generalized "sins" of their various "sisters" in particular.

The stigma drew additional force from attacks on specific actions and practices of women. Some of these attacks bore directly on feminist endeavors. In his Alarmes de l'Episcopat justifiées par faits (1868), for example, Bishop Dupanloup warned against the proliferation of professional schools for women, for which Elisa Lemonnier had founded the prototype in 1862. After a lengthy tirade against positivism, pantheism, materialism, atheism, and Darwinism, Dupanloup concluded:

The truth is that we are confronted by a profound and vast enterprise of impiety directed against the faith of young French women. And it is clear that if such a system of education spreads and prevails for the girls of our country, it would not take two generations, it would take only one to make of France a nation of the ungodly and a people such as has never been seen under the sun.⁶³

Other attacks focused on activities pursued by feminists and non-feminists alike. Jules Barbey-d'Aurévilly, for instance, seized on women's literary works to prove that men alone possessed the ability to think abstractly. "Speak to [woman] neither of deduction nor reason," Barbey-d'Aurévilly urged, "she will obey nothing other than blind unreflective impulses."⁶⁴ The slightest acquaintance with female

⁶²For an analysis of the pétroleuses, see Thomas, The Woman Incendiaries.

⁶³Bishop Dupanloup (of Orléans), Les Alarmes de l'Episcopat justifiées par les faits, Lettre à un Cardinal par Mgr. l'évêque d'Orléans (Paris, 1868).

⁶⁴Larnac, Histoire de la littérature féminine en France, 34-5.

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publications would reveal their sex-determined inferiority: "Study their works . . . At the tenth line, and without knowing whose they are, you are forewarned, you smell woman! Odor di femina." Les bas bleus, as Barbey-d'Aurevilly called them, resurrecting a derisive label of English origin, had forsaken their principal function, reproduction of the species. They had attempted to become men, but "male faculties are as radically lacking in them as the organ of Hercules to Venus de Milo."⁶⁵ Still other attacks had nothing at all to do with the acts of feminists, although advocates of women's liberation might respond at times. One such time occurred in 1865 when a committee of women listened to an angry reply to Procurator General Dupin who had ~~em~~oriated women's "frightening" addiction to luxury in a speech to the French Senate.⁶⁶

A fourth and final way in which the stigma garnered force stemmed from the belief that "uppity" women had attempted to disrupt the natural, albeit revolutionary, evolution of French society. The National Assembly in 1850 subscribed to this belief and nearly succeeded in depriving women of their one and only political right, the right to petition the legislature.⁶⁷ Women's participation in the utopian socialist movements of the 1830's also aroused hostility because, as a turn-of-the-century feminist put it, those movements amounted to nothing more than "an enormous orgy where giants endowed with the appetite of ogres gorged themselves on monstrous feasts and

⁶⁵Jules Barbey-d'Aurevilly, Les Bas-Bleus (Geneva, 1968), xxiii.

⁶⁶Olympe Andouard, Le Luxe effréné des Hommes, discours tenu dans un comite de femmes (Paris, 1865).

⁶⁷Sullerot, Presse, 152.

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innumerable loves."⁶⁸ But, above all, the Great Revolution of 1789 served as the principal source for this belief.

Within philosophe circles preceding the events of 1789, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who emerged as the foremost anti-feminist spokesman, perceived women as depraved beings whose primary duty in life consisted of constant service to the sex they had "originally" wronged:

All education of women should be relative to men. To please them, to be useful to them, to be loved and honored by them, to counsel them, to console them, to render their lives agreeable and sweet; these are the duties of women at all times.⁶⁹

The Marquis de Condorcet articulated a more advanced position, from a feminist point of view. He urged equal education and the right to vote for women, and during the Revolution's initial euphoric phase, his stand seemed to prevail.⁷⁰ Women contributed significantly to the course of events, at first through spontaneous actions like the March on Versailles in October 1789, then through organized endeavors, such as clubs, vigilance committees, pamphlets, and manifestoes. But as euphoria gave way to fear, the Revolution moved leftward and a reaction set in against women. Condorcet's suicide in 1793 symbolized the shift in attitude, and the same Terror that hounded him to death quickly proceeded to close the women's clubs and to arrest their more prominent members. A few women received death sentences, including Olympe de Gouges who had written a Déclaration des Droits de la femme et de la

⁶⁸Jane Misme, "La Vie et la Mort du féminisme," MSS, BMD, 26.

⁶⁹Jean Jacques Rousseau, Émile, quoted in Sullerot, Presse, 16.

⁷⁰Abensour, La Femme et le Féminisme avant la révolution, 426-8.

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Citoyenne in 1791 and had petitioned the National Convention for the right to act as defense counsel to Louis XVI.⁷¹

But more important than the individual fate of these women was the attitude displayed by their persecutors. To the Jacobin Chaumette, an ex-priest, they were "degraded beings who wish to avoid and violate the laws of nature." "Since when," he asked, "is it permitted to women to abjure their sex and to make themselves men?"⁷² Despite women's virtues, pronounced Amar, "it is nonetheless true that they cannot apply themselves to work, to fill the jobs or the occupations to which men are destined."⁷³ Like Chaumette, Amar belonged to the Jacobin faction, and his views reflected those of his more illustrious colleagues, Marat and Robespierre. But the Jacobins were not the only ones to espouse this Rousseauiste interpretation of women. Hébert, although executed by the Jacobins, subscribed to it, and the Thermidorians who overthrew Robespierre ordered women to remain in their domiciles under pain of arrest if more than five assembled together in public.⁷⁴ The regime created by the Thermidorians withstood, in turn, a challenge by a man of like mind. "French citizens," proclaimed Babeuf, leader of the Society of Equals, "you are under the regime of c . . . The Pompadours, the Dubarrys, the Marie-Antoinettes live again, they are the ones who govern you, to whom you owe a great part of the calamities that assail

⁷¹Jeanne Bouvier, Les Femmes pendant la révolution (Paris, 1931), 283-9.

⁷²Sullerot, Presse, 63-4.

⁷³Ibid., 64.

⁷⁴Ibid., 65.

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Three years after Babeuf's execution, Napoléon assumed control of France.

In nurturing what the Convention begot, Napoléon confirmed the idea of woman "as an inferior race that an undefined and quasi-divine curse rendered irretrievable."⁷⁶ Thus, in addition to the innumerable institutional and social constraints that impeded their efforts, feminists found themselves excluded from the principles and at odds with the work of their nation's revolutionary heritage. Hubertine Auclert must have felt both regret and anger when she remarked in 1882 that "the fourteenth of July is not a national celebration, it is the apotheosis of masculinity."⁷⁷

The Family

The various constraints imposed on women by the système masculiniste had a specific and immediate objective, to direct women into family life. There, in the eyes of the système's defenders, women would find what familialists in the next century called "fulfillment": the satisfaction of accomplishing tasks uniquely suited to the female disposition. There too, women would find a haven from the corrupting

⁷⁵Ibid., 50.

⁷⁶Ibid., 66.

⁷⁷La Citoyenne, 2 July - 6 August 1882. Without doubt the Great Revolution set in motion processes of change which, over varying periods of time, positively effected the material and legal conditions of life for women as well as men, workers and peasants as well as capitalists. Nonetheless feminists argued (and continue to argue) that the status of women, particularly relative to the status of men, did not improve as a result of these developments. Indeed, they maintained that the rights of women diminished while the rights of men increased. "It was the Revolution which, though it established the political rights of men, destroyed those of women," wrote Winifred Stephens, "Women's Suffrage in France," Living Age, CCCI (31 May 1919), 555.

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influences that abounded in society at large as well as "protection" from their own mental and physical flaws. "Women belong to the family, and not to political society," Louis de Bonald had written during the first half of the nineteenth century, "and nature has made them for domestic cares, and not for public functions."⁷⁸ At the end of the century, during an 1891 debate on labor legislation for women, Count Lemerrier drew cheers from leftists and centrists for articulating the same idea:

Ah! do not forget that it is woman who makes the family, and the more you leave her to her domestic hearth, the more you leave her in her own milieu, the more you assure the peace and the prosperity of the family.

Now, the peace of the family is the peace of society.⁷⁹

Nature, in short, prescribed home and family as the sole, legitimate sphere for women while simultaneously proscribing all activity outside the foyer.

However, the type of family towards which the systeme masculiniste compelled women in the nineteenth century exhibited a number of new and startling characteristics. How and why these developed is a matter of some controversy, but the end product has received apt description in the imaginative work of Philippe Ariès.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Bonald, Législation primitive, 414.

⁷⁹France, Journal Officiel, Chambre des Deputés, 2 February 1891, 185.

⁸⁰Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life, trans. by Robert Baldick (New York, 1960), 364.

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By the nineteenth century, a new concept of family had begun to carry the day:

This powerful concept was formed around the conjugal family, that of parents and children. This concept is closely linked to that of childhood. It has less and less to do with problems such as the honour of a line, the integrity of an inheritance, or the age and permanence of a name: it springs from the unique relationship between the parents and their children . . . What counted most of all was the emotion aroused by the child, the living image of his parents.⁸¹

In several respects, particularly in its historical evolution and in its grip on nineteenth-century French society, the new concept reflected the aspirations of the middle class. In that sense at least the new concept can be described as "bourgeois." But, although material need prevented many of the French from putting the new concept into practice and although the wide-spread utilization of child and female labor in the early stages of industrialization contradicted the ideal, this bourgeois concept of the family increasingly pervaded the whole of French society. "Starting in the eighteenth century," Ariès observed, "it spread to all classes and imposed itself tyrannically on people's consciousness."⁸²

The emergence and institutionalization of the new family concept had an enormous impact on nineteenth-century French women. As family life more and more became the only legitimate sphere for women's lives, women found themselves harnessed to an institution whose general contours bore little resemblance to earlier family types. Gone were the days of the "big house" where friends, clients, relatives, and protégés streamed in and out at all hours of the day. Gone too were the "general-purpose" rooms where people slept, danced, worked, and ate without aid

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid., 406.

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of time-tables, especially for meals. In their place emerged the café, the office, and the "modern" home with its dining room, drawing room, bedrooms, etc. Within and without, the home had become specialized, no longer serving as the locus for the larger social dynamic. Everywhere as the new pattern of home and family spread, wrote Ariès, "it reinforced private life at the expense of neighborly relationships, friendships, and traditional contacts."⁸³ "One is tempted," Ariès reflected, "to conclude that sociability and the concept of the family were incompatible, and could develop only at each other's expense."⁸⁴ Women, as "home-makers" par excellence, thus found themselves "privatized," prohibited not only from meaningful involvement in public affairs but physically removed from them as well.⁸⁵

In addition to its insulating effect on women, the new bourgeois household fostered other changes of consequence. Where finances permitted, for example, women found themselves simultaneously confined to the home and cut off from the kind of productive labor that generated exchange value. This condition not only left women in a state of dependency vis-à-vis the men in their lives, but laid the base for relegating women's market influence to consumption. Furthermore, through its practice of spatial segregation, the bourgeois family accentuated class

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Ibid., 407.

⁸⁵For an interesting interpretation of Ariès' theses in the context of an unique analysis of the subordination of women, see: Shulamith Firestone, The Dialectic of Sex: The Case for Feminist Revolution (New York, 1970), 72-104. For a comparison of Ariès to Erik Erikson, see David Hunt, Parents and Children in History: The Psychology of Family Life in Early Modern France (New York, 1970).

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It was all as if a rigid, polymorphous social body had broken up and had been replaced by a host of little societies, the families, and by a few massive groups, the classes . . . The old society concentrated the maximum number of ways of life into the minimum of space . . . The new society, on the contrary, provided each way of life with a confined space . . . Each person had to resemble a conventional model, an ideal type, and never depart from it under pain of excommunication. The concept of family, the concept of class, and perhaps elsewhere the concept of race, appear as manifestations of the same intolerance towards variety, the same insistence on uniformity.⁸⁶

Although the general contours of the new family pattern raised obstacles of critical importance to feminists, particularly in respect to issues of class and the "creeping isolation" that left women divided and scattered, these broad effects represented only half the problem. The other half stemmed from transformations within the internal structure of the family. Each of the family's primary components underwent a process of redefinition similar to that of the family unit itself. New conceptions of fatherhood, childhood, and motherhood emerged and grew in strength as the extended family gave way to the nuclear family. As a result, women found their "legitimate" sphere of life doubly narrowed, first by being confined to the home when possible and, second, by playing there a limited, although not necessarily unpleasant, role. Indeed, the interplay between these new subconcepts within the framework of the new, overarching family concept gave rise to a question of fundamental importance to feminists: how, given that women tended to find life in the home not unpleasant, could the ranks of the movement and the reforms it espoused expand and succeed?

⁸⁶Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, 414-5.

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Of the three subconcepts, fatherhood proved the most ambivalent and, as a corollary, the most vulnerable to feminist criticism in the nineteenth century. But this vulnerability derived less from the new family concept than from the legal and institutional prerogatives that fathers exercised over wives and children. In many respects, these prerogatives meshed well with the new concept, but their origins lay in another world, that of Old Regime patriarchy and the counter-revolutionary ideology of men like Bonald, de Maistre, and Le Play. Untrammelled paternalism in the form of an absolute right to possess and to dispose of family matters constituted the essence of this view. "Our most fatal error," wrote Le Play, "is to disorganize by State encroachments the father's authority in the family, the most natural and the most fruitful of autonomies, that which conserves the social bond, in repressing original corruption, in raising young generations in respect and in obedience."⁸⁷ Under the new family concept, in contrast, the significance attached to possession declined in favor of a new prime idea, affection, "the most important trait of the modern family."⁸⁸ But at mid point in the nineteenth century, this trait, already a century in the forming, exerted only a leavening influence on the older idea. Proponents of the new concept attacked advocates of the old with democratic rhetoric (and with some success), while reactionaries lashed back with forecasts of family degeneracy and social disintegration. As a result, a few of the worst patriarchal abuses, notably primogeniture,

⁸⁷Frédéric Le Play, L'Organisation de la famille selon le vrai modèle signalé par l'histoire de toutes les races et de tous les temps (Paris, 1874), xvi.

⁸⁸Philippe Ariès, "L'évolution des rôles parentaux," in Familles d'aujourd'hui (Brussels, 1968), 45.

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gave way. But despite the passion expressed by both sides, the clash was short-lived. The emergent idea of fatherhood easily bridged the two points of view by adding a dose of familial sentiment to the considerable prerogatives that remained.

Compared to the new subconcept of fatherhood, which amounted to little more than sentimental patriarchy, the subconcept of childhood and motherhood represented drastic departures from the past. The modern idea of childhood, unknown in the Middle Ages, developed in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and "as attitudes towards the child changed, so did the family itself."⁸⁹ Indeed, by the end of the seventeenth century, the child had become "an indispensable element of everyday life, and his parents worried about his education, his career, his future."⁹⁰ During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "this return of children to the home" gathered additional momentum. Formal education eclipsed apprenticeship as "it was recognized that the child was not ready for life, and that he had to be subjected to a special treatment, a sort of quarantine, before he was allowed to join adults."⁹¹ Within the family, which increasingly cut itself off from the world, all the energy of the group focused on "helping the children to rise in the world, individually and without collective ambition."⁹² Children, as a result, found themselves subjected to special dress codes, special vocabularies, special hygienic regimens, etc., with the

⁸⁹ Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, 365.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 403.

⁹¹ Ibid., 412.

⁹² Ibid., 404.

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effect that "family and school together removed the child from adult society."⁹³ Once removed, children became dependent as never before on their immediate families, which meant, given the privatization of family life and the outside "responsibilities" of fathers, dependency on their mothers.

The link between the new subconcept of childhood and the new subconcept of motherhood can hardly be overemphasized. Without the counterweight of large-scale social reforms, mothers, or mother surrogates, could not avoid the consequences of increasingly dependent children in increasingly isolated and nuclearized households. So long as men occupied themselves with activities outside the home and "sociability" remained on the decline, women had of necessity to assume responsibility for the daily care of their children. But regardless of its causal significance, necessity had little to do with the new notion of motherhood. Its strength lay, instead, in a series of assumptions about women and their motherly instincts, assumptions so laudatory and eventually so popular that necessity seemed to reflect virtue. The female who failed to live up to these assumptions might be called a femme-dragon. But the virtuous, child-centered woman would be called a femme-enfant, or, as in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a mère éducatrice.⁹⁴ As the later term implies, the virtuous woman's primary responsibility lay in raising children. This responsibility involved not only coping with her offsprings' extended childhood but asserting as well a new attitude towards birth itself. No longer would

⁹³Ibid., 413.

⁹⁴Ariès, "L'évolution des rôles parentaux," 53.; Sullerot, Histoire et sociologie, 78-83.

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she experience, as in the seventeenth century, "a sense of alienation from the whole reproductive process that reduced her to a mere instrument of destiny."⁹⁵ On the contrary, she would experience that "modern invention," maternal love. Moreover, she could assert this new attitude and exercise her "educative" responsibilities because, as the new sub-concept held, she and her children shared a kind of purity. Loss of purity would result from too much contact with affairs outside the home, but if women remained true to their "destiny" by fulfilling their duties as wives and mothers, they (and the schools) would carry out society's most precious charge, the forming of the next generation.

Conclusion

Evelyne Sullerot once asked what the reputation of the National Convention (1792-5) would be today if it had treated Jews as it treated women? The scope of the question might easily be broadened, however, to include, in addition to those few years, the whole of the French experience since 1792. "Racism begins when the definition of the excluded individual conjures up an allusion to his nature," Sullerot wrote:

. . . Consequently, all the individuals who partake of that nature which carries within it the inferiority will be assimilated to a group, even though certain of the individuals may be intelligent and others stupid, certain honest and others cheats, certain strong and others weak. Therein is the essence of racism.

"If we bring this up here," Sullerot explained, "it is not at all to evoke pity for the private condition of women;"

. . . It is to demonstrate a mechanism which functioned for centuries and continues to survive in many ways, and that

⁹⁵Sullerot, Woman, Society, and Change, 63.

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is independent of the political positions taken, at times, by men of government and men of law.⁹⁶

Unfortunately, from the vantage point of feminists, the systeme masculiniste exhibited little of that independence. Beneath the fanfare of revolution and counter-revolution, which lent an aura of profound change to political developments in nineteenth-century France, the status of women rapidly and inexorably declined. In that sense at least, the centuries-old mechanism of "male racism" and the politics of the moment went hand in hand. Even in the home, the one sphere where woman's "nature" entailed serious responsibilities, men exercised the final say-so on all matters of importance. Legalists defended this situation on the grounds that woman's subordination had nothing to do with sex, but stemmed instead from the need to preserve "public order" and to "maintain the unity and integrity of the family." But, as the National Council of French Women reported in 1912, there existed "a certain number of laws which affect woman and which one can hardly explain without resort to that idea, no doubt primitive, of the inferiority of the feminine sex to the masculine sex."⁹⁷ In other words, these laws had their roots in phallocratisme, not pragmatism.⁹⁸

But the Code represented only one, and perhaps not the most important, of the constraints imposed on women by the systeme masculiniste. The other constraints, particularly the ones that twisted themselves around the minds and hearts of women, probably carried more weight.

⁹⁶ Sullerot, Presse, 66-7.

⁹⁷ Women's Position in the Laws of Nations, 98.

⁹⁸ D'Eaubonne, Histoire et actualité du féminisme.

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They were the ones that provided the social-psychological base from which the laws seemed rightly and naturally to flow. Thus, in their confrontation with the systeme masculiniste, feminists found themselves locked in battle with a way of life so "ordinary" as to defy awareness and so complete as to quell protest. In the form that it assumed at mid-point in the nineteenth century, the systeme masculiniste amounted to nothing less than a totalitarianism of the commonplace.

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CHAPTER II

CONSCIOUSNESS AND CONTRADICTIONS:

ROOTS, ROUTES, AND ALTERNATIVES OF FEMINIST AWARENESS

Once engaged by their critics, the defenders of the système masculiniste displayed considerable ingenuity. Feminists continually found themselves at a distinct disadvantage in the weapons of struggle: money, numbers, access to institutional support, and much else. Feminists also had to fight for so long on so many fronts that the système's advocates often managed to deflect their assailants into areas of lesser importance, and to offset the loss of one constraint by reinforcing other constraints. However, the capacity of the defenders to mount counter-offensives with legal and institutional force represented only one part of their strength. The other, and perhaps the more significant, part stemmed from their ability to obscure what feminists perceived as the essential issue, the oppression of women by men. At a time when acquisition of natural rights commanded the attention of most French men, the système's proponents effectively convinced the vast majority of women to view their subordination as natural. Through the double myth of woman's general inferiority and woman's specific domestic superiority, women were subtly wedged into a narrow niche of illusion and bondage. Although the système's supporters could deploy defensive weapons when the need arose, the double myth tended to prevent opposition from arising in the first place. Men acquired a classic type of suzerainty

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over women, one in which "a dominant group is secure when it can convince the oppressed that they enjoy their actual powerlessness and give them instead a fantasy of power."¹

To shatter the illusion of woman's "natural" subordination and to replace the "fantasy of power" with substantive power constituted the fundamental objectives of the French feminist movement. These objectives also reflected the two chief characteristics of organized feminists who, regardless of sex, no longer believed in absolute male superiority and actively sought to transfer at least some power into the hands of women. All feminists exhibited both characteristics to a greater or lesser extent, but the will to engage in organized struggle depended on prior awareness of both the illusion perpetrated by the systeme and the need to resort to concerted action. This special type of awareness, or consciousness, separated feminists from other reformers who wished to improve woman's lot but only in ways consistent with the illusion. It also separated organized feminists from the individuals who saw through the illusion but refused to join the movement. As a result of this awareness, feminists obtained a unique minority identity within French society and even within the broader women's rights movement. Feminists helped to create the National Council of French Women in 1901, for example, but ten years later the Council could only count nine feminist affiliates out of a total group membership of 102.²

¹ Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (New York, 1972), 39.

² In addition to the nine feminist groups, the National Council of Women included the following types of groups in 1911: Work Assistance (7), Charity (20), Circles and Study Groups (9), Cooperatives (3), Education (17), Emigration (1), Pacifism (1), Provident Societies (6), Professional (7), Women's Syndicats (8), Temperance (2), and

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This activating type of consciousness did not, however, engender uniformity within the movement. Indeed, conflicts within organized feminism often became as intense as conflicts between the movement and its outside detractors. Such internal conflicts reflected individual and collective vagaries in the new consciousness. At the point where the requisite disillusionment commenced, the complex interplay between personality and illusion-shattering experiences effected divergent emphases in individual awareness. At the collective level, where individuals shared their mutual disillusionment, the ties that bound strained and sometimes snapped under the pressure of conflicting goals, strategies and tactics. Thus, although organized feminists achieved a unique group identity, the individuals who built the movement exhibited differences in respect to both the roots of their consciousness and the alternative and contradictory ways in which they translated that consciousness into action.

Consciousness and Personal Experience: The Case of Clémence Royer

Consciousness can be likened to insight. It lends itself to verbal expressions like "Now I see," and "I never saw that before!" Its effects are apparent at times, but its essence is within, the product of intense personal experiences that slant to the core of self-perception. In respect to feminists, the concept of consciousness raises the question of how some people have arrived at an awareness of woman's oppression. In the specific case of feminist consciousness in France during the second half of the nineteenth century, it provokes the problem of how a relatively small number of men and women acquired

Preservation (12). L'Action Féminine Bulletin officiel du Conseil National des Femmes Françaises, December 1911, 319.

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insight into the constraints imposed on women by the systeme masculiniste.

A lack of sufficient understanding marks the problem. The internal process of experiential insight has yet to be grasped, even though the end product may be observed. Especially difficult to understand are the emphases and boundaries of consciousness. Feminist consciousness hinges on an awareness of woman's oppression, but concern for woman's plight remains neither the exclusive property of feminists nor their only concern. Marxists, for example, acknowledged the scourge of masculinisme, but only as a consequence of the class struggle. Feminists in turn expressed concern for the working class, but accorded priority to the sex struggle. Alongside their divergent insights into sex and class oppression, feminists displayed a passionate interest in questions ranging from republicanism and anti-clericalism to vegetarianism and anti-vivisectionism.

Despite its puzzles, the concept of consciousness provides a frame of reference for assessing the intense personal experiences that brought a minority of women and men to feminism. If its internal mechanism remains unclear, the concept nonetheless focuses attention on the dynamic interplay between the objective situation and the ways in which individuals responded to it. Clémence Royer (1830-1902), for example, lived at the edge of organized feminism, lending her name and occasionally her presence to the movement while drawing back from a full commitment to it. Science dominated her endeavors, which included the first French translation of Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species and earned her Ernest Renan's ironic accolade as "a man of genius."³ Royer

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also displayed a decided elitism, particularly on the suffrage subject. The electorate included too many incompetent male voters, she argued in 1898, to risk enfranchising women who remained under the thumb of the Church. But if her interest in science and her aversion to the contemporary state of the masses removed her from full participation in organized feminism, Royer's experience of the système masculiniste mirrored that of those who built the movement. In 1895, a few years after the Second French Congress for Women's Rights, Royer expressed in a "Testament" her anguish at having been born a woman into the nineteenth century:

Victim of the prejudiced who still oppose the intellectual development of woman, I have labored all my life without reward, to enlighten a blind humanity that has done nothing but raise obstacles to the edification of my philosophical work, closing schools, university chairs, and laboratories to me. All that I know I have seized through determined struggle and I have had to forget all that had been taught to me in order to learn anew for myself.

I shall carry with me into the tomb useful truths that others will have to discover again. Because I have had the misfortune to be born a woman, I have lacked all means of expressing, expanding and defending my thoughts and I have done only the smallest part of what I could have done. I shall die cursing human stupidity and deploring having been born into an epoch of intellectual decadence, into an old world gripped by a senile dementia, which under the pretext of art, turning its back on reason, is prepared to return once again to a former time and to abandon itself to a new era of morbid mysticism that will entail its retrogression and social dissolution.⁴

Although Clémence Royer exhibited a limited commitment to the movement, her bitter reflections pinpoint the experiential root of feminist consciousness. In the objective situation created by the système masculiniste, Royer and others confronted two interrelated phenomena: the relative decline in woman's status during the previous three or four generations; and the immediate impact of the système on

⁴Ibid.

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women's lives. Most organized feminists refrained from expressing Royer's fear of a "new era of morbid mysticism," but they exhibited a lively awareness that the contemporary trend in favor of the rights of man had brought few benefits to women. In immediate impact, Royer's experience with academic sexism found a greater echo among organized feminists, but obstacles to women's education represented only one of the ways in which the righteousness of man contributed to feminist consciousness.

The Rights and Righteousness of Man

The trend in favor of the rights of man introduced a glaring contrast between the new constraints that exacerbated woman's long-standing subordination and the new freedoms that others began to enjoy. In the sixteen years from 1848 to 1864, legal emancipation came to serfs in Europe's two major feudal empires, Russia and Austria, and to slaves in the western hemisphere's emerging industrial empire, the United States. Throughout the nineteenth century, collectivities achieved liberation through national independence movements. Italy, Germany and a host of smaller countries freed themselves from outside domination while women remained, "so perfectly colonized that they policed one another."⁵ Republican and national sentiment mitigated the contrast in some cases. Feminist affinity for democracy dulled the significance of serfdom's demise in autocratic Russia, while feminist antipathy towards Germany, especially after the disastrous France-Prussian War of 1870-71, provoked chauvinistic complaints about naturalized Prussian males enjoying the rights of Frenchmen, rather than a comparison between Germany's

⁵ Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution, 39.

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recently attained independence and woman's continuing dependence.⁶ But where liberation occurred within a democratic setting removed from French national interests, the contrast stood out. Abraham Lincoln's emancipation of American slaves, for instance, prompted French feminists to protest against the implication that negroes deserved liberation more than women and to see in John Brown a negative model for their own frustrating campaign.

However, the central feature of the rights contrast lay in the extraordinary progress made by men under the système masculiniste. French men reaped the benefits of change both in terms of revolutionary gains for themselves and reactionary gains over women. The reactionary gains preserved and enhanced male prerogatives in defiance of a protest by women to the National Assembly of 1789:

You have destroyed all the prejudices of the past, but you allow the oldest and the most pervasive to remain, which excludes from office, position and honour, and above all from the right of sitting amongst you, half the inhabitants of the kingdom.⁷

The execution of Olympe de Gouges, who had drawn up a Declaration of the Rights of Woman to supplement the Assembly's Declaration of the Rights of Man, symbolized the century-long reaction. Article X of de Gouges' Declaration hauntingly reads: "Woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she ought also to have the right to mount the tribune."⁸

⁶Hubertine Auclert called Prussian males who became nationalized French citizens "Schwartz's." La Citoyenne, December 1887.

⁷Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution, 39.

⁸For the complete text of Olympe de Gouges' Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de Citoyenne, see Bouvier, Les Femmes pendant la révolution, 283-89.

1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 277: 1033-1038.

Figure 1. The effect of the number of trials on the number of correct responses. The number of correct responses was plotted against the number of trials for each condition. The number of correct responses increased with the number of trials for all conditions. The number of correct responses was highest for the condition with the highest number of trials (10 trials) and lowest for the condition with the lowest number of trials (2 trials).

• **Stressors** are the environmental factors that cause stress. They can be physical, chemical, biological, or psychological. Examples include noise, pollution, crowding, and social isolation.

The positive gains that accrued to men took longer to secure. But gradually, joltingly, the locus of authority in nineteenth century France shifted from the hands of one or a few men to many men. Occasionally technical rights for the mass male served as a facade for one-man rule, as when the Second Empire preserved universal manhood suffrage (enacted in 1848) but drained its substance into authoritarian institutions. Setbacks also occurred, as when Louis Napoleon reimposed censorship, nullifying press freedoms gained during the Revolution of 1848. But if the Second Empire sapped universal manhood suffrage of its democratic content, women had not even the illusion of the vote, and the principle of female exclusion from the electorate survived throughout the Third Republic. If Louis Napoleon crippled freedom of expression, men could at least engage in journalism at all levels, whereas press laws between 1852 and 1881 denied newspaper directorships and political commentary to women.⁹ Advances made in the name of the rights of man meant exactly that: more power and more privileges to more men. Birthless and less determined the relationship of males to each other, but to feminists aware of the growing contrast in rights between women and men, the emerging social order had all the earmarks of a neo-feudal "royalty of sex."¹⁰

Interrelated but perhaps more critical to feminist consciousness than the trend in favor of the rights of man was the immediate impact of these rights on the daily lives of women. Legal, institutional and

⁹ P. W. J. Hemmings, Culture and Society in France 1848-1898: Dissidents and Philistines (New York, 1971), 51-67; Sullerot, Presse, 124-26.

¹⁰ La Citoyenne, 5 February - 4 March 1883.

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ideological constraints struck women at every level of French society, affording innumerable opportunities for individuals to experience the righteousness of man. Degrees of personal contact with these constraints varied greatly, but that often meant little. Feminist consciousness consisted of an amalgam of experience in which the vicarious often interacted with the direct. An impression of the centrality of experience in feminist consciousness can be derived from a brief examination of the constraint of the double standard, of the limits of education, and of two of the many incidents that provoked women into print.

The double standard had several legal dimensions: adultresses faced harsher penalties than adulterers; men could file maternity suits but women could not press paternity claims; and men, because they committed more such acts, more often benefited from condonation of "crimes of passion." In their enforcement, the Morals Police focused exclusively on prostitutes, rather than their male customers, and occasionally arrested innocent women. Feminists voiced unanimous opposition to these practices, but few experienced them directly. That was unnecessary: women did not have to commit adultery, bear illegitimate children, kill lovers, or fall victim to the Morals Police to become aware of the double standard; they had only to read the daily press. There, amid advertisements for perfumes and parasols, they could vicariously experience an endless account of abortions, infanticides, abductions, suicides, maimings, and murders.¹¹ The blood of unfortunate women ran thick across

¹¹For instances of maimings and murders, see Madame Anne Lezinck, Les Femmes qui ne tuent ni ne votent (3rd ed., Paris, 1882), 13-15. Although estimates vary, the abortion rate in nineteenth-and twentieth-century France was certainly high. Doctor André Cauchois calculated that there was one abortion for every live birth. Démographie de la Seine Inférieure (Rouen, 1929), 248, cited in Wesley D. Camp, Marriage

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these pages, and when life itself was not at stake, acid disfigurements burned their way into headlines and column-fillers. Anarchist Louise Michel scoffed at feminists for expecting legislators, even women legislators, to prevent the prisons and the sidewalks from continuing to vomit legions of unfortunates one onto another.¹² But the object of her concern, as distinguished from her anarchist solution to the problem, attracted the attention of many. At the turn of the century, French feminists collected 3,000 signatures on a petition begging Queen Victoria to spare the life of Louise Masset, condemned to death for infanticide. They refrained from arguing the merits of Masset's particular case, attributing the crime in part to pressures exerted on women by Britain's version of the système masculiniste. On 9 January 1900, the appeal for mercy having failed, Masset's execution at Newgate ushered in another century.¹³

and the Family in France since the Revolution: An Essay in the History of Population (New York, 1961), 113. Simone de Beauvoir estimated that: "in France abortions number each year from 800,000 to 1,000,000 -- about as many as there are births -- two thirds of those aborted being married women, many already having one or two children." Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 135.

Most feminists limited their illegal activities to civil disobedience. A few bore "illegitimate" children, Clémence Royer and Marguerite Durand for example. Doctor Madeleine Pelletier (1874-1939) ran afoul of the law for practicing abortion and ended her days in an asylum. On the eve of the First World War, Marie Denizard, editor-in-chief of Le Cri des Femmes founded in March, 1914, stood trial for attempted murder after threatening the life of an officer who tried to evict her for non-payment of rent. She was convicted, but fined only 25 francs due to a psychological report which described her as unstable and megalomaniacal. The report findings probably reflected Denizard's feminist activity; she ran for the Chamber in 1910 and for the Presidency in 1913. The only feminist who committed a crime unrelated to the tactics and goals of the movement was Hera Mirtel (1868-1931), who was sentenced to twenty years at hard labor for killing her second husband in 1920. For further information see the relevant dossiers at the BMD.

¹² La Citoyenne, September 1885.

¹³ La Fronde, 30 December 1899; 10-12 January 1900.

Women encountered innumerable alienating obstacles in education, the constraint that had so enraged Clémence Royer. Some incidents involved matters of relatively minor importance. In 1897 the national university administration forbade women teachers to wear pants or to ride bicycles; a year later male students jeered the first women to attend the École des Beaux-Arts.¹⁴ Others concerned matters of major importance, two of which related to the baccalauréat.

In the early 1860's, at the beginning of the generation that built the feminist movement in France, thirty-eight year old Julie Daubié succeeded in passing the bac examination before a jury at the University of Lyon. Her success eventually opened the examinations to other women in Lyon and elsewhere, but at the time the Minister of Public Education refused to award her the degree. Moreover, the Minister persisted in his refusal until a man, François Barthélemy Arlès-Dufour (1797-1872), traveled from Lyon to Paris, personally confronted the Minister, and returned with the diploma in his pocket.¹⁵

¹⁴ Journal des Femmes, December 1897; La Fronde, 28 November 1898. When the French parliament opened L'École Nationale des Beaux-Arts to women in 1897, the school's administration attempted to circumvent the reform by setting up auxiliary courses for women. Protests ensued nonetheless, causing a month-long closing of the school. With the school's reopening, women secured full student status, but of the 180 who applied for the year 1897-98, only two were admitted. Three women attended in 1898-99. Almanach Féministe 1899 (Paris, 1899), 52-53.

¹⁵ Léon Richer, La Femme libre (Paris, 1877), 100. Daubié was also the first woman to earn a license ès lettres, and in 1871 she founded the Association pour l'Émancipation de la Femme with Arlès-Dufour as president. She died in 1874, leaving behind an unfinished doctorate and a monumental study of La Femme pauvre au XIX^e siècle (1866). Her Association died with her. Arlès-Dufour also rose to the defense of professional schools for girls in a Réponse à M. Dupanloup, membre de l'Institut, évêque d'Orléans, sur sa Lettre à un cardinal, dénonçant les écoles professionnelles de filles, la ligue de l'enseignement, les cours publics autorisés, le matérialisme et l'école de médecine de Paris, les francs-maçons, les positivistes, les Saint-Simoniens, etc., etc. (Paris, 1868) His report was "authored" by

In 1899, a decade after the Second French Congress for Women's Rights, a delegation from the feminist Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes paid a visit to Alexandre Millerand, Minister of Commerce and Industry. Millerand, a socialist who had violated his party's policy of non-participation in bourgeois cabinets, had previously expressed support for women's rights. The delegation wanted to know whether he would live up to his words by hiring ministry personnel without regard to sex. Millerand agreed on condition that women possessed the requisite qualifications, meaning the bac. Reminded that girls' schools could only grant the standard diplôme de fin d'études, Millerand advised the delegation to take its complaint to the Ministry of Public Education.¹⁶

That recourse hardly portended redress. The Ministry of Education called on the newly-expanded system of girls' schools to perform an extremely narrow mission, typified by the award in 1891 of the Ministry's woman's prize to Georges Guérault's Du Rôle de la femme dans notre renaissance sociale. Guérault, whose Rôle also won a first prize from the Société Nationale d'Encouragement au Bien, maintained that too much education would draw women away from agriculture and break up the family.

"les membres du conseil autorisé par Prosper Barthélemy Enfantin pour l'exécution de ses dernières volontés."

By 1890, 202 "non-feminine" degrees had been awarded to women: 35 medical doctorates, 69 bacs in science, 67 bacs in letters, 16 licenses, and 2 degrees in pharmacy. Schools in Paris granted 102 of the 202 degrees. Le Droit des Femmes, 7 September 1890.

¹⁶ Journal des Femmes, December 1899. Perhaps the delegation should have been forewarned, for the month before in November 1899, Millerand had instituted a new pay scale at the Ministry of Posts and Telegraphs, starting women at 1,000 francs per year with a top salary of 2,200 -- less than men at both ends of the scale. La Fronde, 3 November 1899.

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Domestic skills and religious indoctrination along the lines spelled out by Bishop Fénelon in the seventeenth century would suffice to enable women to accomplish their divine mission as guardians of the home and raisers of children. "Instead of bachières, licenciées, doctoresses, make good Christians, good housewives, educated women without doubt," wrote Guérout. "I am in favor of education as much as can be, having the honor to belong myself as member and lauréat to a Société d'Instruction et d'Éducation Populaires, but an education limited to conform to their sex, their condition, the mission that Divine Providence has confided to them; make girls modest, pious, reserved, charitable, thrifty."¹⁷

¹⁷ Georges Guérout, Du Rôle de la femme dans notre renovation sociale (Caen, 1891), 7-8. Guérout's reliance on Bishop Fénelon (1651-1715) as a guide for women's education under the Third Republic reflected the belief that the family constituted the basis of society and that women represented the basis of the family. With that belief in mind, Fénelon had inspired Madame de Maintenon (1635-1719) to create the first lay school for girls in France at Saint-Cyr. Through the instruction provided there, Fénelon hoped to steer women away from frivolity, which he identified with the French court and which led Maintenon to reduce reading materials to an absolute minimum, and to revive the middle ranks of the nobility by training women to become "professional" wives, mothers, and estate managers. Fénelon distrusted women, but he recognized their potential as a collective force for social transformation. Leaders of the Third Republic also recognized that potential, with the result that, despite the shift from aristocratic to bourgeois values, they ascribed to women a similarly limited but exalted role. Thus, although the Third Republic's education reforms affected many more women than Fénelon's, the effect was roughly the same; to control women and to employ them as a force for social change, rather than to permit women to develop their individual talents. See: Carolyn Lougee, "The Impact of Fénelon and Madame de Maintenon: Education of Women for Domestic Fulfillment in the Late Seventeenth Century," and Karen M. Offen, "French Feminists Challenge the Third Republic's Public Education for Girls: The Campaign for Equal Access to the Baccalaureate, 1880-1924," papers read at the annual American Historical Association Convention in December, 1973; Madame Pauline Rebour, "L'Éducation civique des Femmes," Bulletin 1914-1916, (Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes), 72-77; François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, Éducation des filles (Paris, 1687); and Larnac, Histoire de la littérature féminine en France, 95-100.

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By the end of the movement's first generation, roughly 1889, feminism had acquired sufficient momentum to generate reams of printed tracts. But at the outset of that generation, before organized efforts provided a propaganda base, most printed protests against the système masculiniste took the form of highly individualistic responses to specific incidents. These responses contributed to the common critique and engendered an impetus to organization, but their initial motivation and essential quality was reactive. Stung by displays of the righteousness of man, a few women felt provoked enough to discharge their anguish in angry protests. Some of these protests barely survived the moment of their publication. Others lived on for years, depending upon the importance of the provocative incident, the stature of the "righteous" opponent, the longevity and prestige of the feminist writer, and whether or not the protest conformed to the movement's subsequent "line."

An example of short-lived protest occurred in the mid-1860's after Procurator General Dupin launched an attack in the Senate on woman's "frantic" addiction to luxury. At least two pamphlets appeared in reaction. One pointed out the hypocrisy of males who blamed "good" women for dressing well while they themselves lavished finery on courtesans. It also stressed the importance of the fashion industry to the French economy.¹⁸ The second pamphlet acknowledged the seriousness of Dupin's attack but turned it against him:

¹⁸"Woman creates luxury, luxury creates industry, industry transforms man . . . The proscription of luxury! but that is suicide for France, and not only for economic France, but also for artistic France. Our workers would have to emigrate, and our artists throw themselves into the Seine with heavy stones round their necks." Olympe Audouard, Le luxe des femmes: réponse d'une femme à M. la Procureur Général Dupin (Paris, 1865), 26-27.

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A horrifying pest, an evil that spreads terror, is ravaging French society! . . . This scourge, this pestilential evil, this enemy of all good social economy is LUXURY . . . But much more disastrous than the luxury of women is that of men (Oui, très-bien! très-bien!) You see: these men have invented clothes for the morning, the afternoon, the woods, the track, the evening, the hunt: useless fantasies, prolific in ruinous expenses.¹⁹

The author of these two pamphlets, Olympe Audouard, also expressed her anger in a book, Guerre aux Hommes (1866). Audouard charged that men made sport of women, trading on their faults and reputations and forgetting the sex of their own mothers, sisters and daughters. Misery ruined women, not luxury, and that misery was always the fault of men.

Audouard concluded that male egotism constituted the root of social disintegration, accounting for why "woman is neither free nor happy in France."²⁰ The publication of Guerre aux Hommes coincided with the refusal of the Second Empire to permit Audouard to transform her artistic and literary journal, Le Papillon, into a political sheet, a right reserved to males only. The following year she appealed directly to the French legislature for women's equal civil and political rights, and, although she gained no relief, her use of the petition foreshadowed a tactic repeatedly employed by feminists under the Third Republic.²¹

Several years before the controversy over luxury, two other protests of more profound and enduring impact appeared. Both came in

¹⁹ Olympe Audouard, Le luxe effréné des hommes, 5-7.

²⁰ Audouard, Guerre aux Hommes, 57. In reaction to the male practice of categorizing women, Audouard described fifteen "villinous types" of men ranging from the "toad" and the "chameleon" to the "sphinx" and the "skilled compromiser of women."

²¹ Olympe Audouard, Lettre aux députés (Paris, 1867). See also: Baron Marc de Villiers, Histoire des clubs de femmes et des légions d'Amazons 1793-1848-1871 (Paris, 1910), 381-82; Léon Abensour, Histoire général du féminisme (Paris, 1921), 267.

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response to the publication of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's La Justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église (1858). Proudhon exercised enormous influence, particularly among workers in France, and the scope of his assault on women went far beyond matters of dress and frivolity. In 1866, a year after his death, the French section of the International Workingman's Association paid tribute to Proudhon's persuasiveness by adopting a resolution barring women from work outside the home. In Proudhon's eyes, women embodied inferiority. Men exceeded them in physical strength by a ratio of three to two and, because muscle power correlated to brain power, men had the same edge in intelligence:

"Woman has a false mind, irremediably false . . . Woman is the desolation of the just . . .

From the moral point of view as from the physical and intellectual points of view her comparative value is again 2 to 3. And since society is constituted on the combination of these three elements: work, science, justice, the total value of man and woman, their productivity and consequently their portion of influence, on a comparative basis, will be $3 \times 3 \times 3$ is to $2 \times 2 \times 2$, that is 27 to 8.²²

Woman might improve through education, Proudhon conceded, but her destiny remained uniquely domestic. As housewife she assumed her rightful place in society; outside the home she became a whore. She must cultivate her "beauty," her "charm," and her "juvenile grace" in order to stand in proper relationship to man: "As the face of woman is the mirror in which man acquires respect for his own body, so the intelligence of woman is also the mirror in which he contemplates his genius."²³

²²Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Église (3 vols., Paris, 1858), III, 375. Cited in Charles Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes depuis Saint-Simon jusqu'à nos jours. (Paris, 1906), 88, 91, 92-93.

²³Proudhon, De la justice, III, 380. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 95. See also Chapter I. Most French

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The first of the two significant publications protesting Proudhon's ideas appeared in the same year, appropriately entitled Idées anti-proudhoniennes sur l'amour, la femme, et le mariage. Twenty-two year old Juliette Lamber wrote the book in just two months, finding it impossible "to oppose to his reasons mixed with injuries the disdainful silence that ordinarily rewards those who speak a certain language." Proudhon, she wrote,

represents force, since he is man: as for me, weakness, since I am woman. But there is one thing above force, the truth The cause that I defend will succeed, but not without combat and effort. It needs to be defended against some, against many. Yesterday, it was against the adversaries of progress; today, against M. Proudhon; tomorrow perhaps, against the friends of progress and misunderstood liberty.²⁴

Lamber feared Proudhon's "power of proselytism":

His doctrines on woman are extremely dangerous; they express the general feelings of men who, regardless of the party to which they belong, progressives or reactionaries, monarchists or republicans, Christians or pagans, atheists or deists, would be delighted to discover the means of reconciling at the same time their egotism and their conscience in a system that would permit them to preserve the benefits of exploitation based on force, without having to fear protests founded on right.²⁵

socialists subsequently repudiated Proudhon's extreme position. "Whore or housewife!" wrote Jules Guesde in the Socialiste of 12 October 1890, "nothing less conforms to the truth than this famous dilemma of man-made sophism No, the place of woman is no longer in the home as before. Like that of man, it is everywhere, everywhere where her industry can and wants to be employed." Jules Guesde, En Garde! contre les contrefaçons, les mirages et la fausse monnaie des réformes bourgeoises; polémiques (Paris, 1911), 157-58.

²⁴Juliette Lamber, Idées anti-proudhoniennes sur l'amour, la femme et le mariage (2nd ed., Paris, 1861), 13.

²⁵Ibid., 41-42.

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Lamber granted that men like Proudhon meant well; she too objected to woman's passion for frills, and she acknowledged the marked backwardness of her female contemporaries.²⁶

Proudhon responded graciously to Lamber's book: "If it is the welfare of women that you wish to serve," he wrote, "then count me among your partisans."²⁷ But to Lamber's mind the solution was not to confine women to the home, as Proudhon maintained, but rather to open new careers to them:

It is not in limiting the scope of her activity that they will arrest this disorder, but rather by opening up new channels for the wholesome play of her energy. Women must be educated thoroughly, and, wherever possible, professionally. They must be made productive. Work alone has emancipated man. Work alone can emancipate woman. . .

But do not let me be accused of undervaluing woman's role in the family; I, like Proudhon, believe that a woman's first duty is to be wife and mother. But I maintain that family life need not absorb all woman's activities, physical, moral and intellectual. The part of a broody hen is honourable without doubt, but it is not suited to everyone, neither is it so absorbing as it is represented.²⁸

Lamber concluded that progress depended on the cooperation of men and women as equals:

A mere glance at the history of mankind will suffice to show that among nations civilization is in proportion to the part played by woman, to her influence, to her moral worth;

²⁶ As Madam Adam, Lamber wrote in 1885 that "it seems to me that, here in France, ambition comes to women before the search for merit. . . It is necessary first to require of those we emancipate the proof that demands for their rights rest on knowledge of their capacity, that is to say, their duties," Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.

²⁷ Proudhon, La Pernocratie ou les femmes dans les temps modernes (Paris, n.d.), 17. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 101.

²⁸ Cited in Winifred Stephens, Madam Adam (Juliette Lamber) La Grande Française: From Louis Philippe until 1917 (New York, 1917, 60-61.

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and as civilization increases, the greater will be the value set upon the position accorded to woman.²⁹

Two years later, in 1860, Jenny d'Héricourt published the second major reaction to Proudhon. An older, experienced writer with an established reputation, d'Héricourt had already written an article on "Proudhon and the Woman Question" for the Revue Philosophique of December 1856.³⁰ She seized on the publication of Justice to respond to Proudhon and others of similar persuasion in La Femme affranchie: réponse à MM. Michelet, Proudhon, E. de Girardin, A. Comte et aux autres novateurs modernes. In a manner similar to Audouard's subsequent Guerre, d'Héricourt explained her position and declared her objective:

²⁹ Ibid., 59. According to Lamber, the Second Empire's censors initially banned all of Proudhon's Justice except for the part that dealt with women, Idées anti-proudhoniennes, 12. In her personal life, Lamber underwent one of the more common experiences afforded to women by the système masculiniste. Family pressure drove her into an early and unsatisfactory marriage. With divorce unavailable, she attempted to arrange a legal separation. After lengthy negotiations, her husband, who exercised control over her property and royalties, agreed to settle for 15,000 francs. His death in 1867 on the eve of the formal agreement ended the dispute and led Lamber to record that day as one of the happiest of her life. A year later she married Edmond Adam. Juliette Lamber, Mes sentiments et mes idées avant 1870 (6th ed., Paris, 1895), 131-34.

³⁰ Jenny d'Héricourt, La Femme affranchie: réponse à Michelet, Proudhon, E. de Girardin, A. Comte et aux autres novateurs modernes (Brussels, 1860). The Second Empire's censors initially banned La Femme affranchie, but the Emperor lifted the ban after he received a personal appeal from d'Héricourt. The quotations are taken from the English edition: Madame d'Héricourt, A Woman's Philosophy of Woman or Woman Affranchised: An Answer to Michelet, Proudhon, Girardin, Legouvé, Comte, and other Modern Innovators (New York, 1864), 33.

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In marriage, woman is a serf.
 In public instruction, she is sacrificed.
 In labor, she is made inferior.
 Civilly, she is a minor.
 Politically, she has no existence.
She is the equal of man only when punishment and the
 payment of taxes are in question.

I claim the rights of woman, because it is time to
 make the nineteenth century ashamed of its culpable
 denial of justice to half the human species.³¹

Why, she asked, should women criticize Michelet's ostensibly sympathetic
La Femme and L'Amour? "Because to him woman is a perpetual invalid who
 should be shut up in a gynoeceum," she answered. He differed from
 Proudhon only in style: "the first is as sweet as honey, and the second
 as bitter as wormwood. . . We will therefore castigate him [Michelet]
 only over the shoulders of M. Proudhon, who may be cannonaded with red
 hot shot."³²

D'Héricourt's other targets received more gentle treatment. She
 made a distinction between Comte's "priestly" assertion of woman's in-
 feriority and his positivism, a mode of analysis she hoped others would
 employ to a better end. Legouvé, Girardin, and the "other modern in-
 novators," mostly utopian socialists, received praise for compassion
 but blame for enveloping the woman question in mysticism:

Excuse me, brothers, from joining in your theological dis-
 cussion; my wings are not strong enough to follow you into
 the bosom of God, in order to assure myself whether he is
 spirit or matter, androgynous or not, binary, trinary,

³¹Ibid., ix-x.

³²Ibid., 17, 20. "Woman, according to Michelet, is a being of
 a nature opposite to that of man," wrote Audouard; "a creature weak,
always wounded, exceedingly barometrical, and consequently, unfit for
 labor. . . Created for man, she is the altar of his heart, his re-
 freshment, his consolation." (page 17) D'Héricourt's references were
 to Jules Michelet's La Femme (Paris, 1860) and L'Amour (Paris,
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quaternary, or nothing of all these. It is enough that you all grant that woman should be free, and the equal of man.³³

Granting woman free and equal status could not, however, compensate for their emphasis on men and women as two parts of the same whole:

I permit myself only a single observation; that your notion of the couple tends fatally to the subjection of my sex
In social practice, this unity is manifested by a single will, . . . and the individuality that prevails in our society is that which is endowed with strength of arm; the other is annihilated, and the right given to the couple is in reality only the right of the stronger. The use that M. Proudhon has made of androgyny ought to cure you of this fancy.³⁴

Although d'Héricourt's book was hailed in the United States as the best reply to Proudhon and the other masculinists, Lamber's Idées anti-proudhoniennes exerted a much greater influence in France.³⁵ Subsequent feminists appreciated d'Héricourt's motives, but felt that the "violence of her words unfortunately negated the force of her argument."³⁶ But

³³Ibid., 202-03.

³⁴Ibid., 203.

³⁵Ibid., vii. The unidentified author of the introduction to the English translation wrote: "This remarkable book of Madame d'Héricourt on woman is conceded to be the best reply to these philosophers extant." This tribute may have stemmed solely from prior awareness. Without mention of Lamber, contemporary American feminists had earlier recorded: "A very curious controversy, on paper, is going on at present in the Revue Philosophique et Religieuse, between M. Proudhon and Mme. Jenny d'Héricourt. The latter defends, with great warmth, the moral, civil, and political emancipation of woman. Proudhon, in reply, declares that all the theories of Mme. d'Héricourt are inapplicable, in consequence of the inherent weakness of her sex. The periodical in which the contest is going on was founded and is conducted by the old St. Simonians." Elizabeth Cady Stanton et. al., History of Woman Suffrage (6 vols., New York, 1969), I [1848-1861], 870.

³⁶Abensour, Histoire générale du féminisme, 266. Thiébaux wrote: "The publication under a pseudonym / Juliette used her maiden name, Lamber, instead of her married name, Lamessine / of Idées antiproudhoniennes sur la Femme, l'amour et le mariage (1858) was an event, from then on there existed in reality a feminist question and partisans of the one or the other thesis declared themselves." Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 100. (Thiébaux erred in citing the title of Lamber's book in this quotation; his bibliography has it in the correct form.)

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there were other, equally important reasons for her relative disfavor. She and Lamber both frequented the salon of Charles Fauvety, editor of the Revue Philosophique, where, according to Lamber, d'Héricourt appeared as a conceited, bigoted, dogmatic "bluestocking of the most objectionable type." D'Héricourt reciprocated, exclaiming to Fauvety: "Would you believe it, that young lady actually dares to take upon herself to underline Proudhon." When Lamber expressed concern about the preparation of Idées, acknowledging that she lacked the experience of veterans, d'Héricourt responded: "Veterans! Veterans! You mean me, doubtless. Well, if you defend some of us women, you are very impertinent to others."³⁷ How much these exchanges, recorded in a biography of Lamber published during the First World War, affected feminist opinion is difficult to say. But to the extent that the living interpret the dead, Lamber had a decided advantage. Not only did she become, as Madame Adam, one of France's foremost political journalists, but she outlived her adversary by decades. Lamber died in 1936, a century after her birth.³⁸

³⁷Stephens, Madame Adam, 22, 48.

³⁸For twenty years Madame Adam promoted the cause of revenge against Germany through her La Nouvelle Revue (1879-1899). She also ran a highly influential republican salon, through which she introduced Léon Gambetta to French political life. Throughout the generation that built the feminist movement in France and despite the importance of her Idées anti-proudhoniennes, Adam stood apart from the struggle for women's liberation. She differed not only with d'Héricourt but with Clémence Royer and Maria Deraismes as well. When Adam finally rejoined the movement in 1893, her energy went into Schmahl's conservative l'Avant-Courrière. In the opinion of Jane Misme, "elle personnifie à la fois l'influence féminine, telle qu'on l'admettait jadis, et l'action féminine comme elle est permise aujourd'hui, apôtre en cela, plus que par ses gestes proprement féministes, de l'émancipation des femmes." Misme also ranked Lamber's work on Proudhon above

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Considerably more important to the fate of La Femme affranchie than either its tone or d'Héricourt's feud with Lamber was another factor, d'Héricourt's failure to adopt the correct "line." Lamber acknowledged that feminists might confront opposition from the "friends of progress and misunderstood liberty," but only as a "perhaps" and not until "tomorrow." Consequently, she limited her protest to the immediate adversary, Proudhon. In contrast, d'Héricourt sensed that Lamber's "tomorrow" had come. Revolutionaries, she noted, had abandoned women twice before, in 1789 and in 1848, and a third betrayal seemed imminent. She therefore went beyond Proudhon, whose Justice so flagrantly violated woman's aspirations, in order to expose others whose honey-sweet sentiments tended to perpetuate male domination. While Lamber paid lip service to the idea that nations advanced "in proportion to the part played by women," d'Héricourt believed it. To the advanced thinkers, to the democrats, to the friends of freedom, to the Michelets, Legouvés, and Girardins, she issued a stern warning:

d'Héricourt's: "Les Idées antiproudhoniennes furent, de longtemps, le seul gage que leur auteur donna au féminisme. Le mouvement était alors assoupi; l'idée, depuis l'Empire, ne se maintenait que par des manifestations isolées. Le livre de Mme. La Messine fut sans contredit la plus éclatante et la plus efficace. La Femme affranchie, de Jenny d'Héricourt, qui parut deux ans plus tard et qui répondait aussi à Proudhon mais sans défendre Daniel Stern et George Sand, et dans une forme aride, eut une portée moindre." Jane Misme, "Les Grandes Figures du Féminisme: Madam Adam," Minerva, 1 February 1931. See also: Stephens, Madam Adam; Joseph O. Baylen, "Mme. Juliette Adam, Gambetta, and the Idea of a Franco-Prussian Alliance" Social Studies No. 4, LVII, No. 15 (Stillwater, Oklahoma, 20 May 1960); and Hélène Brion, ed., "Encyclopédie Féministe," I, MSS at BMD. For Adam's attitude towards feminisms (in English), see her Humanitarian article of February 1897 reviewed in "Position of Women in France," Review of Reviews, XV (April, 1897), 480.

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Woman is ripe for civic liberty, and we declare to you that, from this time on, we shall regard as an enemy of progress and the Revolution anyone who comes out against our legitimate claim, just as we shall rank among the friends of progress and the Revolution those who speak out for our civic emancipation -- even if they be your enemies.³⁹

The warning proved prescient but impolitic. By criticizing others than Proudhon, d'Héricourt challenged the prevalent belief that political, economic, and social progress for France as a whole would automatically benefit women. Writing at mid point in the Second Empire, when republicanism dominated the thoughts of many advanced thinkers, she asserted in effect that a proper attitude on the woman question alone should distinguish friend from foe. Lamber disagreed and devoted the remainder of her life to a brand of chauvinsitic nationalism. But other, more devoted feminists also disagreed; they viewed republican democracy as an essential precondition for reforms of all types, including those affecting women. Thus, in attacking so many "friends of freedom" and in suggesting that common cause with republicans might disserve women, d'Héricourt placed herself outside the political parameters that marked the woman question's "legitimate" field of debate. Towards the end of the generation that built the movement, feminist Léon Richer remarked that his greatest error had been to be right at the wrong time.⁴⁰ D'Héricourt might easily have said the same, but whereas Richer had been wrong by only a few decades, d'Héricourt missed her moment by a century or more.

The lopsided reaction of subsequent feminists to d'Héricourt's and Lamber's books reflected attitudes of critical importance to the emergent

³⁹ Cited in Thomas, The Woman Incendiaries, 24-25.

⁴⁰ Le Droit des Femmes, 5 January 1889.

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movement. Later feminists could easily identify with the alienating experience that prompted the two works; they too confronted articulate spokesmen for the système masculiniste. They could also identify with the constraining ambience in which d'Héricourt and Lamber wrote; the discriminatory trend in favor of the rights of man and daily contact with the righteousness of man constituted the roots of their own alienating experiences. Nevertheless, most subsequent feminists could not accept d'Héricourt's conclusions. From their vantage point, she had permitted her alienation to flow into the wrong channel, confusing friend with foe. Hence they repudiated her views. In the long run, that reaction damaged the cause of women's liberation in France. Yet that reaction also illustrated one of the central difficulties of feminist consciousness in the nineteenth century. For, if alienation lay at the root of feminist consciousness, there were no clear signs marking out which route the struggle to liberate women should take.

Routes of Feminist Consciousness

As evidenced by the many alarms, crises, revolutions, and reactions that swept France between 1789 and 1914, expressions of discontent proved nearly as varied as the conditions from which discontent flowed. To every configuration assumed by French society there emerged an alternative, and an alternative to the alternative. Those whose discontent arose from experiences rooted in the système masculiniste faced a bewildering array of options. Women could hardly separate themselves from French society, and in any case feminists had no desire to increase sexist segregation. But what of the système? Had it become so pervasive that only a complete and radical change would eliminate it, or could it be ameliorated through reforms that left existing institutions intact?

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And what of other injustices: war, censorship, mistreatment of children, abuse of animals? Could the struggle to liberate women take place in isolation, or must feminism concern itself with all forms of oppression? In principle was justice indivisible? In practice could the woman question be answered without reference to other questions?

Only one thing was clear; questions like these could not be answered in the abstract. The alienating experiences that gave rise to them demanded substantive, concrete relief. In whole or in part French society had to assume a new configuration. But in order for feminists to translate their discontent into productive change, they had first to find doctrines by which to define themselves, channels through which to express themselves, and allies with whom to align themselves. In short, those who chafed at the constraints imposed on women by the système masculiniste had to pick and choose between various available alternatives, or develop their own.

Utopian Socialism

Utopian socialism provided one alternative. The titular founder of this school of thought, Henri de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), wrote scarcely a word about women.⁴¹ But his heirs accorded an extraordinary

⁴¹ Sullerot, Presse, 144. For information on the relationship of utopian socialism to feminism and women, see: C. Bouglé, Chez les prophètes socialistes (Paris, 1918), 51-110; Edith Thomas, Pauline Roland, Socialisme et Féminisme aux XIXe siècle (Paris, 1956); Marguerite Thibert, Le Féminisme dans le Socialisme français de 1830 à 1850 (Paris, 1926); E. Dessignolle, Le Féminisme d'après la doctrine socialiste de Charles Fourier (Lyon, 1903); Frank E. Manuel, The Prophets of Paris (New York, 1962), 53-248; Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes; Abensour, Histoire générale, 205-14. See also: Le Devoir, journal of the Familistère de Guise, and La Rénovation, journal of the Ecole Sociétaire Phalanstérienne.

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importance to the woman question. Books touching on the subject included the mystical but insightful Théorie des Quatre Mouvements (1808) by Charles Fourier (1772-1837), De l'Égalité (1838) by Pierre Leroux (1797-1871), and the novel Voyage en Icarie (1840) by Étienne Cabet (1788-1856). Newspapers displaying a similar interest included the Saint-Simonian Le Producteur and Le Globe (edited by Pierre Leroux), Victor Considérant's Fourierist La Phalange and La Démocratie Pacifique, and the Tribune des Femmes (1832-1834), the first feminist journal to appear in France since Napoleon suppressed the Athénée des Dames in 1808.⁴²

Emphases varied between individual thinkers, but in general utopian socialists espoused a critique of the système masculiniste that involved new definitions of society, the couple, man, and woman. Woman's oppression under the système found apt description in Cabet's Réalisation d'Icarie (1846):

Woman is actually a slave, not individually like the negress, or the ancient slave, or the woman of bygone times over whom her husband had the right of life and death and especially repudiation, but women en masse are the slaves of men en masse who leave them no rights and impose on them all the laws dictated by their /male/ caprice and their /male/ egotism.⁴³

The cause of this oppression lay in the past when "Antagonism," the exploitation of "man by man," reigned supreme. But, as Saint-Simon pointed out, a new era of affection and cooperation had begun to dawn:

National hatreds are diminishing every day and the people of the earth who are ready for a total and definitive alliance present

⁴² Sullerot, Presse, 153-63.

⁴³ Étienne Cabet, Réalisation d'Icarie, Extract from No. 16 of Populaire (Paris, 1846), 122. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 73.

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us with the beautiful spectacle of humanity gravitating toward universal association.⁴⁴

One impediment to universal association stemmed from the Christian identification of woman with the flesh and the flesh with sin. Prosper Enfantin (1796-1864) believed that Christianity, supported by the institution of private property, had created prostitution, perverting legitimate physical desire and the sacred rights of beauty. To this "disorder of the flesh," Enfantin opposed the "rehabilitation of the flesh":

We wish to rehabilitate the flesh, and to sanctify physical beauty by bestowing upon it a social importance which . . . it must today obtain through fraud. . . . Yes, truly, the flesh repressed and martyred by the Church for so long is today free from this heavy burden; but it is in a state of disorder. Today the flesh causes destruction as it did at the time of the appearance of Christ, and it is still the shame of the world. . . .

Look at the people. They sell their bodies to labor; they sell their blood to war; they sell their daughters' flesh to pleasure and to shame. For a piece of bread the world contorts them, commits them to toil and to the appeasement of passion; it prostitutes the people both in their strength and in their beauty.⁴⁵

In order to overcome "Antagonism" and its associated "disorder," men and women had to throw off the burden of the past and adopt a new social ethic: love. Love would permit the passage from social egotism to social altruism, from "Antagonism" to "Associationism." It would also render violence unnecessary.⁴⁶

⁴⁴C. Bouglé and Élie Halévy, eds., Doctrines de Saint-Simon, Exposition, Première année, 1829 (Paris, 1924), 164. Cited in Manuel, The Prophets of Paris, 172.

⁴⁵Procès en la cour d'assises de la Seine, les 27 et 28 août 1832 (Paris, 1832), 210-17, 221. Cited in Manuel, The Prophets of Paris, 187-88.

⁴⁶"The word upheaval is always associated with a blind and brutal force having as its goal destruction. . . . This doctrine /of Saint-Simon/ does not itself possess or recognize for the direction of men any other power but that of persuasion and conviction. . ." Doctrines de Saint-Simon, 278-79. Cited in Manuel, The Prophets of Paris, 181.

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The vision of a society transformed without violence into associations based on love left a critical issue unresolved -- the future status of women. All utopian socialists called for sex equality. As Enfantin wrote, "the equality of man and woman, without which there is exploitation of one half the human genre by the other, is the law of the future, the sole moral law that it is possible to conceive."⁴⁷ Some, like Fourier, attributed superior qualities to women: "I am justified in saying that woman in a state of liberty will surpass men in all mental and bodily functions that are not ascribed to physical strength."⁴⁸ But how would this "moral law" and these superior "functions" be expressed?

In their quest for an answer, one faction of utopians stressed the primacy of the couple and marriage. Single women should have the same rights as single men, wrote Pierre Leroux, but only love and marriage could free women:

She loves, she is loved, la violà femme. . . . It is through marriage that the condition of woman has been ameliorated, it is through marriage, the equality of love, that the emancipation of woman will truly take place.⁴⁹

Couples would freely contract in the reconstructed society of the future, and to anticipate their break-up ran "contrary to the ideal."

⁴⁷ Oeuvres complètes de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin, publiées par les membres du Conseil institué par Enfantin, pour l'exécution de ses dernières volontés (42 vols., Paris, 1865-76), XIV, 39. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 18.

⁴⁸ Charles Fourier, Théorie des quatre mouvements, 225. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 49.

⁴⁹ Pierre Leroux, De l'Égalité, suivi d'aphorisme sur la doctrine de l'humanité (Boussac, 1838), IV, 46. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 39-40.

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To Leroux and others like Olinde Rodrigues "the cessation of love, separation and divorce are tantamount to death before death."⁵⁰

Another faction attacked marriage for failing to take human differences into account. Fourier held the institution directly responsible for woman's subordination:

Marriage is the tomb of woman's liberty, the principle of all feminine servitude. Daughters are compelled to become housewives and wives to confine themselves to the home and to be faithful, even though three-quarters of them have no taste for family work, are capricious in love, predisposed to adornment, to gallantry, and to dissipation.⁵¹

"Marriage is prostitution by law," exclaimed Claire Demar, one of the editors of the Tribune des Femmes, whose experience of the contradiction between conventional morality and the desire to be free drove her to suicide.⁵² Some individuals might desire permanent unions, admitted Enfantin, but couples should endure only so long as they met each others' needs:

We have profound feelings or lively, enduring, or transitory feelings; we are reserved, modest, moderate, patient, or very enthusiastic, loving glory, brilliance, passion, etc. Either of these forms is good, the one wants to conserve, the other wants to innovate. . . . The one is immutable, the other is changing.⁵³

For the many who preferred a change of "place, things, habits, society, and finally husbands and wives," argued Enfantin, divorce represented a right, not a misfortune. It cannot be, wrote one of Enfantin's

⁵⁰ Cited without source indication in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 42.

⁵¹ Fourier, Théorie des quatre mouvements. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 58.

⁵² Sullerot, Presse, 160.

⁵³ Oeuvres complètes de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin, XXVII, 191. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 25.

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followers, "that the exclusive love of one man for one woman lasting their whole lives is a law or even a universal tendency of mankind:

I deny that this precept conforms and is applicable to the nature of all men and all women without exception. . . . I say, then, that to fight and overthrow the principle of Christian love we would need merely to declare that a religion which saw in celibacy the state most favorable to salvation and the one closest to perfection was too ignorant of human nature to have been capable of giving marriage a solid and stable base.⁵⁴

Enfantin's ideas undoubtedly influenced the turn-of-the-century feminist who described utopian socialism as a "monstrous orgy where giants endowed with appetites of ogres gorged themselves on monstrous feasts and innumerable loves."⁵⁵ But on the individuals who built the feminist movement, utopian socialism had a profound and salutary effect. Through it "a number of women emerged with a new conception of their own dignity and worth," and "it gave them the confidence to express themselves and provided them with the courage to formulate conceptions about their own possibilities, which would have been inconceivable to women a generation before."⁵⁶ Even in the late 1870's and 1880's when French socialism became less utopian and more militant, Saint-Simonianism and Fourierism continued to exert a strong influence. Some of the women who initially subscribed to the new socialisms broke out with them in

⁵⁴ Abel Transon, Affranchissement des Femmes, predication du 1er janvier 1832 (Paris, 1832). Cited in Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, eds., French Utopias (New York, 1966), 294. Christian patience collapsed sooner than Christian principles. The imprisonment of Enfantin in 1832 for outrages against public morality decapitated Saint-Simonianism and brought about the dispersal of its disciples, some of whom embarked for Egypt in search of a "female messiah."

⁵⁵ Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 26.

⁵⁶ Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution, 52.

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order to resume the pursuit of the older utopian version of social transformation.⁵⁷

Utopian socialism's appeal stemmed in part from its vague, sentimental egalitarianism, which enabled feminists to avoid too narrow a commitment to any particular reform, and from its advocacy of peaceful change, which meshed well with the feminist conviction that masculinisme caused violence. The first feminist newspaper outside Paris, Eugénie Niboyet's Conseiller des Femmes (1833) of Lyon, bore its imprint, and the first feminist daily, Niboyet's La Voix des Femmes (1848), managed a brief life with the help of subsidies from Saint-Simonian banker Olinde Rodrigues.⁵⁸ Many of the reforms proposed during the Revolution of 1848 reflected the influence of utopian socialists or other pro-feminist socialists like Louis Blanc and Constantin Pecqueur. Between 1848 and 1849, feminist Jeanne Deroin, a disciple of Saint-Simon and Cabet, created a women's club, a feminist newspaper, a worker's association, and ran for a seat on the National Assembly in a

⁵⁷ Utopian influence declined during the movement's second generation, but many of the older, first generation feminists remained heavily indebted to it. Consequently, they tended to share opinions like Adolphe Alhaiza's, whose De Phalanstérien à socialiste (Paris, 1900) branded class-struggle socialists as money hungry, traitorous politicians. With Dr. E. Verrier, who wrote Le Meilleur des socialismes pratiques: le socialisme phalanstérien (Toulouse, 1905), they subscribed to the methode sociétaire, the principles of Fourier, and the practice of the Familistère de Guise. To first generation feminists, as to Verrier, the socialism of Guesde and Jaurès represented a "return to primitive barbarism" and "the annihilation of all social life." For an examination of women and the newer socialisms, see: Charles Sowerine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921: Socialist Women's Groups from Léonie Rouzade to Louise Saumoneau (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Dept. of History, University of Wisconsin, 1973).

⁵⁸ Sullerot, Presse, 186-87.

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precedent-setting act of protest against woman's exclusion from the recent enactment of universal manhood suffrage.⁵⁹ In the late 1860's, utopian socialism inspired several cooperatives, including Nathalie Lemel's La Marmite and Marguerite Tinayre's Société des Equitables de Paris.⁶⁰ In 1871 the Paris Commune engaged in additional experimentation along utopian socialist lines. None of these efforts effected lasting institutional changes of benefit to women, but the tie between feminism and utopian socialism remained strong. In contrast to the vast French majority who evidenced hostility or apathy towards women's liberation, utopian socialists not only repeatedly attempted to improve woman's lot but paid in suffering for their failure. A veritable Who's Who of socialist feminists figured among those deported or exiled after the Revolution of 1848 or the Paris Commune of 1871: Pierre Leroux, Louis Blanc, Victor Considérant, Jeanne Deroin, Pauline Roland, Nathalie Lemel, Marguerite Tinayre, André Léo, and Paule Mink.

It was no mere coincidence, then, that the emerging feminist movement drew heavily on utopian socialist ideals and personnel. Virginie Griess-Traut, a convinced Fourierist who donated 50,000 francs to the École Sociétaire phalanstérienne, actively participated in the founding of the first ongoing feminist group in 1869, the Société pour

⁵⁹ Ibid., 151-152, 186. Deroin's "utopian" perspective on the woman question can be seen in a statement she made in 1848: "Woman, still slave, remains veiled and in silence. She has lost the memory of her divine origin, she is unable to understand her noble social mission, she has neither name nor country, she is banished from the sanctuary, she seems to have accepted shameful servitude. Held down by man's yoke, she has not even the aspirations towards liberty, man must liberate her." Jeanne Deroin, Cours de droit social pour les femmes (Paris, 1848), 6. Cited in Rowbotham, Woman, Resistance and Revolution, 53.

⁶⁰ Thomas, Woman Incendiaries, 9-11. Bernard Noël, Dictionnaire de la Commune (Paris, 1971), 103, 234-35, 347-48.

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l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme.⁶¹ Arlès-Dufour, who had personally retrieved Daubié's bac and who served as president of her short-lived Association pour l'Emancipation de la Femme, remained a loyal follower of Enfantin's cult.⁶² And the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes, another ongoing group established in 1882, included several practising utopians from the Familistère de Guise, created by Jean-Baptiste-André Godin in 1859.⁶³ The slogans employed by the movement also reflected utopian socialist influence. Two came directly from the pen of Charles Fourier, the earliest and the most feminist of the utopian socialists. One linked man's liberation to that of woman:

Everywhere where man has degraded woman he has degraded himself, everywhere where he has ignored the rights of woman he has himself lost his own rights.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Le Journal des Femmes, January 1899; La Fronde, 11 December 1894; BMD, Dossier Griess-Traut.

⁶² Manuel, Prophets of Paris, 191.

⁶³ Jean-Baptiste-André Godin (1817-1888) made a fortune through developing new smelting processes. Influenced by the ideas of Saint-Simon, Robert Owen, Cabet, Fourier, and Considérant (whose abortive utopian experiment in Texas cost Godin a third of his wealth), and despite the opposition of the Second Empire (which stripped him of his patents for espousing radical notions), Godin created the Familistère de Guise between 1859 and 1865. The Société du Familistère de Guise secured legal recognition on 13 August 1880 as a cooperative association capitalized at 4,600,000 francs. Its journal, Le Devoir, first appeared in 1878. Between the period 1879-80 and 1898-99, the Familistère de Guise and its branch at Schaerbeek served approximately 1,500 to 2,000 people each year. Louis Lestelle, Étude sur le Familistère de Guise (Paris, 1904). See also: Fernand Duval, J.-B.-A. Godin et le Familistère de Guise (Law thesis, University of Lille, Paris, 1905); Verrier, Le Socialisme phalanstérienne, 9; Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, 15 April 1890; and Godin's works listed in the Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1924), LXI, 662-64.

⁶⁴ From Paul Gide and Adhémar Esmein, Étude sur la condition privée de la femme dans le droit ancien et moderne (Paris, 1867), 7. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 47.

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The other linked women's liberation to progress in general, and became the most popular of the slogans cited by French feminists:

The change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom, because in the relation of woman to man, of the weak to the strong, the victory of human nature over brutality is most evident. The degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation.⁶⁵

To sum up, the extension of privileges to women is the general principle of all social progress.⁶⁶

Another frequently quoted statement came from the Second Empire's most illustrious exile, Victor Hugo. Hugo acknowledged his debt to Enfantin, and upon hearing of the death of socialist Pauline Roland in 1854, he wrote: "The eighteenth century was the century of man, the nineteenth will be the century of women."⁶⁷

Republicanism

Republicanism provided another channel for feminist discontent. Indeed, the French feminist movement developed such close ties to republicanism that the interplay between the woman question and the political question eventually emerged as the dominant factor in the struggle to liberate women. Or, to put it more pointedly, the republican connection became the tie that bound feminism to an impotent "politics first" orientation. With the exception of Jenny d'Héricourt, however, none of the feminists who helped forge the tie anticipated the extent of the

⁶⁵ Fourier, Théorie des quatre mouvements, 43. Cited in Rowbotham, Resistance and Revolution, 52.

⁶⁶ Fourier, Théorie des quatre mouvements, 195. Cited in Thiébaux, Le Féminisme et les socialistes, 47.

⁶⁷ Cited in an article by Elizabeth Renaud that originally appeared in the Rappel: "Glimpse of the Feminist Movement in France," Review of Reviews, XLIV (September, 1911), 335.

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subsequent republican "betrayal." Nor, in retrospect, is it easy to see how feminists could have avoided the republican attachment.

Like utopian socialism, republicanism offered an attractive combination of ideas and actions to those whose alienation sprang from the système masculiniste. Republicanism, particularly radical republicanism, meant democracy, the lifting of all constraints from and the vesting of all authority in the people. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century it comprised a blend of logic and sentiment, effecting a fervor of quasi-religious enthusiasm:

The Democrat was usually an emotionalist, a sentimentalist in both the good and the bad sense of that much ill-used term; he was a mystic, and his politics were to him a faith that often replaced religion; his belief in the Republico-Democratic organization of society was largely a matter of intuition, of the heart having its reasons that Reason knoweth not -- a faith that made him risk prison, exile and deportation, and that kept alive during the four years of bitter disillusionment that were the Second Republic and the eighteen years of the half opéra bouffe, half tragedy that we call the Second Empire.⁶⁸

The democrat believed in the potential goodness of ordinary men, making Republicanism more akin in its origin to Socialist than to Liberal thought. In a sense, the republican was an "underdeveloped socialist":

And what differentiated him from the Socialists was often a matter of tactics rather than of principle; he believed first in the conquest of political weapons: the vote, the abolition of the hereditary principle, and relegated to a distant future the economic reorganization of society which was the Socialist's primary aim.⁶⁹

In time republicanism would also relegate feminism's primary aim to a distant future. But in the context of the 1860's the republican ideal portended a society freed of the old injustices and open to reform

⁶⁸Roger Henry Soltau, French Political Thought in the 19th Century (New York, 1959), 95.

⁶⁹Ibid., 95-96.

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from below. This ideal appealed all the more to the Second Empire's feminists who could reflect on how, after 1789 and 1848, political reaction had gone hand in hand with misogynist backlash. At worst, republicanism promised an open society in which feminists could conduct their campaign without having to contend with repression and harassment like the brief ban imposed on d'Héricourt's La Femme affranchie or the interruption by Imperial police of a speech on divorce by Olympe Audouard.⁷⁰ At best, republicanism might produce a society cleansed of Church, Code and other sexist fetters. Republicanism seemed to complement much of what the utopian socialists espoused, with the added advantage that it would encompass the whole of society. Subordinating social ends to political means thus made sense to feminists who, holding the Second Empire responsible for woman's plight, imagined that a republican France would not only respond to their demands but permit them to participate as equals.

This hope had a pragmatic as well as an ideological dimension. Republican sentiment prevailed among the Second Empire's several thousand exiles and deportees, maintaining a link of opposition to the Empire between feminists in revolt against woman's contemporary condition and others who sought social change through political action.⁷¹ Within

⁷⁰Olympe Audouard, La Femme dans le mariage, la séparation et divorce, conférence faite le 28 février 1870 (Paris, 1870). Audouard embarrassed the Imperial police who interrupted her speech by pointing out that the Emperor himself had recommended divorce as a means of insuring family morality in his Des Idées Napoléoniennes, written during his detention at Ham in 1839. Villiers, Histoire des Clubs des Femmes, 382.

⁷¹In the course of transforming the Second Republic into the Second Empire, Louis Napoleon initiated a reign of repression that resulted in 27,000 arrests, 1,500 expulsions, and 9,800 deportations (9,500 to Algeria and 300 to Guiana). Paul A. Gagnon, France since 1789 (New York, 1964), 163.

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France, the radical (and not so radical) republican opposition to Louis Napoleon included a number of prominent historians, journalists and politicians who expressed concern for women: Émile Deschanel, Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, Édouard de Laboulaye, etc. Their opinions tended to the traditional, in line with Michelet who wrote of La Femme: "she must have a household, she must be married"; but they nonetheless focused attention on the woman question.⁷² They also demanded reform of some of the worst legal abuses. In 1866, for example, a committee of republican legal experts recommended marital equality through abolition of Article 213 of the Code, which required wives to obey husbands.⁷³

The individuals who inspired or participated in the emergent feminist movement had multiple contacts with republicanism. Juliette Lamber and Jenny d'Héricourt belonged to the republican salon of Charles Fauvety, and a few years after her publication of Idées anti-proudhoniennes Lamber established her own salon, through which she introduced Léon Gambetta to Parisian political life. Maria Deraismes, the principal organizer of l'Amélioration in 1869, also ran a republican salon and in the 1880's founded the Républicain de Seine-et-Oise. Léon Richer, Deraismes' closest collaborator and founder of the longest-lived of the feminist newspapers in nineteenth-century France, began his career as a journalist for Adolphe Guérolt's moderate republican Opinion Nationale.

⁷² Michelet, La Femme, 34.

⁷³ The Committee met at the home of Jules Favre and included, in addition to the host, Vacherot, Courcelle-Seneuil, Joseph Garnier, André Cochut, Dr. Clavel, Charles Lemonnier, Hérold, Clamageran, Jules Ferry, Jules Simon, Paul Boiteau, Henri Brisson, and Émile Acolas. Paul Granotier, L'Autorité du mari sur la personne de la femme et la doctrine féministe (Law thesis, University of Grenoble, Paris, 1909), 37. See also: Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 32.

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Deraismes and Richer led the conservative wing of French feminism during the 1870's and 1880's, but in the 1860's nearly all feminists shared their faith in republicanism as the necessary first step to woman's liberation.⁷⁴ Even after the founding of the Third Republic in 1870, when a feminist minority began to recognize that the new "democracy" had perpetrated the old système masculiniste, faith in republicanism remained strong. Against the reality of the new political order, feminist critics continued to oppose the model of republican democracy that had engendered such high hopes at the end of the Second Empire.

Reformism

An explosion of reformism rocked France during the second half of the nineteenth century. It exerted a powerful influence on feminism for several reasons. On the one hand, it enabled feminists to focus in detail on obnoxious aspects of the système masculiniste without having to await the day of final utopian socialist or republican reckoning. On the other hand, reformism drew so heavily on associationist and democratic ideals that feminists could demand piecemeal changes without either doing damage to their social and political principles or having recourse to the bug-a-boo of violent revolution. Reformism also brought feminists into contact with organizations whose social critiques enhanced consciousness and whose members bolstered the movement's ranks. Routes between feminism and reformism ran two ways, with the result that many feminists devoted considerable effort to altering features of French society that bore only indirectly on woman's oppression. But in return feminists could draw on varying degrees of support from their reformist colleagues.

⁷⁴For information on Deraismes and Richer, see Chapter III.

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The goals and efforts of reformism interacted with feminism in a variety of ways. Efforts to eliminate the corset received unanimous endorsement but little direct participation from feminists. Re-establishment of divorce drew a great amount of participation from feminists, and Léon Richer drafted the divorce law that Alfred Naquet guided through the French parliament in 1884, but very few feminists ever made use of the new law.⁷⁵ Attempts to outlaw vivisection and to regulate animal abuse left most feminists cold, but attracted the passionate interest of a few like Maria Deraismes and Marguerite Durand.⁷⁶ Temperance appealed

⁷⁵Léon Richer, Le Divorce, projet de loi précédé d'un exposé des motifs et suivi des principaux documents officiels se rattachant à la question, avec une lettre-préface par Louis Blanc (Paris, 1873).

⁷⁶Maria Deraismes belonged to both the Société Française contre la Vivisection and the Ligue Populaire contre l'abus de la Vivisection; see her Discours sur la vivisection (Paris, 1884) and Chapter III. Marguerite Durand displayed a sensitivity towards her "inferior brothers" by founding a dog cemetery at Asnières. BMD, Dossier Durand, "La Vie d'action de Marguerite Durand," 5. A Société Protectrice des Animaux received official authorization in 1878 (L'Avenir des Femmes, 3 March 1878), but by then the idea was at least two decades old. See: Alexis Godin; Lettre à S. M. l'empereur sur les rapports de la civilisation avec l'état des animaux et de l'agriculture suivie de plusieurs lettres et documents sur le même sujet (Paris, 1858) and Société protectrice des animaux. Loi Grammont. Jurisprudence de la Cour de cassation. Mémoire lu à la Société protectrice des animaux, dans séance du 28 avril (Paris, 1859). Godin also founded Le Protecteur, "the legislator and friend of animals" (1856-57). The American Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was established in 1866 by Henry Bergh, following the lead of Britain's Earl of Harrowly. The perspective of feminists on animals is suggested by Lida Gustave Heymann in "Woman's Suffrage and Prevention of Cruelty to Animals," Jus Suffragii, November 1913, 29-30.

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to many second generation feminists but to almost none of the movement's founders.⁷⁷ Vegetarianism also won approval from the second generation, but perhaps more in theory than in practice.⁷⁸ Reforms in the realm of

⁷⁷ Within a decade of the founding of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the United States in 1874, a concern to combat alcoholism exploded in France. From the late 1880's on, that concern increased and several national organizations emerged to limit excessive drinking. First generation feminists acknowledged and applauded the trend but displayed little active interest in it. Second generation feminists felt differently and developed extensive ties with the temperance movement. The Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes (founded in 1911) published an article on "Le Suffrage des Femmes et l'Anti-alcoolisme" in the second issue of its Bulletin (July-October 1911), 46-48, and the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes (founded in 1909) cooperated regularly with the Ligue National contre l'Alcoolisme. (see: La Vie Féminine, 5 May 1914, and the Bulletin of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes for 1913 and 1914). The coming together of these two movements on the eve of the First World War reflected a gradual erosion of feminist influence within the broader women's rights and woman suffrage movements, as well as a tendency, initiated by conservative feminists in the late 1880's, to align the campaign for women's liberation with the many philanthropic and single-issue movements oriented towards the "moral regeneration" of French society. For additional information on anti-alcoholism in France see: P. Ladame, De la prostitution dans ses rapports avec l'alcoolisme, le crime et la folie (Neuchâtel, 1884); Devoisins, La Femme et l'alcoolisme; Em. Cauderlier, "L'Alcoolisme et le Question sociale," La Société Nouvelle, X, (1889), 166-71; F. Domelia Nieuwenhuis, "L'Alcoolisme," La Société Nouvelle, IX (1889), 253-63; M. le Docteur Villy, De l'Alcoolisme du point de vue social (Issoudun, 1891); Mme. Kuntzel, Rôle de la femme dans la lutte contre l'Alcoolisme. Rapport présenté au 1er Congrès national contre l'alcoolisme (Paris, ca. 1905) /Kuntzel cites seventeen works on the subject of temperance as well as two journals of the Union Française Anti-alcoolique, L'Alcool and L'Étoile Bleue/ Dr. Legrain, Le Repos du Dimanche comme remède à l'Alcoolisme (Paris, 1905); Henri Chabasse, Le Problème de l'alcoolisme principalement en France (Bordeaux, 1914) /Finot's book was published by L'Alarme: Société Française d'Action contre l'Alcoolisme, founded in 1912/; Ernest Barron Gordon, The Anti-Alcohol Movement in Europe (New York, 1913). For a similar work on the vice of smoking, see: Dr. Émile Laurent, Le Nicotinisme (Paris, 1894) and the review of it in La Société Nouvelle, XIX (1894), 847-9.

⁷⁸ In 1900 the Congrès de Végétarisme and the Congrès des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminine met at the same time and in the same place, Paris' Palais des Congrès. But the two congresses had more in common than accidental proximity, wrote feminist theoretician Jeanne Deflou: "Comme il y a des blocs d'édifices, il y a des blocs d'idées. En un meme bloc sont certainement compris le végétarisme et le féminisme." Vegetarianism represented a newer idea than feminism, according to

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thought and belief influenced many feminists. Positivism, minus its misogynist popularizer Auguste Comte, provided Hubertine Auclert's La Citoyenne with its first motto: Littré's description of the future citizeness as "la femme qui jouit du droit de cité dans un état."⁷⁹

In religion, some first generation feminists displayed an affinity for Spiritualism, in which Olympe Audouard achieved an expertise second only to that of Allan Kardec (1804-1869).⁸⁰ For the most part, however,

Deflou, but both had old and numerous enemies and both attracted the proponents of "moral progress." In Deflou's opinion, the eating of meat led to intemperance, which in turn caused cruelty, folly, sensuality, and criminality. "Good" animals ate vegetables, whereas the barbarous Huns and "bad" animals preferred raw meat. The poor unfortunately associated well-being with the meat-eating habits of the well-to-do, but feminists, vegetarians, and others recognized that moral improvement required eliminating such emulation. Jeanne Deflou, "Féminisme et Végétarisme," Les Droits de la Femme, 15-31 August 1900. A Société des Végétariens had been established in France at least as early as 1881, see the article written by its president in Le Libérateur, 1 May 1881.

⁷⁹ La Citoyenne, 13 February 1881. See also: Ferré, Féminisme et positivisme.

⁸⁰ Spiritualism began as an organized religion in 1848 at Hydesville, New York, where the Fox sisters experienced a strange tapping noise in their home. Its fundamentals had been expressed the year before in Andrew Jackson Davis' The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind (New York, 1847), cited in Frank S. Mead, ed., Handbook of Denominations in the United States (New 5th ed; Nashville, 1970), 205. According to D. G. Charlton, Secular Religions in France 1815-1870 (New York, 1963), "the eighteenth century, still more [than the seventeenth century], witnessed not only the spread of freemasonry, swiftly expanding throughout Western Europe and North America, but also a marked enthusiasm for astrology, mesmerism, and theosophy in all its varied forms." (127) Occultism influenced reformers like Enfantin, Rodrigues, Fourier, Leroux, and Jean Reynaud, "all of whom linked their utopian socialism with theories of metempsychosis, interstellar migration, progress towards universal harmony, and the like -- and even, in the case of Reynaud, with druidism." (130). Practitioners of Spiritualism considered it to be both a science and a religion, and its spread at mid-century gradually cut into the popularity of hypnotism, developed by the German Mesmer (1733-1815). Mesmer's ideas continued to exert influence, however, and Léon Richer attempted to boost subscriptions to his Droit des Femmes by offering free copies of the Journal du Magnétisme. Le Droit des Femmes, 21 December 1890. According to the BN Catalogue, II, 319-27,

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the impact of these reform movements proved limited, either because they attracted too few feminists or because they involved individuals and organizations that shied away from social activism. Much more important to feminism were reforms focusing on anti-clericalism, education, pacifism, Freemasonry and, to a lesser extent, philanthropy.

Anti-clericalism and its correlate, free-thinking, went hand in hand with republicanism, which perceived the Church as a bastion of superstition and an enemy of progress. Feminists had their own bone to pick with the Church, literally in the sense that the myth of Adam's rib continued to serve as a justification for woman's subordination, and figuratively inasmuch as institutionalized Catholicism underpinned the système masculiniste.⁸¹ Mutual hatred of clericalism thus formed one of

Allan Kardec [Hippolyte-Léon-Denizard Rivail] published at least 18 works on Spiritualism between 1857 and his death in 1869. He also edited the Revue Spirite from 1858 to 1868. Before the turn of the century his works went through no less than 175 editions, with four books exceeding thirty reissues: Philosophie spiritualiste, Le Livre des esprits, contenant les principes de la doctrine spirite (Paris, 1857); Le Spiritisme à sa plus simple expression, exposé sommaire de l'enseignement des esprits et de leurs manifestations (Paris, 1862); Résumé de la loi des phénomènes spirites, ou Première initiation, à l'usage des personnes étrangères à la connaissance de spiritisme (Paris, 1864); and Caractères de la révélation spirite (Paris, 1868). Olympe Audouard wrote L'Amour, le matérialiste, le spiritualiste, le complet et divin (Paris, 1880). For an indication of attitudes towards Spiritualism and hypnosis in the early years of the Third Republic, see the following articles from La Société Nouvelle: E. Legrange, "Le Spiritisme scientifique," V, (1887), 69-74; Ph. Linet, "Fascination Hypnotique, Les expériences de Donato," V, (1887), 146-50; Dr. Jos. Sacré-Lorthior, "Les Phénomènes du spiritisme contemporain," XVIII, (1893), 338-60. Louise Michel figured among the many female practitioners of Spiritualism at its outset: "Elle est encore spiritualiste en 1861, à la manière de Hugo, quand elle écrit Plus d'idiots, plus de fous." Edith Thomas, Louise Michel ou La Velléda de l'anarchie (Paris, 1971), 59.

⁸¹The prevalence of Biblical imagery in feminist writings can be seen in the titles of Maria Deraismes' two principal works: Eve contre Monsieur Dumas fils (Paris, 1872) and Eve dans humanité (Paris, 1891). Audouard mockingly reversed the standard "rib" interpretation by arguing that what came last was best. As humans were superior to mollusks, so women were superior to men, because "the divine Creator wanted to

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the strongest ties binding feminism to republicanism as well as one of the issues on which an extensive exchange of ideas and personnel took place. Under the Second Empire, Guérout's Opinion Nationale specialized in exposing clerical immorality, the subject of Richer's weekly column, "Lettres d'un libre-penseur à un curé de village."⁸² Michelet's histories elaborated a more sweeping, sophisticated version of "liberty at war with the Church," inclining feminists other than d'Héricourt to react ambivalently to his opinions on women.⁸³ In the early years of the Third Republic, especially after 1877, feminists took advantage of the relaxed political climate to redouble their attacks on the Church. They assiduously attended gatherings of free-thinkers, and Deraismes played an instrumental role in organizing the first anti-clerical congresses. Aversion to clericalism also made Positivism and Spiritualism all the more attractive to feminists and brought them into even greater contact with several important republican sub-groups, particularly the Freemasons and the Protestants.

Education presented one of the principal battlegrounds on which the "forces of change" confronted the "forces of order" in nineteenth-century France. Both camps believed that to build a new society or to finish the act of creation with the most perfect, most complete creature." Guerre aux Hommes, 19.

⁸² Léon Richer, Lettres d'un libre-penseur à un curé de village, précédé d'une introduction par M. Ad. Guérout (2 vols., Paris, 1868-69). For an example of Richer's continuing interest in "priest-baiting," once feminism became his primary pursuit, see the report he published on Abbé Baque, a young priest who seduced a parishioner. The girl in question received five years imprisonment at hard labor for infanticide; Baque received a transfer. Le Droit des Femmes, 4 September 1887.

⁸³ John McManners, Church and State in France, 1870-1914 (New York, 1972), 14-15.

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reinforce the old depended on capturing (enlightening?) the minds of youth. Feminists shared this belief passionately. In their eyes the systeme masculiniste had reduced women to a state of enforced ignorance, and then, after centuries of exclusive concentration on men's minds, had perversely attributed woman's intellectual torpor to her "nature." Hence, to feminists improved education represented not only a prerequisite for woman's equality but the confirmation of a thesis. Learning reforms also struck feminists as a logical extension of the neo-traditional mère éducatrice ideal. Consequently, as one of the many "forces of change" in education, feminists entered into contact with a host of groups and individuals who shared a desire to make schooling universal, compulsory and lay. These contacts coincided with self-help efforts like the establishment of the first professional school for girls in 1862 by Elisa Lemonnier and the founding a few years later of a Société de la Révendication du Droit des Femmes, whose primary objective centered on improving woman's education.⁸⁴ But the contacts enabled feminists to reach beyond their limited following and to enlist the support of individuals like Ferdinand Buisson, a Protestant educator who eventually became the foremost male advocate of woman's suffrage, and the backing of groups like La Ligue de l'Enseignement, founded in 1866 by Jean Macé. The success of the Ligue, which acquired 17,856 members grouped into fifty circles by 1870, provided an organizational model for Léon Richer's Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes,

⁸⁴ Charles Lemonnier, Elisa Lemonnier, fondatrice de la Société pour l'enseignement professionnel des femmes (Saint Germain, 1866), For a later assessment of professional education for girls in France see: Clémence Royer, "L'Enseignement professionnel en France," La Société Nouvelle, X (1889), 306-29.

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created in 1882, while Macé himself displayed an active interest in feminism through contributions to Derooin's short-lived Opinion des Femmes in 1849 and membership in Richer's Ligue.⁸⁵

Macé also participated in the upsurge of pacifist activity that swept France in the 1860's. He joined a Ligue pour la Paix in 1862 and in 1867 he collected forty-eight signatures, half German and half French, against war from both sides of the Rhine in the neighborhood of his hometown, Beblenheim, Alsace.⁸⁶ At Paris in 1867, Frédéric Passy founded La Ligue de la Paix, which later called itself the Société des Amis de la Paix and finally the Société de l'Arbitrage, and several men, including divorce advocate Naquet and Code critic Acolas, created La Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté. Earlier, between 1858 and 1863, a third major peace organization had come into existence, the Ligue du Bien Public.⁸⁷ None of these Ligues and Sociétés espoused conscientious pacifism like the Quakers, but all demanded abolition of permanent armies and international arbitration of disputes. Feminists rallied to pacifism of this type out of a concern for human welfare and, more specifically, because they perceived war as the inevitable result of the male egotism cultivated by the système masculiniste. Furthermore, pacifism represented a logical feminist counter to the widespread belief that woman's subordination derived of necessity from the greater sacrifices made by

⁸⁵ Michel Tricot, De l'Instruction publique à l'éducation permanente (Paris, 1973), 29. A Comité des Dames de la Ligue de l'Enseignement included Madame Jules Ferry, Paul Bert and Ferdinand Buisson. Louli Sanua, Figures féminines 1909-1939 (Paris, 1949), 69.

⁸⁶ Tricot, De l'Instruction publique, 28.

⁸⁷ Edmond Potonié-Pierre, Historique de Mouvement Pacifique (Berne, 1899), 83-89.

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men on the battlefield. Peace advocates reciprocated feminist enthusiasm for their cause by emphasizing woman's emancipation. In 1868, the second congress of La Ligue pour la Paix et la Liberté passed a resolution endorsing equal social and political rights for women, and initiated a study of the practical steps required to secure that end.⁸⁸ "War against war" summed up the pacifist objective, and Émile de Girardin wrote a series of articles under that heading. The slogan itself, however, came from the pen of Edmond Potonié-Pierre, whose wife Eugénie helped lead feminism through its first generation.⁸⁹

In 1868 F. Santallier, the director of the Journal du Havre, created a Union de la Paix. The new Union had its own journal with 1,500 subscribers, and Saint-Simonian Arlès-Dufour figured among its honorary members. Much of its support, however, came from several

⁸⁸ Jules Tixerant, "Le Mouvement féministe sous le second Empire," Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes, Bulletin Trimestriel, April 1911, 3.

⁸⁹ Potonié-Pierre, Historique du Mouvement Pacifique, 88. Pacifism eventually became a determinant for participation in the feminist movement and the larger women's rights coalitions. Anti-pacifists had either to remain aloof, like Madame Juliette Adam, or risk expulsion. In 1909, for example, the National Council of French Women announced the disaffiliation of Jeanne Deflou's Groupe Français d'Études Féministes and the Comité ariégeois de Progrès Féminin for their opposition to pacifism. L'Action Féminine, 1 April 1909. With the outbreak of war in 1914, the Interior Ministry ordered an investigation of the major women's and feminist groups, only to discover that their earlier espousal of pacifism had largely ceased with the onset of hostilities. The investigators praised French feminists for boycotting a peace conference at the Hague, a gathering that arose "from a manner and from a spirit that are very particular to people of Germanic origin and affinity." The report concluded that, a few individual exceptions notwithstanding, the vast majority of feminists had not responded to foreigners' perfidious peace propaganda. France, Ministry of the Interior, AN F⁷ 13266, "La Campagne féministe en faveur de la paix" (1915). Prior to the war and with non-pacifists excluded from feminist ranks, the chief debate within the movement revolved around whether or not feminists should endorse military service for women. Some supported such service in the name of sex equality, others opposed it in the name of peace.

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Masonic lodges in the vicinity.⁹⁰ The year before a professor at the lycée of Metz founded the first branch circle of the Ligue de l'Enseignement. The Prefect at Moselle immediately authorized the circle, but the local bishop excommunicated the professor, who also headed Metz's Masonic Lodge. Throughout France other Lodges sponsored Ligue circles, and Macé, a Mason himself, wrote of the connection: "The two institutions are certainly independent of each other, but they are sisters as well, very certainly, their principle being the same: war on ignorance and on intolerance."⁹¹

Thus emerged ties that increasingly brought French Freemasonry into extensive contact with reformism. Feminists recognized this development and strove to make common cause with it. They too perceived their struggle as a "war on ignorance and on intolerance." Freemasons excluded women from membership, but they shared feminism's aversion to clericalism and its interest in pacifism and education. Like Guérout's Opinion National, moreover, Freemasons benefited from Imperial indulgence at the end of the Second Empire, despite their republican sympathies. Hence, in addition to similar ideals, feminists could utilize the freedom enjoyed by Masonic forums to spread their message about woman's plight. Above all, however, Masonry constituted one of the most important groups through which the future politicians of France passed, enabling feminists to engage the attention of at least a portion of the political establishment.⁹²

⁹⁰ Potonié-Pierre, Historique de Mouvement Pacifique, 88.

⁹¹ Tricot, De l'Instruction publique, 25.

⁹² Georges Weill wrote that "under the Empire, as under the Restoration and under Louis-Philippe, the directors of freemasonry submitted to the orders of the government; the Grand-Orient came to accept

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Compared to its ties with anti-clericalism, education reform, pacifism and Freemasonry, feminism's link to philanthropic reformism was relatively weak. Feminists assisted the downtrodden, especially stranded, working and imprisoned women, but their objective went beyond the simple alleviation of misery. They hoped to effect a fundamental alteration of French society to the end that charity, if it continued to exist at all, would play only a minimal role. Feminists perceived their charges not

without murmur the grand master imposed by Napoleon III, Marshal Magnan; but he did not prevent the lodge "Renaissance par les émules d'Hiram" from becoming, under the direction of Massol, a foyer of republican ideas. In the Scottish Rite the grand master was Crémieux; lodge 133 had as Venerable Henri Brisson, as orator Floquet, among its members Gambetta, Ferry and the brothers of Fonvielle. More than one lodge served as a point of departure for a very precise political action." Histoire du Parti Républicain en France 1814-1870 (Paris, 1928), 359.

Mildred J. Headings has described the political importance of Masons under the Third Republic: "By the late eighteen/ eighties the Freemasons claimed that the large majority of the deputies, ministers, councillors of all kinds, and officials, were Freemasons. Prime ministers who were (or had been) Freemasons included Jules Simon, Jules Ferry, Gambetta, Fallières, Brisson, Rouvier, Tirard, Floquet, Charles Dupuy, Bourgeois, Méline, Combes, Monis, J. Caillaux, Doumergue, Viviani, Millerand, G. Leygues, A. Sarraut, Camille Chautemps, and Blum." In the critical post of Minister of Public Instruction, feminists had to deal with a number of Freemasons: Jules Simon, Jules Ferry, Spuller, Paul Bert, Lockroy, Fallières, Bourgeois, Dupuy, Leygues, A. Rambaud, Chaumié, Bien-venu Martin, Doumergue, M. Faure, Viviani, Augagneur, A. Sarraut, Lafferre, and Chautemps. French Freemasonry Under the Third Republic, The John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Volume 66 (Baltimore, 1949), 79-80.

Jose-Maria de Hérédia, politician, Mason, and feminist, expressed the common concern of Masons in respect to women at an Adoption Lodge ceremony in 1878: "Freemasonry does nothing more than reflect the opinion of French democracy; it sums up all the aspirations of republican opinion; it does not need to have recourse to force or to ruses, because it indulges in no Machiavellian projects; but what it wishes to conquer above all is woman, because she is the last fortress that the spirit of obscurantism opposes to human progress." Cited in Marianne Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines (Paris, 1963), 129. See also: Elaine Brault, Le Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes (Paris, 1953); Gaston Martin, Manuel d'histoire de la franc-maçonnerie française (Paris, 1929); Jacques Mitterrand, La Politique des Francs-Maçons (Paris, 1973); Charles Laurent, Les Droits de la femme: Droits Politiques; Docteur Henri Fischer, Le Rôle de la femme, conférence faite à la loge "le Lien des peuples." (Brussels, 1904); Robert Freke Gould et al., eds., A

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so much as disadvantaged and in need of assistance from the well-to-do, but as oppressed. The cure to the ill lay in justice not alms. In addition to the difference in orientation towards the unfortunate, feminists had little direct contact with Catholicism, one of the major agents of philanthropy, and only relatively more with Protestantism, the other chief philanthropic force. Given their hatred of clericalism, feminists could hardly cooperate with the world of Catholic charities and, in any case, the "priest-ridden" women in charge of such activities viewed feminism as part of a larger Masonic plot to destroy society. In contrast, feminists had much in common with Protestants, particularly liberal Protestants. Both opposed clericalism, espoused republicanism, and sought improvements in education. On the few occasions when the Third Republic enacted legislation of benefit to women, liberal Protestants occupied government posts in numbers inversely related to their percentage of the population at large.⁹³ But there remained a world of difference between even the mild religiosity of liberal Protestants and the free-thinkers who dominated feminism's first generation. Consequently, while feminists groped to consolidate their ranks and to formulate their views in the period prior to 1889, Protestants developed a kind of

Library of Freemasonry (London, 1906), III, 391-449. For a hostile opinion, see: J. Tourmentin /l'abbé Henry-Stanislas-Athenase Joseph/, La Femme chez les francs-maçons d'après les derniers convents du G.^o. (Paris, 1902).

⁹³ In the cabinet of 2 February 1879, for example, six out of ten ministers were Protestants. Prominent Protestant politicians included Waddington, Freycinet, Léon Say, Le Royer, Eugène Pelletan, Nefftzer, Réville, Jaureguiberry, and Paul Bert. Jules Ferry married a Protestant in a civil ceremony. A prominent Protestant feminist and educator, Ferdinand Buisson, felt that free-thinking and Protestantism had much in common inasmuch as both beliefs emphasized a positivist approach to free examination and opposed reliance on dogmas, miracles and priests. Acomb, The French Laic Laws, 54-58.

parallel organization, one part of which engaged in charitable activities, the other adumbrating a decidedly reformist but limited program of women's rights. Throughout, individual feminists and Protestants cooperated, but at the time of the 1889 revolutionary centennial their distinctiveness surfaced in separate Women's Congresses.⁹⁴

Extremism

Although utopian socialism, republicanism, and reformism represented the most important alternatives through which feminists acquired new ideas and new recruits, schools of thought both further right and further left occasionally had a similar effect. The Duchess d'Uzès (1847-1933) turned to feminism in the 1890's after a long association with right-wing politics that included the financing of General Boulanger's abortive attempt to topple the Third Republic in 1889, and in 1896 Marie Maugeret's Le Féminisme Chrétien signalled the persistence of the conservative, Catholic family-centered cult of woman initiated by Madeleine Sirey's La Mère de Famille in 1833.⁹⁵ D'Uzès and Maugeret approached the woman question in earnest, but at times a disingenuous

⁹⁴ Writing in 1896 of the philanthropically-oriented official Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines of 1889, Marie Dronsart recalled that "a large number of feminine societies and institutions were represented there by their delegates, whose discourses and reports were very interesting, but the well-known sentiment of the majority against Catholicism removed the representatives from the religion which is that of the immense majority of French women; if Mme. la comtesse de Verneuil and her daughter-in-law had not come to open the golden book of Catholic charity and to give the list of its admirable works for children and adults, one might have believed that our country included only Protestants and Isrealites." Dronsart, "Le Mouvement Féministe," 115.

⁹⁵ Sullerot, Presse, 187-9. The Duchess d'Uzès (Marie-Adrienne-Anne-Victornienne Clémentine de Rochechouart Mortemart) served as president of Schmahl's l'Avant-Courrière, to which Madame Adam also belonged. Suzanne Dudit, "La Duchesse d'Uzès n'est plus," Minerva, undated newspaper clipping at BMD, Dossier Duchesse d'Uzès.

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quality characterized feminism of the right, as with Édouard Drumont's endorsement of woman suffrage:

Can you imagine in Parliament deputies more avaricious, more stupid, more corrupt, more estranged from all feelings of justice and respect for the rights of others, more basely persecutory, more indifferent to the interests of the state and to the honor of the country, more ready to squander the millions in the budget than those who today comprise the majority? -- Assuredly no.⁹⁶

From the left the most famous convert waited until the eve of the First World War to declare herself. Séverine (1855-1922) was too young to participate in the movement's founding, and in the 1880's she refused to collaborate with it on the grounds that she felt too feminine, objected to joining any group, preferred the "social struggle," and considered her work on the Cri du Peuple more important. She retired from public life in 1888, but returned over two decades

⁹⁶ Libre Parole, 9 June 1906. Jules Lemaitre agreed: "I believe that universal suffrage would be less bad, for some years /to come/, if women voted. But again, universal suffrage strikes me as idiotic." Unidentified press clipping at BMD, VOT 396, 1910. In his preface to Camille Rouyer's Les Chemins de la vie: La Femme dans l'Administration (Tours, 1900), Drumont expressed approval of Rouyer's attempt to provide women job-seekers with employment information, given the unfortunate state of French society: "In respect to feminism, as with many other contemporary questions, every man who observes and reflects is obliged to have two opinions: a theoretical opinion, and a second opinion dictated by the facts, imposed by the practicalities of life, by the incoherent spectacle of a society where no one is any longer in his /or her/ place, and that, under the cloak of refined civilization, returns little by little to chaos and to the savagery of primitive times." In theory, women should remain at home and avoid competing with men. Maternity represented woman's highest duty, wrote Drumont, but "in today's society, which pretends to be egalitarian and which is only a despotic oligarchy where Jews and Freemasons reign and govern, woman is no more than an instrument of pleasure or a tool of work and of profit easier to control and less costly than others; she is a beast of burden or a small, gentle animal of the philosophers of the eighteenth century, a being who dresses herself, prattles about, and undresses." Hence, so long as social disruption continued, women had to have practical advice about employment opportunities. (7-9).

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later as a feminist and organizer of a giant women's day celebration on 5 July 1914.⁹⁷

Overall the links between feminism and the more extreme right and left involved only a handful of individuals and evolved only after the movement had established itself. Yet such links nonetheless illustrate vagaries in the interplay between woman's discontent and the ways in which that discontent might express itself. Indeed, the non-feminist right -- Catholic, royalist, anti-Masonic, and opposed to separation of Church and State -- rallied hundreds of thousands of French women at the turn of the century to groups like La Ligue des Femmes Françaises, founded at Lyon in 1901, and its offshoot, La Ligue Patriotique des Françaises. From 1909 a Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines provided a forum for coordinating the activities of these groups.⁹⁸ For French feminism the significance of

⁹⁷ Séverine (Caroline Rémy, dame Guebhard) repeatedly scoffed at invitations to join the feminist movement in the 1880's and 1890's, see: La Citoyenne, September 1885; La Matin, 18 December 1892; La Revue Feministe, October 1895, 3-5. ~~BUT ON~~ the eve of the First World War, she spearheaded an effort to create an Entente Fédérale des Sociétés pour le Suffrage des Femmes and to make Condorcet's death date, the eighth of April, the annual day of feminist celebration, see: L'Aurore, 3 June 1914; La Française, 5 July 1914; and an unidentified clipping at BMD, Dossier VOT 396 1910.

⁹⁸ The Ligue des Femmes Françaises was founded at Lyon in 1901 as a vehicle to oppose the law on religious congregations. Its infiltration by royalists and Assumptionists led to a split at the time of the 1902 elections, from which emerged the Ligue Patriotique des Françaises. Together with the Association Catholique de la Jeunesse Françaises, the Ligue Patriotique formed the nucleus of the Action Libérale Populaire, the political arm of Catholic women. The social arm of the Ligue Patriotique cooperated with the Action Sociale de la Femme, established by Jeanne Chenu in 1900. Catholic women of various countries worked through the Association Catholique Internationale des Oeuvres de Protection de la Jeune Fille, founded at Fribourg in 1896. The composite goal of these groups was to improve the lot of women, to promote the Catholic religion, and to reform the parliamentary system.

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this phenomenon was twofold. First, it highlighted the complexities of consciousness, revealing how alienating experiences could, if misdirected,

By 1909 the split between the royalist Ligue des Femmes Françaises and the Ligue Patriotique had partly healed, and, in any case, the latter had organized 400,000 members into over 900 committees. By 1913 the Ligue Patriotique had 1,042 committees and 500,000 members. In the same year a report to the Interior Ministry noted the considerable influence of the Ligue Patriotique: "It is uncontestably the most powerful of the feminine organizations; it clearly dominates the Ligue des Femmes Françaises whose sympathies are with the royalist party." Report F. 1633 of 27 May 1913 in AN F⁷ 13215. During the First World War another report depicted the Fédération Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines, founded on the initiative of the Ligue Patriotique in 1909, as politically and religiously reactionary but very patriotic and anti-pacifist. Report 6852 of 5 September 1915 in AN F⁷ 13215.

In the eyes of the Ligue Patriotique, feminism represented a danger to faith and society; "The ideas of the International Council of Women [founded in 1888] are anti-Catholic. The president of its French [section] is a sectarian [ie. Protestant]. One of the most visible personalities of this association is a free-thinker. . . . It would be imprudent to take part in these [feminist] congresses where Catholic women will always be in a minority and where they will confront questions that violate our principles." Report to the Service Internationale des Ligues Catholiques Féminines par une correspondante de la Fédération, AN F⁷ 13215. Catholic women held their own women's congress in 1900, and, beginning in 1904, they held annual Jeanne d'Arc Conferences.

Spokesmen for the Ligue Patriotique viewed feminism as a "terror polluted by a horde of foreigners, of freemasons." Octave Chambon, Le Devoir social de la femme française. Address delivered at Ploermel 21 December 1902 (Auxerre, 1902), 22. Freemasonry represented a "monster from hell." Madame J. Drujon, Ligue Patriotique des Femmes Françaises. Address to the women of the Ligue at Tarascon (Avignon, 1911). On the issue of woman suffrage, the Ligue Patriotique took the position in 1914 that "it is not a question of combating or approving women's vote, but to state that it is not utopian, an impossibility." Undated clipping from Écho de la Ligue Patriotique des Françaises in AN F⁷ 13215. The Ligue attributed the absence of woman suffrage in France to Protestant fears of Catholic women. After the First World War, Catholic suffragists founded the Union Nationale pour le Vote des Femmes, which cooperated closely with Chenu's Action Sociale de la Femme. The Duchess de la Rochefoucauld served as the Union's president.

In addition to the Ligue Patriotique and the Ligue des Femmes, Catholic women could turn to other organizations, such as the Comité des Dames of La Patrie Française, created in January 1899 with the aid of Jules Lemaitre, and to a number of journals, like La Femme Contemporaine founded by J. Lagardere in 1903. Needless to say, the rapid growth of these Catholic women's organizations and journals after the turn of the century reflected the failure of first generation geminists to make inroads among the vast majority of women in France. For information on this subject, see: AN F⁷ 13215 for the

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provoke a reactionary strengthening of traditional ideas about women. Second, the objectives of these conservative women's Ligues mirrored in reverse the various reforms with which feminists strongly identified.

Womanism and Feminism

Alongside the various socialist, political, and reformist movements that provided alternatives through which the système's alienated could acquire a sense of direction, there existed two additional outlets for the discontented, womanism and feminism itself. "Womanism" refers to a trend that, growing in strength throughout the nineteenth century, focused attention on many of the problems confronted by women. It could hardly be called a movement, however, because it lacked both organization and ideology. Highly issue-oriented it overlapped feminism in pinpointing specific abuses, but its central characteristic was simple concern. In searching out and revealing the plight of women, it represented a form of what Americans at the turn of the century called "muckraking." At the point where new consciousness might begin, womanism abetted feminism by exposing gynophobic sores in the French social body. Beyond that its value to feminism proved limited, and if anything its specificity tended to obscure the more general problem of woman's oppression.

Womanism manifested itself in a variety of ways, in novels like André Léo's Un mariage scandaleux (1862), Une vieille fille (1864), and Un divorce (1866); in documentaries like the third edition of Alexandre

Ligue Patriotique des Femmes and AN F⁷ 13229 for the Comité des Dames; Comtesse de Keranflech-Kerneze, Madame Chenu 1861-1939 (Paris, 1940); Madame M. Penson, Le Rôle actuel de la femme. Conférence faite à la Ligue Patriotique des Françaises (Bordeaux, 1911); and Madame Anna Lampérière, Le Rôle social de la femme (Paris, 1898).

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Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet's two volume study De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris (1857) and Louis Reybaud's Études sur le régime des manufactures. Condition des ouvriers en soie (1859); in histories like Clarisse Bader's La Femme dans l'Inde antique (1864) and La Femme biblique (1866); in drama like Alexandre Dumas' La Dame aux camélias (1852) and L'Ami des femmes (1864); and in a host of newspaper and magazine articles, pamphlets, brochures, and university studies.⁹⁹ Between 1864 and 1869 at least three works addressed the subject of "women in the nineteenth century," and towards the end of the century the number of law dissertations on women increased from 14 in 1884-85 to 30 in 1894-95 and 51 in 1904-05.¹⁰⁰ Fifty-four percent of these dissertations related to issues arising out of marriage, but, regardless of the focus, they reflected the growing trend of popular, professional, and academic concern for one or another aspect of woman's condition.

The other alternative through which the système's alienated could find direction was feminism itself. Once the movement acquired a

⁹⁹ André Léo [Léodile Champseix], Un mariage scandaleux (2nd ed., Paris, 1863), Une vieille fille (Paris, 1864), and Un divorce (new ed., Paris, 1869). Alexandre Jean-Baptiste Parent-Duchâtelet, De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris (3rd ed., 2 vols., Paris, 1859). Louis Reybaud, Études sur le régime des manufactures. Condition des ouvriers en soie (Paris, 1859). Clarisse Bader, La Femme dans l'Inde antique, études morales et littéraires (Paris, 1864) and La Femme biblique, sa participation au développement de l'idée religieuse (Paris, 1866). After 1870 Bader wrote: La Femme grecque; étude de la vie antique (2 vols., Paris, 1872), La Femme romaine: étude de la vie antique (Paris, 1877), and La Femme française dans les temps modernes (Paris, 1883). Alexandre Dumas fils, La Dame aux camélias; drame en cinq actes (Paris, 1852) and L'Ami des femmes; comédie en cinq actes (Paris, 1864).

¹⁰⁰ Ernest Legouvé, La Femme en France au dix-neuvième siècle (Paris, 1864). Paul Thouzery, La Femme au XIXe siècle: Ce qu'elle est. Ce qu'elle doit être (Paris, 1866). Eugène Pelletan, La Femme au XIXe siècle (Paris, 1869). Catalogue des thèses et écrits académiques: Année scolaire 1884-85, 1894-95, 1904-05 (Paris, 1885, 1895, 1905).

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semblance of organization, it provided an obvious channel into which discontent could flow. Soon after leaving the convent in which she grew up, Hubertine Auclert heard about feminism and immediately left for Paris to join the movement.¹⁰¹ Marguerite Durand, actress turned journalist, drew an assignment to cover the 1896 Women's Rights Congress, and stayed. The next year she founded La Fronde (1897-1905, 1914), the first newspaper entirely run by women.¹⁰² Isabelle Bogelot joined the movement almost as a matter of course; she had been raised in the home of feminist Maria Deraismes.¹⁰³ But these and other later-day recruits enlisted in an effort that had already achieved a degree of consolidation. Such was not the case for the movement's initiators, who had to fashion an organization out of whole cloth.

However, the whole cloth presented at least three workable qualities. The first consisted of convoluted snags and rips, comprising the experiential basis of woman's alienation under the systeme masculiniste. From a feminist point of view, women had been drop-stitched out of the otherwise progressive fabric of French society. The second and third qualities might be likened to threads: one running backwards into time, the other stretching across national boundaries. The one enabled feminists to draw on the past for support; the other brought sustenance and direction from foreign contemporaries.

When French feminists looked backward, they saw not only a pattern of increasing male oppression but repeated attempts by individuals and

¹⁰¹See Chapter IV.

¹⁰²BMD, Dossier Durand.

¹⁰³BMD, Dossier Bogelot.

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groups to throw off that oppression. Since the fourteenth century, when Christine de Pisan published the first of her protests against masculinisme, Epître au Dieu d'Amour (1399), "forerunners" of feminism had advanced arguments in favor of women's liberation.¹⁰⁴ In the fifteenth century, these forerunners included Louise Labbé, Françoise de Billon, Henri Estienne, Pierre de Bourdeille (Brantôme), and the woman who "did the most for the cause," Marguerite de Navarre.¹⁰⁵ In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, salons provided forums for collective protest, while Marie de Gournay, Poulain de la Barre, and the philosophes wrestled individually with what had become known as the "woman question."¹⁰⁶ The revolutions of 1789, 1830, and 1848 engendered new pleas for woman's liberation and new forms of protest, particularly women's clubs.

Thus, by the second half of the nineteenth century, the système's critics could look back on a tradition hundreds of years in the making. Nothing like a consistent "line" had arisen, but the legacy of protest at least enabled the discontented to avoid an historical vacuum and to experience a sense of continuity. The legacy also supplied useful heroes, models, and myths. Heroes included the Marquis de Condorcet, whose death date became women's annual day of celebration on the eve of the First World War, and Jeanne d'Arc, whose image inspired feminists until

¹⁰⁴ Lulu McDowell Richardson, The Forerunners of Feminism in French Literature of the Renaissance The John Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, Vol. XII (Baltimore, 1929), Larnac, Histoire de la littérature féminine en France.

¹⁰⁵ Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 120.

¹⁰⁶ Abensour, La Femme et le féminisme avant la révolution.

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Catholic women partially coopted her at the turn of the century.¹⁰⁷

Feminists could find positive models in what women had done in the past, and negative models in what men in the past had prevented women from doing. The historical mixture of female expression and male repression led nineteenth-century feminists to put a premium on freedoms of speech and association, and to become increasingly concerned with the political question lest another masculine backlash should occur. Typically enough, the most pervasive myth involved a lost Golden Age. Relative to men, women had in fact been better off within the parameters of the old order. "Neither feudalism nor the Church freed women," de Beauvoir has written, "but with the abolition of serfdom "husband and wife lived on a footing of equality in small rural communities and among workers; in free labor woman found real autonomy because she played an economic and social part of real importance."¹⁰⁸ Consequently, woman's denigration, which evolved slowly during the Middle Ages and rapidly after the sixteenth century, left a longing for customary law and the Gaulois tradition. This longing exaggerated women's Gaulic freedoms, but historical accuracy meant little to women exploited by the système masculiniste.¹⁰⁹

Through contacts with international feminism, French opponents of the système masculiniste managed to avoid a sense of geographical isolation. Foreign feminists took a keen interest in the French movement because, wrote Kaethe Schirmacher of Germany, "the European woman's

¹⁰⁷ Lydie Martial quoted an advocate of women's liberation who expressed the typical feminist impression of the "Maid of Orleans;" "A woman, Jeanne d'Arc, has certainly saved France, feminism can certainly save society." Lydie Martial, La Femme intégrale (Paris, 1901), 40.

¹⁰⁸ Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 114.

¹⁰⁹ Sullerot, Presse, 13-14.

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rights movement was born in France; it is the child of the Revolution of 1789."¹¹⁰ In turn, French feminists repeatedly cited foreign advances in woman's rights, hoping to prod France into emulation and to create an impression of progress that the French situation could hardly impart by itself.

Foreign developments influenced French feminism in several ways. Among the most widely-read works on women in nineteenth-century France, two came from England, Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) and John Stuart Mill's The Subjection of Women (1869), and another came from Germany, August Bebel's Woman Under Socialism (1883).¹¹¹ The Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian countries appeared as beacons in respect to both organized feminist efforts and practical legislative gains. American women held the first Women's Rights Congress at Seneca Falls, New York in 1848, while Wyoming Territory led the western world in granting full political rights to women.¹¹² In 1851 Jeanne Deroin and Pauline Roland wrote from their prison cell in Saint-Lazare: "Sisters of America! your socialist sisters of France are united with you in the

¹¹⁰Schirmacher, The Modern Woman's Rights Movement, 175.

¹¹¹Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Woman with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects (New York, 1967). John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women (1869) in Alice S. Rossi, ed., Essays on Sex Equality, John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill (Chicago, 1970), 125-242. August Bebel, Woman Under Socialism, trans. by Daniel de Leon from original German of the 33rd edition (New York, 1971). For a feminist reaction to Bebel's work, see Eugénie Potonié-Pierre's three-part review in La Citoyenne, 5 July, 19 July, and 2 August 1891. Although Wollstonecraft's Vindication is perhaps the best known of the late eighteenth-century works on women, Melanie Lipinska considered Theodore Gottlieb Hippel's Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Weiber (1792) to be the best contemporary examination of the subject. Mélanie Lipinska, Histoire des femmes médecines depuis antiquité jusqu'à nos jours (Paris, 1900), 291.

¹¹²For an interesting account of woman suffrage in the American west, see Alan P. Grimes, The Puritan Ethic and Woman Suffrage (New York, 1967).

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In response, the Second National Woman's Rights Convention, meeting at Worcester, Massachusetts, delegated Lucretia Mott to correspond with French feminists. Those with first-hand knowledge of the United States included Olympe Audouard, who traveled there in the late 1860's, and Communard Élie Reclus, who paid a brief visit to a couple of American utopian communities during his post-1871 exile.¹¹⁴ Not until 1881 did French feminists send an official representative to the United States, but by then extensive contacts had already developed between French advocates of women's liberation and their counterparts on both sides of the Atlantic.

Conclusion

By the late 1860's the stage was set for a revival of organized feminism in France. In and of itself that was not unusual. Somewhat in

¹¹³Miriam Schneir, ed., Feminism: The Essential Historical Writings (New York, 1972). For the complete text of this communication, see: Stanton et. al., History of Woman Suffrage, I, 234-37.

¹¹⁴Olympe Audouard, À travers l'Amérique, le Far-West (Paris, 1869) and À travers l'Amérique, North America, États-Unis, Constitution, mœurs, usages, lois, institutions, sectes religieuses (Paris, 1871). Élie Reclus, "Études Sociologiques: Visite aux perfectionnistes d'oneida," and "Études Sociologiques: Visite aux shakers du mount libanon," La Société Nouvelle, III (1885-86), 5-29, 45-71. Americans acquired an impression of the French situation through the works of French feminists, like André Léo's The American Colony in Paris in 1867 (Boston, 1868), and the works of Americans in France, like Theodore Stanton's chapter on "France" in his edited collection The Woman Question in Europe (New York, 1884). Based on Stanton's reports, Americans arrived at fairly accurate pictures of the general situation of feminism in France: "For the moment, the woman question in Europe is pushed into the background by the all-absorbing struggle still going on in various forms between the republican and the monarchical principle, between the vital present and the moribund past During the second empire, in spite of the oppressive nature of the government, the movement took on a more definite form; its advocates became more numerous; and men and women who held high places in literature, politics and journalism, spoke out plainly in favor of ameliorating the condition of French women. Then came the third republic, with more freedom than France had enjoyed since the beginning of the century. The woman movement felt the change, and, during the past ten years, its friends have been more active than ever before." Stanton, et. al.,

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advance of Eastern Europe and somewhat behind the Anglo-American-Scandinavian world, the emergent French feminist movement fell neatly into line with the general impetus to women's liberation that swept the west in the nineteenth century. Feminist consciousness in France bore the imprint of two broad types of interrelated experiences. One type of experience reflected the general situation of women in the western world; the other stemmed from specific characteristics of contemporary French society.

As part of an international reaction to the general situation of western women, the emergence of the French movement raises the larger question of why, at roughly the same moment in time, so many women and men, in so many places, sought (or fought against) woman's emancipation. The answer perhaps has to do with the convergence of two trends. One trend involved the images of woman. More so than men, whose images had traditionally been flexible and open to "allowances," women had been measured absolutely against abstract ideals and myths. Some of these images revered woman, as with medieval Mariolatry and the Saint-Simonian "female messiah." Others denigrated woman, as with Tertullian's belief in her as the "devil's gateway" and Prefect Lacour's conviction that a "bad" woman could always ruin a "good" man. But, although women occasionally suffered the effects of prevailing reverential or denigratory images (no doubt women in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have preferred the courtly "pedestal" to the inquisitors' witch-burning stake), the specific content of these images was less important than the persistent tendency to envelop women's lives in myth. So long as women

History of Woman Suffrage, III [1876-1885], 896-96. Considerably less accurate was the selection of Alexandre Dumas files and Victor Hugo as the only two French "Eminent Advocates of Woman Suffrage." Stanton et. al., History of Woman Suffrage, IV [1883-1900], 1084.

remained "objectified" as woman, they stood little chance of developing their full potential:

A man never begins by presenting himself as an individual of a certain sex; it goes without saying that he is man. The terms masculine and feminine are used symmetrically only as a matter of form, as on legal papers. In actuality the relation of the two sexes is not quite like that of two electrical poles, for man represents both the positive and the neutral, as is indicated by the common use of man to designate human beings in general; whereas woman represents only the negative, defined by limiting criteria, without reciprocity Thus human-
ity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being For him she is sex -- absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not him with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is Subject, he is the Absolute -- she is the Other.¹¹⁵

The other trend involved the changing objective conditions of women's lives: habitation patterns, economic practices, reproductive relations, political arrangements, etc. These varied greatly over time but always reflected some "mix" of environmental and human factors, which determined a society's general configuration and the specific parameters within which people lived. Whether any particular social configuration and its associated parameters realized the optimum potential of the two factors at a given time is beside the point; even a fully-realized potential could fall short of what might be imagined. Thus, despite the fact that variations in the mix occasionally engendered alterations in social configurations, there usually remained a great many gaps between the actual, the possible, and the imaginable.

One of the most important of these gaps had a direct bearing on the general situation of western women over the centuries. So long as limited possibilities coincided with extreme images of woman, women could take advantage of the gap to live in relative freedom. In other words, so long as the images of woman tended to the poles of the good-

¹¹⁵ Beauvoir, The Second Sex, xvii-xix.

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evil spectrum and so long as objective conditions imposed parameters far removed from those images, women's daily existences remained relatively unaffected by the prevailing myths. Hence, although some women attempted to approximate the reverential ideal, which usually involved virginal desexualization, and others fell victim to the counter-ideal, most women could partially, if not wholly, avoid the worst effects of the objectified images of woman.

But what if new images and new objective conditions evolved and then converged? The gap would close, and women would no longer enjoy their experiential freedom of former times. Precisely such a convergence occurred in France and elsewhere during the nineteenth century. The image of the mere educatrice prescribed a rather pedestrian destiny for women compared to the older dichotomized images. As guardians of the household and tenders of children, women lost much of their previously assumed power to save or ruin society directly. Instead, the new image shifted woman's salvational burden to children, whose number and quality became the essential criteria for distinguishing "good" women from "bad."

Regardless of the specific strictures, however, the central characteristic of the mere educatrice ideal was its realizability. Unlike past images, the mere educatrice meshed well with objective conditions created out of evolving commercial and industrial abundance. Women of the working and rural classes had to await a time of even greater abundance before their condition could merge with the new ideal, but for women of the middle class the gap between the possible and the imaginable underwent a steady diminution in the nineteenth century. Consequently, as the first to undergo the loss of their former experiential freedom on a large scale, bourgeois women found themselves in a position where they had either to accept the unusually constraining parameters on their daily lives or to

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rebel against them. The inclination to rebel drew added strength from the fact that "the gap between women's narrowed sphere and men's expanding one appears to have reached its greatest extent at a time when liberal and libertarian ideas were in ascendance."¹¹⁶

Taken together, the closing of the image-conditions gap and the widening of the gap in rights between women and men left an increasing number of women in a state of ideo-structural bondage and provided the victims of the système masculiniste with a core of experiences common to many women in the west. Yet, if feminist consciousness in France arose in part out of experiences that transcended national boundaries, certain peculiarities of contemporary French society also had a profound effect on the movement. Once the requisite discontent had set in, the système's alienated had to identify the causes of woman's oppression and the remedies for alleviating it in their own society. French feminists had to acquire, in short, a directed consciousness. In pursuit of that end, they turned their anguish against the more obvious institutions of male domination, especially the Church and Imperial "despotism," and aligned themselves with a wide variety of social critics: free-thinkers, utopian socialists, republicans, Freemasons, and so on. Some of these critics espoused feminism for positive ends, hoping to employ women's energy and talent to remake society; others saw it as simply necessary, fearing the potential destructiveness of an unenlightened womanhood. Still others cared hardly at all about woman's liberation but cooperated with feminists in opposition to common enemies. Thus, although its main outlines reflected ideas and conditions common to the contemporary west, French feminism also displayed characteristics uniquely "determined" by the socio-political peculiarities of the society from which it emerged.

¹¹⁶William L. O'Neill, The Woman Movement: Feminism in the United States and England (Chicago, 1969), 17.

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CHAPTER III

CRISIS AND COOPERATION:

MARIA DERAISMES, LÉON RICHER, THE STRATEGY OF LE BRÛCHE, AND THE CONGRESS OF 1878

A double division cut through the twenty years that elapsed between the publication of Juliette Lamber's Idées anti-proudhoniennes in 1858 and the first French Congress for Women's Rights, convened at Paris in late July 1878. One division came at roughly the end of the first of those two decades. By the late 1860's, feminism had overcome the masculine backlash that had reduced the movement to silence in the aftermath of the abortive 1848 revolution. More works of womanist or feminist orientation appeared under the Second Empire than in any other epoch of nineteenth-century France.¹ These in turn laid the literary foundation for the emergence of organized feminism in the second decade. An obvious link tied the literary phase to the organized phase, but the transition from isolated protests to concerted action represented a significant development in the evolution of French feminism.

The other division split the organized phase into two parts. Within a few years of the initial attempts to establish a collective effort, French feminists confronted a series of disruptive events: the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1, the Paris Commune of 1871, and the convolutions of the early Third Republic. Each of these events had

¹Tixerant, "Le Mouvement féministe sous le second Empire," 2.

multiple immediate and long-range effects on the movement. The international conflict led to an instant suspension of feminist activity, as concern for women's liberation gave way to a general concern for national liberation. France ended the conflict by signing a disastrous armistice in January 1871, whereupon the Paris Commune arose, causing civil war and a further interruption of feminist activity. Finally, after the collapse of the Second Empire in September 1870, feminists became involved in the long, drawn-out dispute over the new political order.

The long-range effects of these disruptive events included the loss of feminist militants like Juliette Lamber, who as Madame Adam increasingly withdrew from the movement in order to trumpet "revenge" against Germany, and dozens of Communards whose fate ranged from death to imprisonment or exile. The war and the Commune altered the objective conditions of French society sufficiently to permit women to play new roles in industry, in nursing, and occasionally in combat. But these roles proved temporary, due to a general tendency to employ pre-war models for postwar reconstruction in the case of women and a specific disinclination to honor women who had acted outside limits prescribed by the mère éducatrice ideal. Indeed, the most powerful of the conflict-induced impressions of woman, the image of the fanatic Communard pétroleuse, spawned a wave of "petrophobia" that strengthened the prevailing belief in two types of women, the "bad", who went berserk under stress, and the "good", who either remained at home or performed social nurturing like nursing. However, the issue that had the greatest effect on French feminism involved the ongoing debate over the Third Republic.

Feminists could not imagine women's liberation in a non-democratic society. Perceiving women as the "voiceless" oppressed,

feminists demanded a political order in which change could come from below. For women to be free, France had to be free, which required the abolition of authoritarian institutions and the establishment of a democratic republic. Hence, although feminists acquired a unique social identity as a consequence of their struggle to emancipate women, their attachment to the republican prerequisite tended to undercut their primary goal whenever political threats arose. Such threats abounded throughout the Third Republic, but in the 1870's the dangers seemed particularly acute. Five years passed before a constitution emerged in 1875, and it was not until 1877 that the republic seemed safe enough for feminists to advance their cause.

The following year, 1878, feminists organized the first French Congress for Women's Rights. Most of its participants retained a lively fear of political reaction, due in part to recent harassment and an awareness that masculinisme had accompanied authoritarian resurgences after 1789 and 1848. But by its eighth year the Third Republic had already outlived its republican predecessors. This longevity, coupled with republican victories in the 1877 elections, lent an aura of stability to the political scene. Moreover, the organizers of the 1878 Congress had developed an approach to the feminist-republican dilemma that they hoped would permit renewed efforts on behalf of women's liberation without jeopardizing the fragile democracy.

This approach was called la brèche. As a strategy designed to reconcile the primary goal with the larger political prerequisite, "the breach" emphasized the need to secure civil rights for women by attacking the système masculiniste at its weakest points. Rather than press for political rights, advocates of "the breach" maintained that

once women assumed full civil equality with men, enfranchisement would follow as a matter of course. Immediate enactment of women's suffrage represented the quickest but most difficult and dangerous path to women's liberation, given the système's anticipated resistance to such a reform and the prospect of a clerical reaction fueled by Catholic, female voters. If "the breach" strategy foreshadowed a lengthy struggle to attain only piecemeal benefits, as suffrage-oriented critics claimed, it nonetheless offered the possibility of at least a few gains without risk to the republic. In outline form, "the breach" closely resembled the reformist approach of the Opportunists who, confronted by a plethora of problems in the 1880's, decided "à série les questions" — take up the issues one at a time. Above all, however, it reflected the judgment of the movement's two principal figures, Maria Deraismes and Léon Richer.

Feminism and the Liberal Empire

The initial steps toward an organized feminist movement occurred at the end of the Second Empire. After 1859, the regime of Napoleon III gradually shed some of its more authoritarian practices, and by the late 1860's a variety of reforms had significantly liberalized imperial rule. Feminists remained attached to the democratic prerequisite, but like many republicans they "were prepared to leave Napoleon III in office if he would only accept the principle of responsible government." Such a prospect seemed in the offing. Several reforms opened the political system to greater influence from below, and in May 1870 a plebiscite revealed a large majority in favor of a recently decreed quasi-parliamentary experiment, "combining an autocratic monarch with a responsible cabinet."² As "minors" in politics, women gained nothing at

²Wright, France in Modern Times, 191-2.

the time, but the liberal drift led Maria Deraismes later to reflect that female suffrage had been close at hand in the Empire's last days.³ In other areas, the liberal Empire proved immediately beneficial to feminists. Advances occurred in education through the opening of bac examinations and Paris' Medical School to women, while Duruy's proposals simultaneously raised expectations for system-wide reform and heightened feminist opposition to clericalism. Concessions to workers in the form of condoning unions and strikes also helped feminists. But even more important were two general reforms, the restoration of press and assembly freedoms, which permitted feminists to organize and to propagandize with only occasional interference from the authorities. Proponents of better education like Jean Macé, pacifists, republicans, and others benefited as well from Napoleon's "liberalized authoritarianism," with the result that the organizational efforts undertaken by feminists coincided with similar attempts by those with whom feminists already agreed in principle.

Relaxation of press and assembly restrictions, officially enacted in 1868, provoked an explosion of conferences. Within a year, over three hundred took place involving nearly 3,000 discourses on a wide range of topics. Spokesmen for an assortment of communisms and socialisms vied with mutualists, cooperativists, and anarchists, haranguing audiences on the complexities of credit, salaries, unemployment, interest, capital, and so on.⁴ Specific women's issues

³Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes (Paris, 1895), i.

⁴Gustave de Molinari, Le Mouvement socialiste et les réunions publiques avant la révolution du 4 septembre 1870 (Paris, 1872), 3-7, 374.

constituted only a small proportion of the topics discussed, but "towards the end of the Empire, the most ardent feminists organized a veritable campaign of conferences."⁵ The topic of marriage and divorce attracted audiences for four months at Pré-aux-clercs, and at the Vaux-Hall a series of conferences led to resolutions calling for general equality between the sexes, admission of women to the liberal professions (especially medicine), amelioration of conditions for female workers, development of professional education for girls, and establishment and secularization of girls' schools. These conferences left an impression on popular opinion, and "the journalists in their reports were astonished at the aplomb of women speaking in public."⁶

The Vaux-Hall conferences drew well; a session on women's work attracted more than 2,000 people in June 1868. Their organizer was Léon Richer, who had initiated a program of Sunday free-thinking "philosophical conferences" at the Masonic Grand-Orient, 16 rue Cadet, in January 1866. Assisted by philosopher Charles Fauvety, the patron of Juliette Lamber and Jenny d'Héricourt, and two of his Opinion Nationale colleagues, Adolphe Guérault and Jules Labbé, Richer took advantage of the Empire's indulgence towards both free-thinking and Freemasonry to raise a number of critical issues, including women's rights. The assembly law of 1868 permitted Richer to expand his operations by holding public meetings outside Masonic lodges. It also enabled him to enroll more female speakers, like André Léo and Paule Mink who linked women's liberation to proletarian emancipation and looked askance

⁵Villiers, Histoire des Clubs de Femmes, 380.

⁶Tixerant, "Le Mouvement féministe sous le second Empire," 3.

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Chapter I.

at the bourgeois character of French Masonry, and to increase the verbal reach of his prize recruit, Maria Deraismes.⁷

Deraismes' conversion to feminism resembled Juliette Lamber's, except that the antagonist was different. Rather than Proudhon, who had died in 1865, Barbey-d'Aurevilly represented Deraismes' bete noir. Barbey-d'Aurevilly singled out women writers as the worst of the bas-bleus, and on 7 February 1866 he published another of his derisive critiques in the Nain Jaune, focusing on the "faults" of sixty-seven year old feminist Eugénie Niboyet. This attack overcame Deraismes' initial reluctance to speak out in public, and later that same month she accepted Richer's invitation to mount the rostrum at the Grand-Orient. Shortly thereafter she delivered a second series of lectures at the salle des Capucines, so that by the time the Vaux-Hall conferences began Deraismes had polished her style to the point where even the unsympathetic went away impressed by her poise and knowledge.⁸

Despite their early collaboration and Deraismes' success as an orator, neither Deraismes nor Richer enjoyed any special prominence in the years 1866 through 1868. Indeed, Richer played no role at all in the liberal Empire's most important feminist organization, the Société pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme. Founded in the home of André Léo in 1866, the new society included such disparate individuals

⁷The Imperial government authorized the Freemasons to hold public conferences in 1865. For information on these conferences, see: Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914 (Paris, 1934), 11; Marianne Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 124; Eliane Brault, La Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 49-51; and the article from the Nouvelle Revue Internationale of 1 July 1889 in BMD, Dossier Deraismes.

⁸For Barbey-d'Aurevilly's attitude towards women, see Chapter I. For sources on Deraismes, see below.

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as Paule Mink, Louise Michel, Néomie and Élie Reclus, Maria Verdure, Madame Vincent and her sister Madame Mauriceau, Louise David, Ranvier, Claire Demars, Madame Jules Simon, Caroline de Barreau, Maria Deraismes, and the Society's host, André Léo. Republican sentiment and an interest in woman's lot held the group together so long as the Second Empire prevailed, but grave differences divided Revendication's membership: Anti-clericals like Deraismes objected to the moderate Catholicism espoused by Madame Simon and her husband Jules; Caroline de Barreau's interest in Saint-Lazare's ex-prisoners reflected the group's concern for prostitutes but represented a philanthropic tendency out of step with the activist orientation of Mink, Léo, and Michel; and in general the group split along class lines, as evidenced by the eventual Communard careers of the Reclus, Mink, Michel, Léo, and Verdure. Consequently, Revendication elaborated a two-point program that, given the innumerable constraints on women, represented a consensual minimum: better girls' education and higher pay for working women to prevent prostitution.⁹

Revendication survived into the Third Republic but lost much of its raison d'être once girls' education began to improve in the late 1870's and 1880's. In 1881, Revendication and its sizable treasury merged with the Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme, producing the Société pour l'Amélioration due Sort de la Femme et la Revendication de ses Droits. By then l'Amélioration had established

⁹Noël, Dictionnaire de la Commune, 258; Hélène Miropolsky's obituary of Madame Vincent in l'Excelsior, 12 March 1914; Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 29; Villiers, Histoire des Clubs de Femmes, 382; Thomas, Louise Michel, 60 and The Woman Incendiaries, 33; Dronsart, "Le Mouvement féministe," 112; and Supplement to Bulletin of the Union Français pour le Suffrage des Femmes, 1914, 15-6.

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itself as the dominant organization within the feminist movement. Created in April 1870 as the Association pour le Droit des Femmes, l'Amélioration also provided the collective base from which Deraismes and Richer imposed their personal leadership on feminism's first generation.¹⁰ Their propaganda arm had appeared the year before in April 1869, when, with financial backing from Arlès-Dufour and in the face of a "formidable burst of laughter," Richer used the 1868 press law to found Le Droit des Femmes.¹¹ Richer served as both president of l'Amélioration and editor-in-chief of Le Droit des Femmes, but it was Deraismes who conducted the group's day-to-day activities and helped to keep the fledgling newspaper alive with additional monetary and literary contributions. On 11 July 1870, Deraismes, assisted by Richer, presided over the first feminist banquet in France.¹² Eight days later France declared war on Prussia.

International and Civil War

The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1 and the Paris Commune of 1871 elicited a response similar to that of 1789. Women rallied first to the defense of la patrie and then to the cause of social transformation.¹³

¹⁰ Li Dzeh-Djen wrote of the 1870 Association pour le Droit des Femmes: "Ce fut l'origine de l'organisation actuelle de féminisme." La Presse féministe, 28.

¹¹ Sullerot, La Presse féminine, 31. Hubertine Auclert, Le Vote des femmes (Paris, 1908), 102.

¹² Monestier, Société secrètes féminines, 130; Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 92.

¹³ For information on women during the Franco-Prussian War and Paris Commune, see: Villiers, Histoire des Clubs de Femmes; Joseph Turquan, Les Femmes de France 1870-71 pendant l'invasion (Paris, 1893); Hunt, "Feminism and Anti-Clericalism under the Commune;" Noël, Dictionnaire de la Commune; S. Froumov, La Commune de Paris et la

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Workshops drew heavily on female labor, and the growing casualty list attracted women to nursing. Bourgeois women founded the Société de Secours pour les Victimes de la Guerre to care for the wounded, and both Madame Adam and Maria Deraismes set up treatment centers. Jules Allix's Comité des Femmes, whose 1,800 members included André Léo and Elizabeth Dmitrieff during the siege, combined nursing with efforts to establish communal workshops and educational facilities for women. Unlike its bourgeois counterpart, it also emphasized the idea of equality between the sexes.

The Second Empire fell on 4 September 1870; two weeks later the Prussians invested Paris. Women joined men in the streets, demonstrating their support for the new republic and urging more stringent action against the invaders. A few engaged in the fighting, while a larger number played prominent roles in various vigilance committees, especially that of the 18th arrondissement founded by Mesdames Collet, Sophie Poirier, and Louise Michel. Women's clubs also proliferated. But as defeat followed defeat and rumors of surrender spread, representatives of these committees and clubs, led by Léo, Michel, Poirier, and Beatrix Excoffon, once again took to the streets, protesting against government ineptitude and cowardice. The government responded by closing the clubs, outlawing newspapers, and ordering the arrest of demonstrators.

France capitulated on 28 January 1871. Six weeks later Paris revolted against the National Assembly sitting at Versailles. Parisian radicals, who had opposed Napoleon III's declaration of war, blamed the Assembly for the republic's humiliation. Economic hardship, especially

démocratisation de l'école (Moscow, 1958); and Thomas, Louise Michel, The Woman Incendiaries, and "The Women of the Commune," The Massachusetts Review, XII (Summer, 1971), 409-17.

the cessation of a moratorium of debts, exacerbated the situation. When the Assembly tried to seize Paris' cannons in mid-March, the city responded by establishing a revolutionary municipal government. Radical women, led by Karl Marx's friend Elizabeth Dmitrieff, indicated their support for the Paris Commune in April by organizing the Union des Femmes pour la Défense de Paris et les Soins aux Blessés. Inspired by the International's expectation of European-wide class struggle, the Union des Femmes called for annihilation of all privileges and inequalities, branding female supporters of the armistice as "an anonymous group of reactionaries."

The Union des Femmes did not represent all women during the Commune, not even all radical women. Louise Michel, though a member of the International, did not belong to it, and André Léo's membership is open to conjecture. Rival organizations included the 18th arrondissement's vigilance committee and the numerous clubs which reappeared under the Commune. Duplication and competition marred the common effort, though all engaged in similar tasks: nursing, working, propagandizing, and ferreting out draft dodgers. In general, they hoped to abolish woman's double exploitation as worker and female, staking their future on a call to arms, constant vigilance, and the development of a new revolutionary consciousness.

Communards of both sexes viewed education as the key to progress. Militant women of various political persuasions strove to establish free, compulsory lay schools to promote republican citizenship. Better orphanages and day nurseries for working women drew support from several groups, including the Société des Amis de l'Enseignement and Jules Allix's La Commune Sociale de Paris. The day

before Versailles' troops entered Paris, the municipal government raised teaching salaries, eliminated pay differences between male and female instructors, and appointed a committee composed of Mesdames Périér, Réclus, Sapia, Léo, and Anna Jaclard to reorganize and to superintend girls' schools. The Commune also took steps to sanction working-class morality. In early April it granted pensions to the families of fallen Communards, regardless of whether a legal marriage had taken place. Common-law wives benefitted immediately, and children found themselves freed from the stigma of legal illegitimacy.

The Commune died during the "Bloody Week" that ended 28 May 1871. In its last days women fought on the barricades, sometimes with more determination than their menfolk, but to no avail. Many who survived faced trial, imprisonment, or exile. In all the Councils of War dealt with 1,051 women, acquitting 850 for lack of evidence. Death, insanity, and additional acquittals reduced the number even more, until in the end 157 women received sentences ranging from probation to death. No executions took place, but several women, including Louise Michel and Nathalie Lemel, drew sentences of deportation to New Caledonia. Others had to flee France. Mink, Léo, and Dmitrieff escaped to Switzerland, and Tinayre, accompanied by her five children, wandered from Geneva to Saxony, eventually settling in Budapest. A partial amnesty in 1879 and a general amnesty in 1880 permitted most of the deported and exiled to return to France, but by then the feminist movement had reestablished itself under less radical leadership.

Of the role of women in the Commune only the harmful myth of the pétroleuse remained. Fires ravaged Paris throughout "Bloody Week," creating mass hysteria. Opponents of the insurrection suspected a

women's plot to burn the city. In the course of the fighting, Versailles' troops killed hundreds of poor, ill-dressed women caught with baskets, boxes, or milk bottles. No proof exists that women systematically planned to destroy the city, although Communards employed arson to halt government forces, and the Union des Femmes' statutes mentioned the purchase of kerosene as a war measure. Nevertheless, the myth spread, strengthening the old prejudice that woman's emotions would lead her to run amok in times of crisis. Alexandre Dumas films reflected the popular conviction when he remarked that it was better not to speak of these female animals out of respect for decent women, whom they resemble—when they are dead.¹⁴

Maria Deraismes

With the cessation of international and civil hostilities, feminists resumed their struggle. The interregnum had cost them momentum, militants, and "respectability." Although the Second Empire had fallen and a democracy seemed in the offing, neither the recovery of the movement nor the establishment of a republic seemed certain. An ever-present fear of masculine backlash and political reaction remained. Resurrecting the movement thus required a deft socio-political touch. The individuals who possessed that touch were Maria Deraismes and Léon Richer.

When Maria Deraismes accepted Léon Richer's invitation to speak at the Grand Orient in 1866 she was thirty-seven years old.¹⁵

¹⁴Villiers, Histoire des Clubs de Femmes, 412.

¹⁵For biographical information on Maria Deraismes, see: BMD, Dossier Deraismes; Abensour, Histoire générale, 269-71; Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 62-126; Louli Samua, Figures féminines 1909-1939, 127-8; Suzanne Grinberg, Historique

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Born in Brittany, she spent her youth at Pontoise (Seine-et-Oise) in a Voltairian milieu fostered by her father, a liberal republican. One of five children, of whom only her elder sister survived for long, she benefited from an education usually reserved for sons. She mastered Latin and Greek, studied law and political science, and probed the positivism of Comte. Financially she was secure. Her father amassed a fortune as a wholesale merchant, trading with America out of an office on the rue Saint Denis in Paris. His death in 1852, followed by that of Deraismes' mother nine years later, left her a wealthy rentière with an income of 50,000 to 70,000 francs per year. Intelligence and wealth reinforced Deraismes' independent disposition. Unlike her sister Anna, she remained a life-long celibate, due in part to chronic poor health, but more so to an aversion to male dominance. Perhaps the most important man in her life, from a personal point of view, was Alexandre Weill, author and journalist, but nothing permits the supposition that

du mouvement suffragiste depuis 1848 (Paris, 1926), 59-73; Avril de Sainte-Croix, Le Féminisme (Paris, 1907), 85-6; Jane Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 35; Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 23-27; Theodore Zeldin, ed., Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1970), 44-5; Dronsart, "Le Mouvement féministe," 110-37; Jean-Bernard Passerieu, "Notice," in Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, v-Lv; Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, 15 March 1891; Helene Brion, ed., Encyclopédie féministe, MSS, I, at RMD; Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 124-54; Sullerot, La Presse féminine, 30-1; Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 137; Thomas, Louise Michel, 60-1, 280; Acomb, The French Laic Laws, 117; Geneviève Gennari, Le Dossier de la femme (Paris, 1965); Jeanne E. Schmahl, "Progress of the Woman's Rights Movement in France," Forum (September, 1896), 81-6; Almanach Féministe 1899 (Paris, 1899), 36-7; Ladouceur, Conférence sur la féminisme et les revendications féministes (Orange, 1897); Tourmentin, La Femme chez les Français-Maçons; Journal des Femmes, February-March 1894, August 1898; Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, X (Paris, 1962), 1118; Eugen Lennhoff and Oskar Posner, eds., Internationales Freimaurerlexikon (Austria, 1932), 335.



their relationship was anything other than fraternal. In a conversation with Jean-Bernard Passerieu, Deraismes laughingly explained her single status:

Why am I not married? There could be several reasons, but the truth is that I have not met a man who pleased me, or if I have met him, I did not see him.¹⁶

Marriage might have improved her image in the eyes of traditionalists, but Deraismes recognized that under French law single women had more freedom than those who married. Marriage was also time consuming, and she had other things to do.

In 1934, a student of French feminism described Deraismes as "the first French grande bourgeoisie to consecrate her high intelligence, her vast erudition, her eloquence, her fortune and all her life to the cause of women."¹⁷ But, though woman's liberation remained her principal goal, Deraismes' career was far more complex. Ultimately she wanted to create a more perfect society based on equality of the sexes. But to achieve that, certain preconditions had to be met. Woman's emancipation required above all a society open to debate and reform. She could not accept d'Héricourt's notion that anyone who opposed woman's "legitimate" claim was an enemy of progress. For Deraismes feminism could not be so easily divorced from politics. Some enemies, especially monarchists and clericals, were simply too reactionary to be condoned, regardless of their stand on women. Progress for both women and society demanded a congenial milieu, and to Deraismes that meant a viable lay republic.

¹⁶Jean-Bernard, "Notice," LIV.

¹⁷Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 23,

Republicanism drew as heavily as feminism on Deraismes' time and money. During the Second Empire her salon served as a meeting place for Napoleon III's republican opponents. She rejoiced at the collapse of the imperial regime in September 1870 but feared for the survival of its successor, the Third Republic. During the Franco-Prussian War she ran an infirmary at one of her properties in the Faubourg Saint-Denis, but a bout of emphysema kept her out of Paris at the time of the Commune. While convalescing she joined the Republican Committee of Saint Malo and accepted an invitation from the local municipal council to speak at a neighboring theater. She chose the subject "Republic and Monarchy," and although "the success was considerable . . . she paid for this success by vomiting blood and her shaky health forced her to remain silent for four years."¹⁸ In 1873, she published France et progrès, a tract extolling the virtues of republican patriotism.¹⁹

Deraismes feared for the safety of the young republic. Bonapartists, Legitimists, and Orleanists, hoping to restore their respective dynasties, gradually infiltrated the government, and Thiers'

¹⁸ Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xix.

¹⁹ Maria Deraismes, France et progrès (Paris, 1873). In addition to France et progrès, Deraismes published works include: L'Ancien devant le nouveau (Paris, 1869); Aux femmes riches (Paris, 1865); Les Droits de l'enfant (Paris, 1887); Epidémie naturaliste: Emile Zola et la science, discours prononcé au profit d'une société pour l'enseignement en 1880 (Paris, 1888); Lettre au clergé français (Paris, 1879); Nos principes et nos mœurs (Paris, 1868); and Theresa et son époque (Paris, 1865). She also wrote several plays: A bon chat bon rat (Paris, 1861); Le Père coupable (Paris, 1862); Retour à ma femme (Paris, 1862); and Un neveu, s'il vous plait (Paris, 1862). Her principal feminist works were: Eve contre Monsieur Dumas fils and Eve dans l'humanité. Her Oeuvres complètes were compiled after her death by her sister, Madame Anna Feresse-Deraismes.

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fall in 1873 signalled the beginning of an anti-republican crusade. Its leaders correctly identified Deraismes as one of their opponents and Interior Minister Buffet outlawed her feminist group. Richer pleaded l'Amélioration's cause in his newspaper, but the ban continued until the seize mai crisis restored republican power the following year and the 1878 Women's Rights Congress demonstrated the movement's moderation. In the course of the struggle Deraismes rallied her home district and succeeded in securing the election of the first republican deputy from the department of Seine-et-Oise, M. Senart:

The men of 16 May, who had undertaken that unhappy escapade, had been refused the right to meet together. Maria Deraismes bypassed the authorization; she invited the inhabitants of Pontoise to the grand salon of her beautiful property of Mathurins; Non-archist Premier M. de Broglie would very much have liked to prevent a property owner from inviting her neighbors to visit over a cup of tea, but he did not dare. After tea, they talked, and Maria Deraismes improvised household conferences whose success drew people there from the entire department; often several hundred came; during those days, the salon was too small and they trampled on the prohibitions of M. de Broglie and on the flowers in the garden.²⁰

In 1881 Deraismes expanded her political clout by founding a newspaper, Le Républicain de Seine-et-Oise. Its demise five years later marked her withdrawal from formal politics, but she had accomplished her objective. In the election of 1885 Deraismes' hand-picked republican slate swept the balloting. Her salon in Paris on the rue Cardinet continued to attract leading radical republicans. Through it she led her friends in opposition to General Boulanger in the late 1880's, personally offsetting in part the influence of his foremost backer, the wealthy Duchesse d'Uzès.

Deraismes' exertions on behalf of republicanism dovetailed with another equally important effort, the struggle against Church

²⁰ Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xxv.

influence in France. Her earliest public appearances had been under the auspices of Freemasonry, an organization which shared her attachment to anti-clericalism. Richer was a Mason, Vénérable Maître of the Lodge Mars et les Arts, and free-thinking dominated the "philosophical conferences" he sponsored at the Grand Orient. Deraismes saw in these gatherings an opportunity to promote both republicanism and a lessening of the Church's control over women. She applauded Masonic emphasis on the need for lay education, one of the principal goals of the feminist society she helped found with André Léo in 1866. It saddened and angered her that Masons excluded women from full membership, for she believed the effect of that policy was to drive women into the clerical camp. But as long as the Church opposed rational scientific progress, she maintained, it was necessary to support its opponents. And despite a constitutional prohibition against admitting "slaves, women, fools, stupid atheists, immoral and dishonored people," a minority of Masons like Richer actively sought to open the ranks to women. Deraismes hoped one day to join.²¹

The end of the immediate threat to the Republic in the late 1870's permitted Deraismes to expand her campaign against "the empire

²¹French Freemasons had accorded official but inferior status to women since 1774, when the Grand Orient de France recognized loges d'Adoption. With special initiation ceremonies and rituals, these "adopted lodges" bound personnes du sex to chastity, fidelity, charity, modesty, gentleness, etc. Few "adopted lodges" remained under the Second Empire, and the minority of Masons who wished to admit women directly into their ranks had to weigh women's participation against another issue, the indulgent attitude of the imperial government towards Masonry. The Grand Orient's tacit acceptance of Napoleon III's rule led a number of lodges to form a new Obedience, La Grande Loge symbolique. This new Obedience received the Grand Orient's approval, but the thirty-six lodges that eventually formed the new coalition, which included many of Deraismes' friends, tended thereafter to shy away from pressing for women's admission for fear of jeopardizing their own recognition. Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 105-31.

of the Church and the authority of the priest."²² In a "Letter to the French Clergy," written in 1879, she attacked the notion of Catholicism as a civilizing force. Two years later at the Grand Orient, she co-hosted with Victor Schoelcher the first Anti-Clerical Congress in France, which called for separation of Church and State, civil internment, divorce, and equal rights for men and women.²³ Local supporters recognized her leadership in 1885 by electing her president of La Fédération des Groupes de la libre pensée de Seine-et-Oise.

In the meantime, Deraismes achieved one of her life's ambitions: admission to Freemasonry. A rebel lodge in the neighboring town of Pecq (Seine-et-Oise) admitted her in January 1882. "The door you have opened will not be closed again on me or on all the legion that will

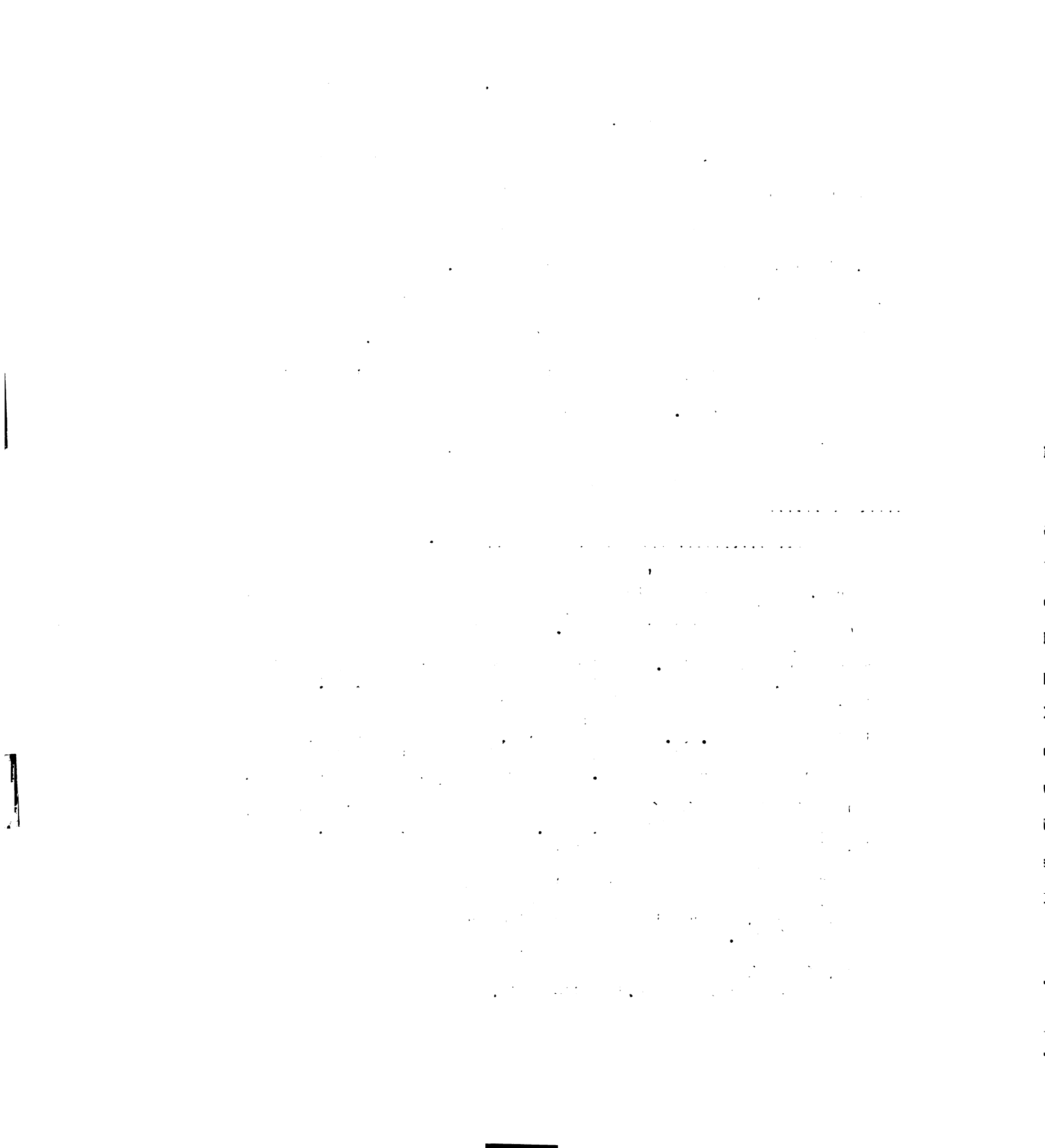
²²Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 270.

²³Due to Schoelcher's infrequent attendance, Deraismes, as vice-president, assumed overall direction of the 1881 Anti-Clerical Congress. Of the Congress' various resolutions, the one that aroused the most controversy involved civil internment. Participants swore an oath to that effect, pledging to bequeath their wealth to charity in the event of a death-bed recantation. Deraismes died in 1894 and was buried with secular rites. At the end she said to her doctor: "Justice! Ah! dear doctor, in it I believe with all my soul, but I have looked for it in this world and I have not found it: perhaps it will be elsewhere; but if it is not there so. . ." To her critics, like Marie Dronsart, these words reflected "un malaise moral, une inquiétude de l'au-delà, qui se traduisirent la vieille de sa mort." To her admirers, like Jean-Bernard, her last utterance raised only the "terrible problème que les esprits les plus dégagés de préjugés ne se posent pas sans une certaine anxiété." Dronsart, "Le Mouvement féministe," 113. Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xxvi-xxvii, Liii. The resolution on women, proposed by Deraismes and adopted by the Congress, read as follows:

"Le Congrès émet le vœu que les hommes, et surtout les libres-penseurs, fassent de leurs femmes leurs compagnes dans leurs réunions, cercles, comices, et travaillent à les faire reconnaître légalement comme leurs égales.

Il est entendu que le droit politique est compris dans la formule: Égalité."

Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xxvii-xxviii.



follow me," she exclaimed to her Masonic brethren. Six months later the door closed. Pecq's parent organization suspended the lodge until the summer of 1882. Pecq recanted, barring Deraismes once again from the temple. A decade passed and then in 1893 Deraismes retaliated by establishing a special lodge with the cooperation of Senator Georges Martin, a former municipal councillor of Paris. Called the Grande Loge Symbolique Ecossais de France: Le Droit Humain, it admitted men and women on an equal footing. Traditional lodges refused to recognize the new hybrid, but it flourished nonetheless, spreading to several European countries, Africa and America. It survives today as the Droit Humain Mixte et International.

Other causes also attracted Deraismes, especially those of governmental decentralization and international peace through arbitration. Convinced that moral improvement represented the essential form of progress, she also campaigned against novels, "with their contemptible heroes, their exploitation of scandal and their destruction of 'principles and sentiments'." Duty must temper pleasure lest the family collapse: "The phalanx of bastards and foundlings are the innocent victims of this pleasure."²⁴ The same perspective prompted her opposition to vivisection. She belonged to both the Société Française contre la Vivisection and the Ligue Populaire contre l'Abus de la Vivisection. "I see you full of blood, of blood up to your necks, but it is not yours," Deraismes wrote of those who experimented on animals.

Ah! What a happy generation you prepare for us there in
your laboratories/. Look a bit therefore at all those adolescents

²⁴ Maria Deraismes, Nos Principes et nos mœurs, 208-50, cited in Theodore Zeldin, "The Conflict of Moralities," in Zeldin, ed., Conflicts in French Society, 44-5.

who, under the pretext of studying and learning, petrify their heart, blind their sentiment, killing, finally, in them the principle of all emotion; praising themselves for seeing suffering and remaining unaffected . . .

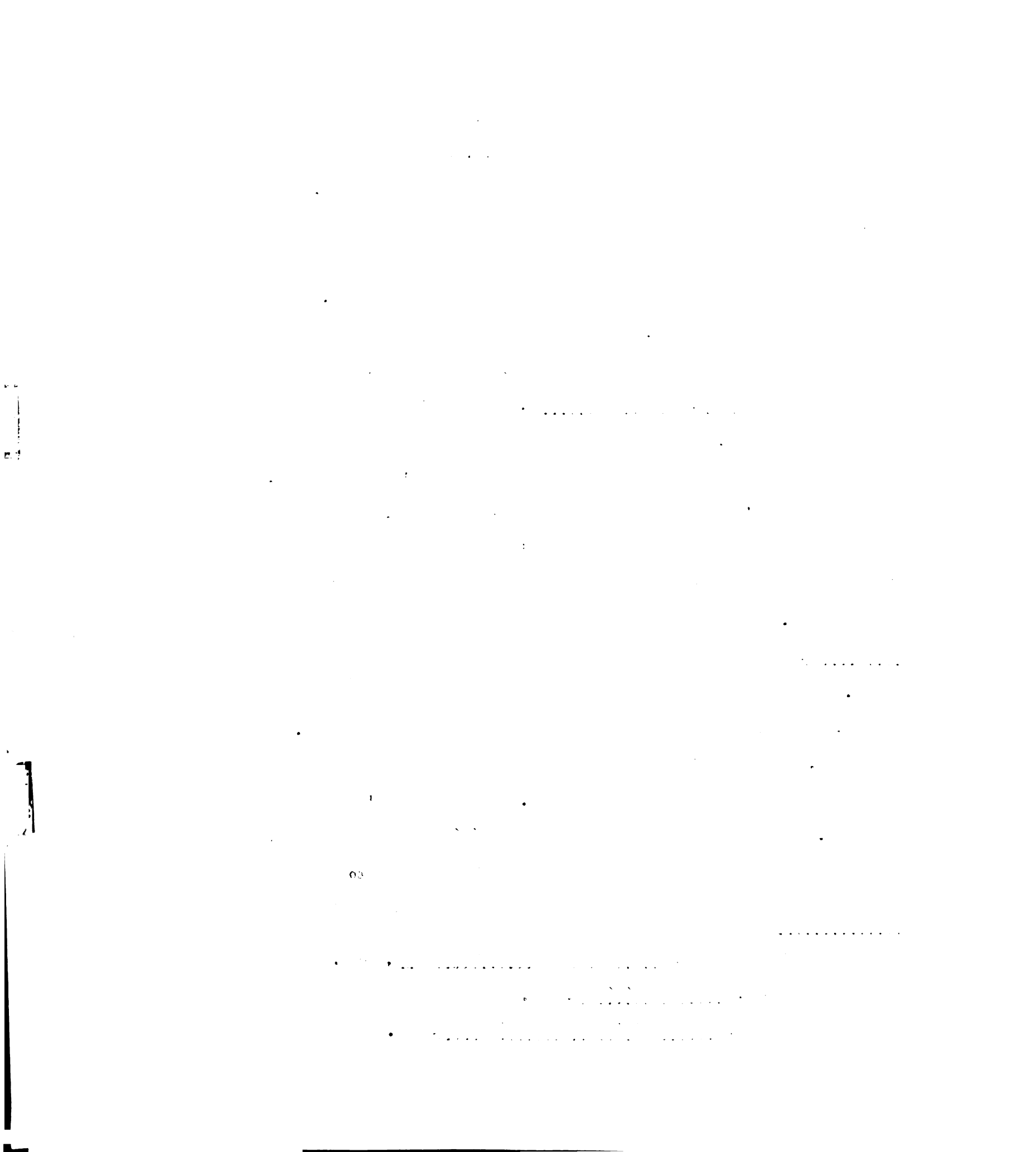
Coupled with Darwinism, vivisection portended euthanasia or worse. Indeed, a young man imbued with just such ideas had not so long ago killed a woman who befriended him because, according to Deraismes, he considered her a "vulgar being who lived more vegetably than intellectually." "I am convinced," she concluded, that France "will disabuse itself of this new invasion of barbarians, and will justify, one more time, its imperishable motto: Droit, justice, humanité."²⁵ But like republicanism and anti-clericalism, these causes had one ultimate objective for Deraismes: the creation of a society conducive to woman's emancipation.

Deraismes' career elicited a variety of reactions. Those who remained unconvinced of the need for women's liberation identified her with the revolutionary and philosophical excesses so long associated with feminism. To them she was simply a more refined version of the pétroleuses, dangerous to moral and social order and destructive of the family.²⁶ Even a majority of the Masons viewed her as "a kind of monster," possessed of an essence distinct from that of other women.²⁷ In general, the bourgeoisie suspected her for her ideas while working people distrusted her because of her class. Even Deraismes' vast erudition, which earned her entry into the Société des gens de lettres, hampered the effectiveness of her appeal: Deraismes "gave to feminism a cerebral character that removed from it all possibility

²⁵Maria Deraismes, Discours contre la vivisection, 26-9.

²⁶Abensour, Histoire générale, 271.

²⁷Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 128.



of action on the majority of women of her epoch. . ." ²⁸

Even more important, some of those who shared Deraismes' principal goal, in whole or in part, felt that her temperament and outside activities compromised their cause. One such critic was Jeanne Schmahl, an English woman by birth, who founded a very conservative feminist group, *l'Avant-Courrière*, in 1893 — a year before Deraismes' death. Schmahl's career coincided with the fragmentation of the movement, and she pinned the blame on Deraismes. Maria "was despotic," Schmahl wrote in 1896, "and lacked that primordial quality of great leaders — a quality which has ever been one of the distinctive characteristics of all great generals — the ability to recognize and utilize talent or merit in the rising soldiers of her army." Deraismes' concern for politics and religion had also been a great error. "Until women have got the franchise they can neither be Republicans nor Monarchists," Schmahl explained, "it is therefore foolish to stamp them beforehand as belonging to this or that political camp." French women have rallied slowly to feminism "not only because they are profoundly ignorant of its signification," concluded Schmahl, "but because they disapprove of the socialistic and irreligious attitude of most of the leaders." ²⁹ Another critic was Jane Misme who, a decade after Deraismes' death, founded the leading feminist newspaper in France, La Française. Misme, like Schmahl, blamed Deraismes for permitting feminism to become identified in the public mind with causes "more or less revolutionary." "One can suppose," Misme reflected, "that Deraismes' political passion impeded

²⁸Gennari, Le Dossier de la femme, 12-3.

²⁹Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 81-6.

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her feminist activity," so that what she gave to women with one hand she retracted with the other.³⁰

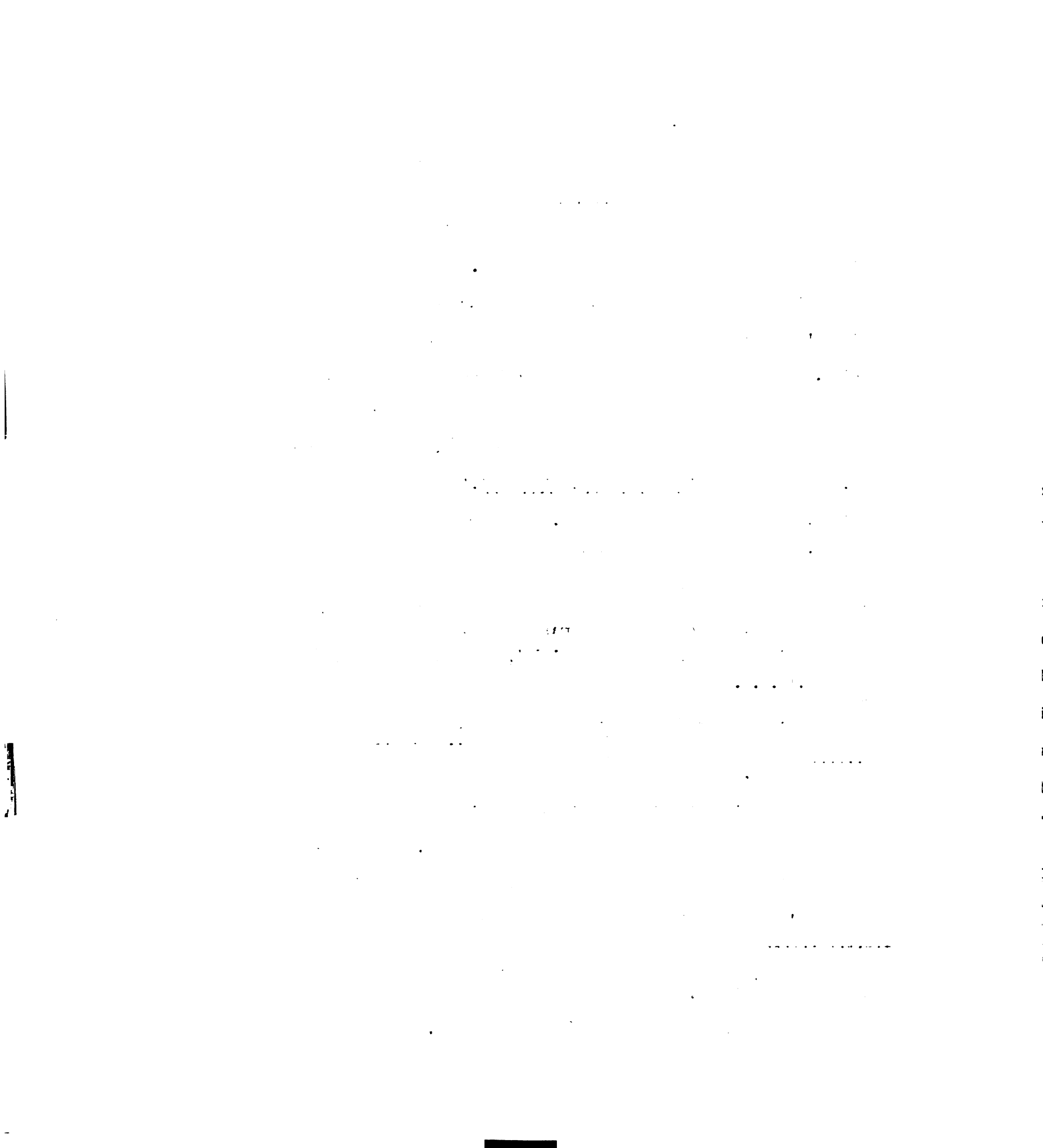
A similar complaint came from Marie Dronsart, who conceded that "Maria Deraismes was assuredly someone; one should acknowledge and deplore it all the more that she put her beautiful intelligence to the service of many erroneous and subversive ideas." Fortunately, since 1889 the situation had begun to change, wrote Dronsart two years after Deraismes' death: "Moderation and patience were entering into feminine councils, and the omnipotence of Maria Deraismes was weakening; other women were coming to the fore and making themselves heard; that was very painful to her [in the last days of her life], because for twenty years, she could say: 'Le féminisme, c'est moi.'" As an advocate of religious, bourgeois "family feminism," Dronsart also found fault with Deraismes' anti-clerical and political behavior:

Christian morality is treated more than contemptuously; its divine founder has discovered nothing; the priests, without exception, are condemned as malefactors, born-enemies of societies, of light and of justice. . . . There is what the admirers of Maria Deraismes style as the 'dialectic without passion.' . . . State socialism was dear to her and the so-called free society of which she dreamt would have been so protected, guarded, regulated, that individual initiative would be annihilated in a stroke and roped [mise en des lisières] like no theocracy or autocracy would have known how to invent.³¹

Deraismes' domination of Seine-et-Oise's political fortunes left her susceptible to charges of hypocrisy as well. Suffrage-oriented feminists led by Hubertine Auclert repeatedly castigated her in the 1880's for devoting and donating so much to republicanism in

³⁰Misme, from an undated, unidentified press clipping at BMD, Dossier Deraismes.

³¹Dronsart, "Le Mouvement féministe," 113-5.



her home department and so little to the struggle for women's political rights. Her wealth evoked further words of reproach, especially at the time of her death. An obituary notice of March 1894 pointed out that Deraismes left her entire income to her sister, making no provision for the movement:

So rich, would she leave nothing to continue her work of feminine emancipation? . . . She permitted the hope that after her death, she would not forget the emancipators. There are some grave deceptions here. Poor groups who went into debt to buy the wreath [for Deraismes' funeral] are spreading recriminations in hindsight against what they call forgetfulness, not to say treason.³²

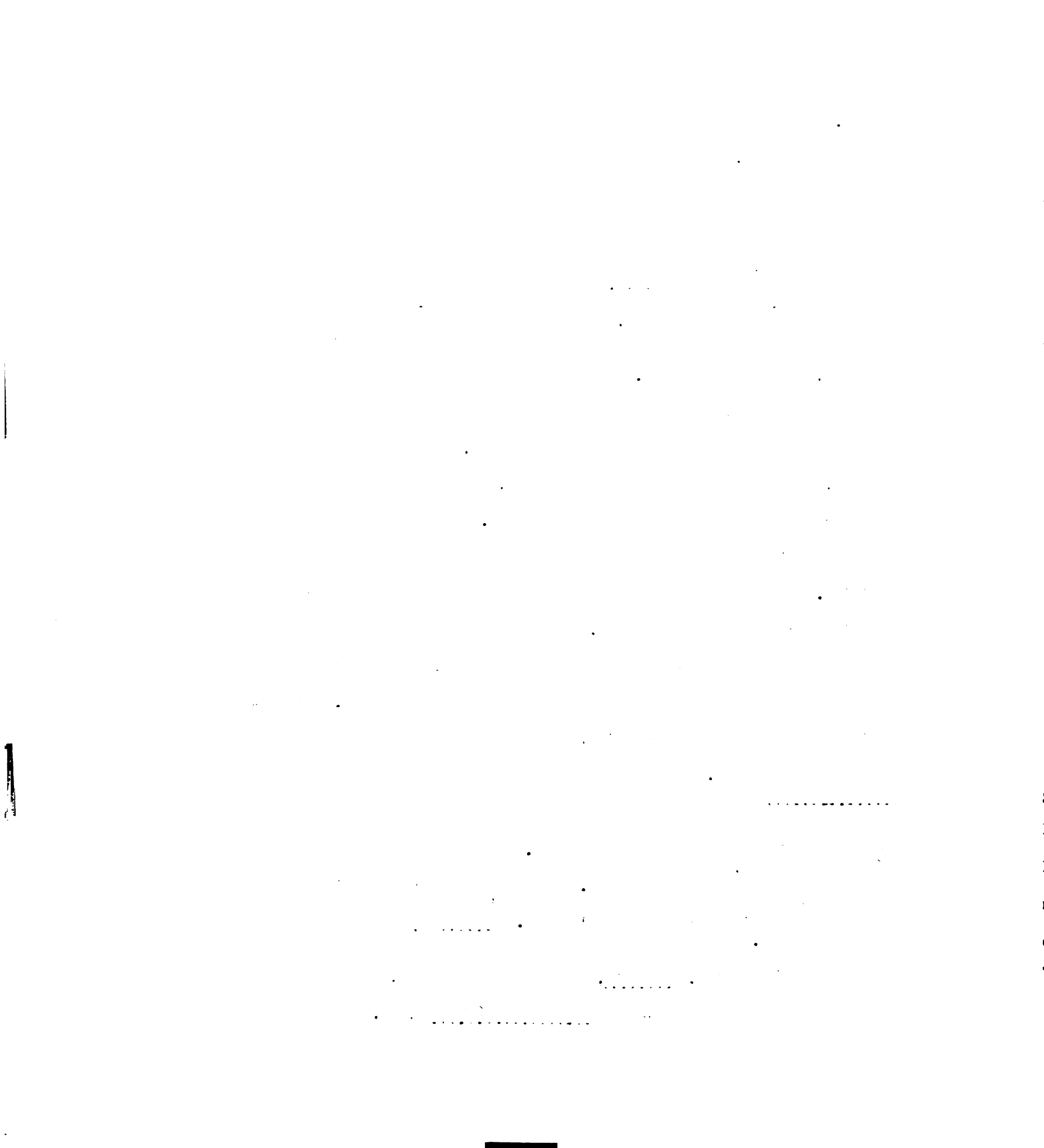
Shortly thereafter, a motion to add Deraismes' name to the official title of the group she founded ended in failure. A majority of its members, while acknowledging her leadership, felt such an honor would be a slur on the reputation of other pioneers.³³

Despite the criticism, Deraismes remained first and foremost a feminist. Detractors might question her means, but they recognized the devotion she brought to her cause. Woman's Rights constituted for Deraismes the final step on the ladder of progress, and her concern for intermediate rungs served only to enhance what lay at the end. Civilization had reached a turning point, and "the liberation of women was the key to a new era."³⁴

³²Unidentified newspaper clipping of March 1894 at BMD, Dossier Ligue Francaise pour le Droit des Femmes. An obituary notice on Feresse-Deraismes, who died 19 January 1910, accused Maria of using Anna as a stand-in for photographs. The notice described Maria as a supreme coquette who wished to employ Anna's beauty in order to enhance her own image in posterity's eyes. La Française, 30 January 1910.

³³Amélioration, Bulletin, October-December 1896.

³⁴Quoted in Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 28.

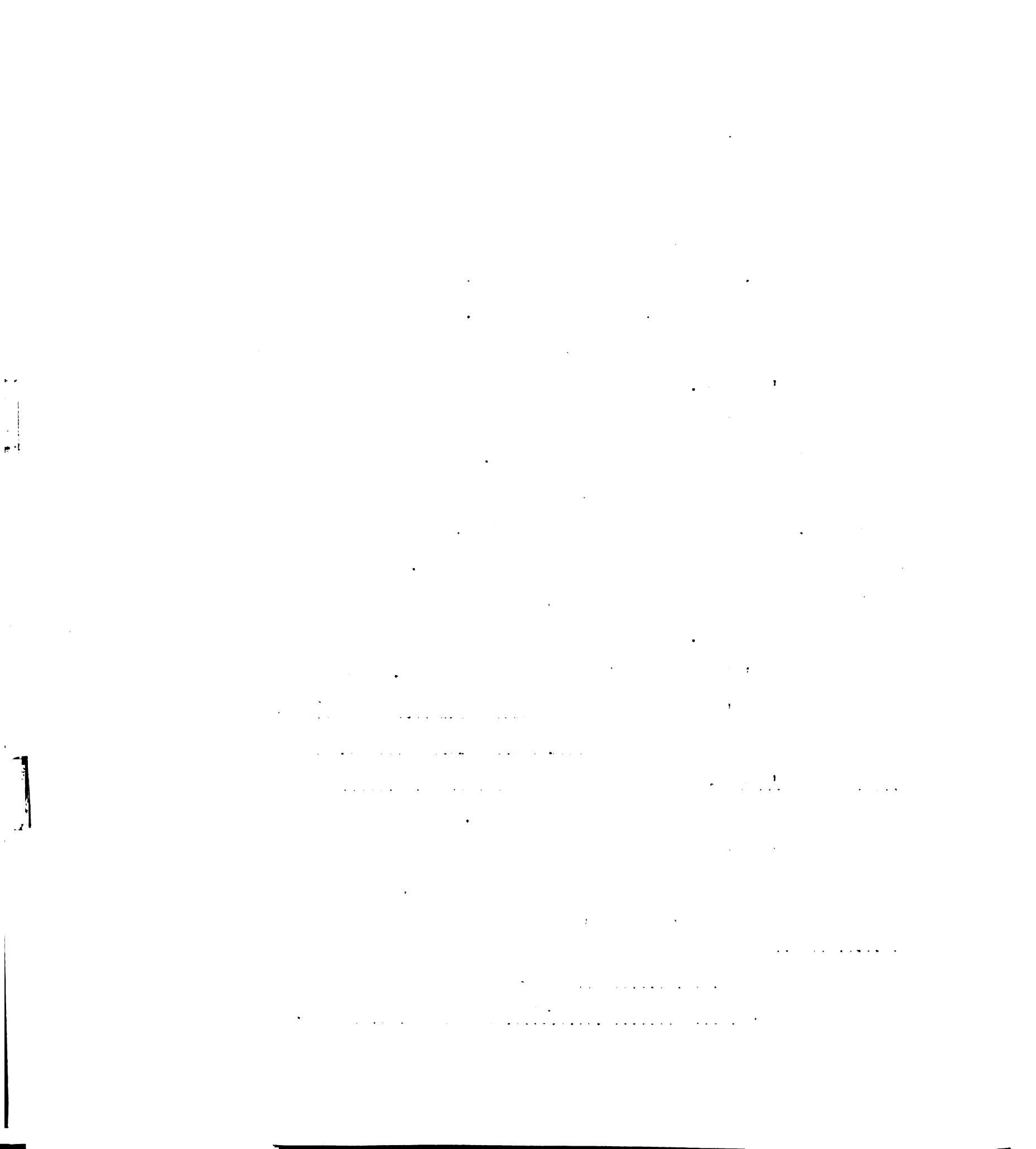


What prompted Deraismes to identify with oppressed womanhood is an open question. Certainly the liberal atmosphere of her home life clashed with the conservatism that prevailed under Louis Philippe and Napoleon III. Though only a young girl at the time, she reacted strongly to the Revolution of 1848, refracted no doubt through the eyes of her republican father. Deraismes' status and talent, in a society that frequently denied both to women, also played a part. Her wealth, which in male hands would have assured success, revealed to her the social dimensions of woman's plight. A superior education provided her with a breadth of perspective rare among her colleagues and an escape from the cultural prison in which most women languished. Through it she encountered bold avant-garde thinkers, not the least of whom was John Stuart Mill.³⁵ She also experienced frustrations, as when a youthful attempt to write comedies received a lukewarm response. Her restless and independent spirit sought an outlet. She found in feminism a cause worthy of a life's work.

Deraismes' initial feminist forays were literary. In 1865 she published two woman's rights pamphlets: Aux femmes riches and Thérèse.³⁶ Then came a series of articles for Nain Jaune, Le National, Le Grand Journal, and L'Epoque. When Richer founded Le Droit des Femmes in 1869, Deraismes contributed to its introductory number. In the meantime, she had accepted Richer's invitation to speak at the Grand Orient, though nervousness kept her away from feminist themes at first. But she could not permit Barbey-d'Aurévilly's misogyny to go unanswered for

³⁵Abensour, Histoire générale, 270.

³⁶Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 62.



long, and as her confidence grew she addressed herself to woman's condition. Applause and admiration greeted these efforts. The effect on Deraismes was decisive. She emerged from the experience convinced that the rostrum served her talents best. Thereafter, she frequently sought opportunities to convey her message in person.

In the preface to the first edition of her Oeuvres complètes (1891), Deraismes recalled that success, including woman's suffrage, was near at hand when the Franco-Prussian War broke out. Once hostilities ceased all thought went into rebuilding the country, a task to which she also devoted herself.³⁷ The immediate postwar period was therefore not propitious for carrying on a woman's rights campaign. Nevertheless two incidents compelled Deraismes to defend women. The First involved the condemnation of the pétroleuses. The Fourth Council of War, a military tribunal, sentenced three Communard women to death for arson in September 1871. Deraismes disclaimed any sympathy for their conduct, but excoriated the verdict as unjust and discriminatory, a perfect example of masculine justice. The Council, she maintained, failed to take into account extenuating circumstances and the collective nature of the crime. The condemned women had followed orders issued by men who were both older and better educated. In short, "there were pétroleuses because there were pétroleurs." Yet of the seventeen male leaders of the Commune who had recently undergone prosecution, she pointed out, only two had received death sentences. Even more galling to Deraismes, because of the attitude it revealed, was the Council's implication that the convicted women had shamed their sex. The two sexes are

³⁷Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, i.

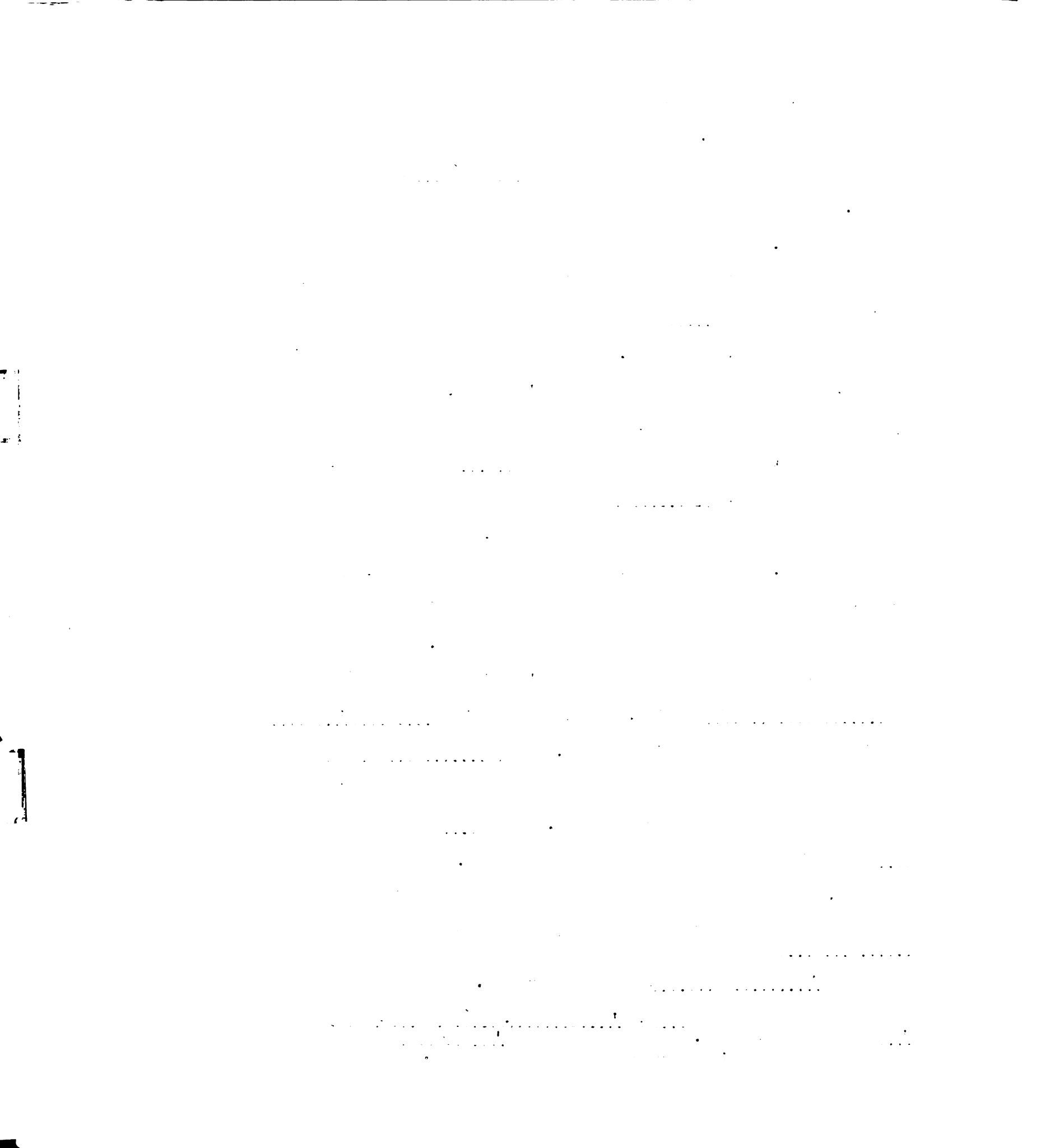
equally human, she asserted, and the one should not be judged more severely than the other.³⁸

The second incident stemmed from a cause célèbre, "l'affaire Dubourg." In 1872 a gentleman of that name summarily executed his adulterous wife. As crimes of passion were not uncommon, no particular importance attached itself to the slaying until Henri d'Ideville intrepidly suggested in Le Soir that women like the late Madame Dubourg ought to be pardoned, not killed. The result was a veritable explosion of print, very little of which supported d'Ideville. Alexandre Dumas fils proved especially violent. First he published a book-length defense of Monsieur Dubourg's act, aptly titled Tue-la ("Kill Her"). Next he issued a brochure, l'Homme-femme, in which he reiterated the biblical stricture that woman is to man as man is to God. The Creator conceived man as movement, Dumas explained, whereas woman was but form. It followed therefore that if a wife sullied her husband's good name, he had every right to kill her; indeed honor required it.³⁹

Deraismes rose to the defense of d'Ideville and women in general in Eve contre Dumas fils (1872), which, coupled with Eve dans l'Humanité, constitute her principal feminist works. In Eve contre Dumas fils Deraismes flogged her antagonist as poorly educated and uncreative, the fortunate legatee of a well-known father. Dumas fils could pass as a savant only in the eyes of people who knew nothing. But more important, she asked, "what had been the result obtained by the servitude of women?" Humanity found itself weakened, she answered, deprived of half

³⁸L'Avenir des Femmes, 24 September 1871.

³⁹Alexandre Dumas fils, L'Homme-femme. Répense à M. Henri d'Ideville (Paris, 1872). Forty editions of L'Homme-femme appeared during its first year; forty-five had appeared by 1889.



its forces. A schism divided society into two camps, the one vying with the other in general discord, while morality, the foundation of all order, had vanished due to the duplicity of man's double standard.

Fortunately, Deraismes observed, the principle of democracy logically and necessarily entailed the liberation of women. The Revolutions of 1789 and 1848 had begun a process that the new republic would continue: "The Republic seems this time to want to strengthen itself, and the rights of the women who march at its side are beginning to be a question that must be reckoned with. Let us persevere in our efforts. All truth has its hour."⁴⁰

Eve contre Dumas fils reflected the strident and aggressive tenor of Deraismes' feminism, at least in theory. At the first woman's

⁴⁰ Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 222. Other responses to Dumas fils included: Guy de Charnacé, Réponse à l'homme-femme de M. A. Dumas (Paris, 1872); Hermance Lesquillon, L'Homme, réponse à M. Alexandre Dumas fils (Paris, 1872); Émile de Girardin, L'Homme et la femme: l'homme suzerain, la femme vassale, lettre à M.A. Dumas fils (Paris, 1872); Henri Amédée Le Lorgne Comte d'Ideville, L'Homme qui tue et l'homme qui pardonne, Précédé d'une lettre à Alexandre Dumas fils (Paris, 1872); and three anonymous pamphlets: A propos du sermon L'Homme-femme écrit par Dumas fils, aujourd'hui en religion Fra Alessandro (Paris, 1872); La Femme-Homme, Mariage-Adultère-Divorce. Réponse à M. Alexandre Dumas fils (Paris, 1872); L'Homme qui sait. Étude française: angologique par une mère, à M. Alexandre Dumas fils (Paris, 1872). A friend of Jean-Bernard reported Dumas fils' reaction to Deraismes' charges: "Toutes les raisons que peut donner Mlle Maria Deraismes m'important peu; dites-lui que j'ai gagné cette année quatre-vingt mille francs de droits d'auteur, et, quant à ses théories, je m'en f. . ." Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xxiv. At the same time as Dumas fils aroused the feminist in Deraismes, Victorien Sardou /Jules Pelissie/ excited the republican. Sardou's Rabagas, comédie en 5 actes en prose (Paris, 1872) provoked protests from a number of republicans, including Jules Claretie of l'Opinion Nationale and Edmond About, and drove Deraismes to denounce the play in a speech at her favorite salle des Capucines. Jean-Bernard, "Notice," xx-xxiii. See also: Maria Deraismes, Le Théâtre de M. Sardou, conférence faite le 21 September 1875, à la salle de Capucines (Paris, 1875).

rights banquet a listener challenged her for neglecting to speak of woman's duties. Woman's duties had received too much attention, she snapped: "What we claim is what we do not have."⁴¹ The roots of woman's oppression, Deraismes said on many occasions, branched deep into the soil of intolerance. In past ages women had often dominated their menfolk, just as in more recent times individual women of exceptional merit had led armies and governed nations.⁴² The lot of most women, however, had worsened over the years. Revolutions had offered brief glimmers of hope, as had the doctrines of Saint-Simon and Charles Fourier. But men had abandoned women in both 1789 and 1848, and the new schools of thought had attracted too few followers.⁴³ It was therefore necessary to begin anew. Since the mid-nineteenth century, Deraismes remarked in 1883, the struggle for woman's rights had all but collapsed. "I have resuscitated it; I have once again put it into the limelight; I have examined it, studied it under all its points of view, under all its aspects."⁴⁴

Deraismes held the Church primarily responsible for woman's oppression. Its theology deprecated woman, its obscurantism reason. And in Maria's opinion, no society could advance without the total participation of the one, and the full employment of the other. Women must escape from the influence of priests through universal, rational, scientific, and patriotic education. Women must also guard against false science. Many still believed that the father alone determined

⁴¹ Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 130.

⁴² Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 4, 259.

⁴³ Revue International, 1 June 1899, 303.

⁴⁴ Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 263.

the character of offspring, despite proofs to the contrary by Linné and Buffon. Others sought evidence of female inferiority in skull measurements, but according to Deraismes such research had produced no conclusive results. Woman was in a state of transition, Deraismes observed: Man-made institutions, not natural laws, had retarded her, and only through experience could she overcome her defects.⁴⁵

Without the aid of woman, Deraismes asserted, the Third Republic could not hope to survive. It was rent through with contradictions: "Founded on rights, it had at its base the violation of rights."⁴⁶ Its governmental structure permitted a fraction to represent the nation, a sex all humanity. Its leaders denied woman a voice, claiming her sentimentality would disrupt the political process. But it was impossible to separate feelings from reason, Deraismes maintained, and men as well as women were guided by both.⁴⁷ Republicans rightfully feared the Church's influence over women, but why then did the men who governed allow priests to operate? Could they not see that to escape from bondage woman had only two choices, the fanaticism of religion or the license of prostitution?⁴⁸ Politics, far from being an exact science, was among the most general of disciplines. Its school was life, and its goal the synthesis of all factors. Progress required the fusion of two elements, the male and the female. "When woman has taken the place

⁴⁵Ibid., 260, 266.

⁴⁶Ibid., iv.

⁴⁷From Deraismes' printed report to the 1893 Congress of Women in Chicago. BMD, Dossier Deraismes.

⁴⁸Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 240, 287.

assigned to her by nature," Deraismes told her Masonic brethren at Pecq in 1882, "you will have strong chances of assuring to the republican edifice durability and indestructibility."⁴⁹

An enfranchised womanhood would bring special benefits to France. For "by her constitution and the nature of her mandate," Deraismes proclaimed, woman would become "the moral and pacific agent par excellence."⁵⁰ Woman possessed innate talents in four critical areas: Educationally, she presented a superior example to children, being more reserved and more in possession of herself than man. Morally, "the senses have less of a grip on her; she has come to regulate passion, to subordinate it to duty."⁵¹ Economically, woman knew through her household tasks both the price and the sanctity of life. Finally, woman was a peacemaker. "It is banal to repeat that war and armed peace are the obstacles of all real progress," Deraismes reflected, "but the elimination of woman from universal suffrage necessarily means the prolongation of the bellicose spirit."⁵² Reason had already begun to displace martial glory as a source of grandeur, she claimed, and we "can strongly affirm that this weakening of military prestige is the sign of the advent of woman."⁵³

Deraismes' emphasis on the link between the advance of reason and woman's innate qualities lent her feminism a paradoxical appearance.

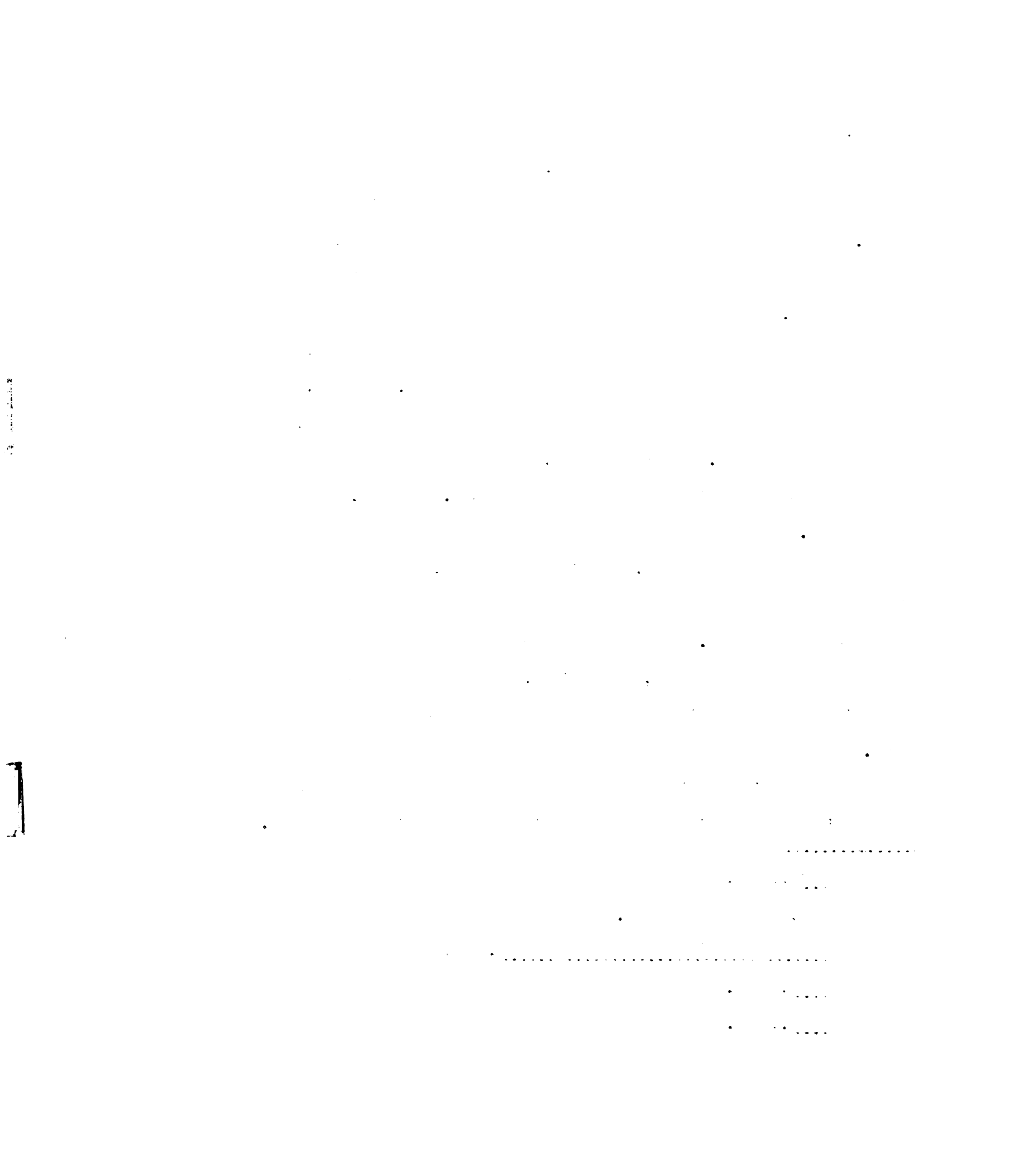
⁴⁹Ibid., 261.

⁵⁰EMD, Dossier Deraismes.

⁵¹Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 276.

⁵²Ibid., 245.

⁵³Ibid., 278.



Her attitude resembled that of the eighteenth-century philosophes, who perceived man as inherently good but in need of reason. Deraismes felt, for example, that marriage would benefit as girls, through better education, brought rationality to bear on the selection of a mate. Constancy was a distinguishing characteristic of reasonable people, she thought, and women, who already possessed this quality, would choose like-minded husbands if they could only employ their intelligence. The resultant "association of camaraderie" would guarantee the sanctity of the home against male abuses.⁵⁴ Traditional calculations about wealth and status in marital planning struck Deraismes as irrational. What she called for — and it was typical of most French feminists — was a blending of hearts through the instrument of the mind. Improved education would therefore release what she assumed to be immutable in the oppressed sex. Woman, the inborn teacher and moralist, the natural economist and pacifist, required only a dose of reason in order to cure her own and society's ills. Therein lay the vision; therein lay the contradiction.

Towards the end of her life, Deraismes acknowledged the existence of two schools of feminism, liberal and protectionist. Protectionists stressed woman's unique character and advocated selective reforms such as the prohibition of female night labor. Liberals eschewed special legislation and demanded integral reform, desiring all laws to apply equally to the two sexes. Deraismes, as her frequent pronouncements suggest, sided with the liberals. Indeed, in 1889 she helped organize an independent Woman's Rights Congress because the directors of that year's centennial exposition intended to impose as president of the official women's congress Alphonse Daudet, a leading exponent of

⁵⁴Ibid., 70-6.

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special laws for women. Liberty represented the first need of all human beings, Deraismes intoned at the opening session, and it alone fostered initiative, development, and progress. The rights that made it possible were indivisible, and granting privileges to women would demean the sex legislators intended to serve.

However, Deraismes' integralism contrasted sharply with the actual program she pursued. In theory she called for wholesale reform; in practice she sought much less. She felt that the feminists of 1789 and 1848 had erred in demanding too much too soon. She also recognized that the young Republic offered little hope for widespread change. What evolved therefore was the strategy of la brèche, which had the full support of her chief collaborator, Léon Richer. Its objective was to secure the easiest reforms first in order to lay the groundwork for future advances. In practice it meant shelving all measures that tended to excite even moderate opposition. Woman's political rights went first, leaving only civil disabilities as the target for reform; even then Deraismes focused on only a handful of issues.

Some of Deraismes' proposals, such as improved girls' education and laws permitting divorce and paternity suits, offered new opportunities to many women. Others, the ones she pressed most, would benefit fewer. Her frame of reference reflected the class to which she belonged. Working women aroused her sympathy, at least from the standpoint of the relationship between sweated labor and prostitution, but women of property evoked a more determined response. Three pet projects revealed this tendency in Deraismes: One called for a wife's right to dispose freely of her income. Another urged that women be permitted to witness public and private documents on the same footing as men. And a third

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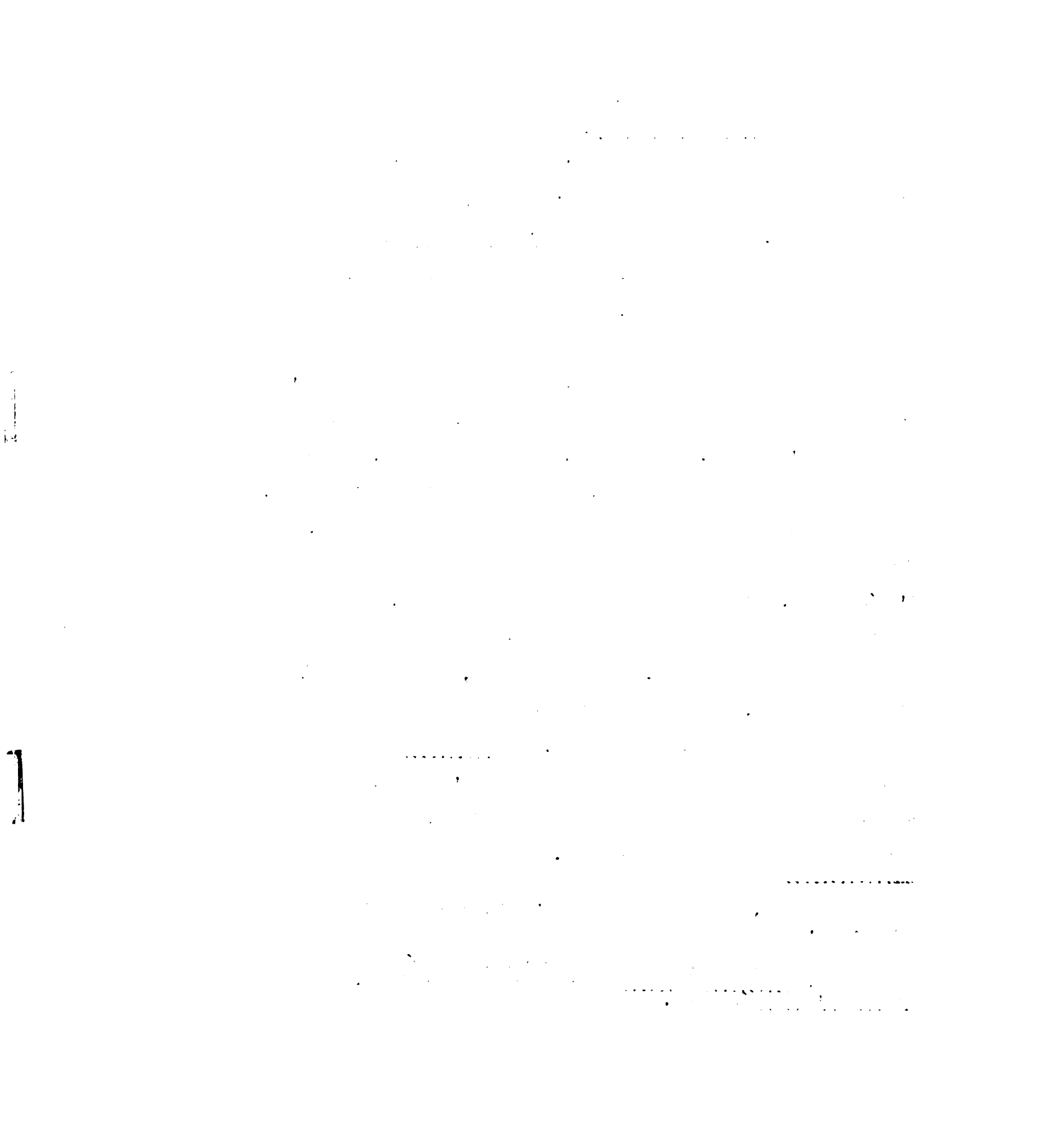
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demanded a voice for "commerçantes" (business women) in the selection of judges for the Tribunaux de Commerce.

The proposals regarding a wife's income and woman's witness rights made no headway during Deraismes' lifetime. In fact it took another feminist, Jeanne Schmahl and her l'Avant-Courrière, fourteen years (1893-1907) to obtain them. The third proposal, however, won approval from the Senate in 1894, five years after it first passed the Chamber of Deputies. Commerçantes received the right to vote for the judges who regulated their enterprises. In many respects the Senate's action represented a personal tribute to Deraismes, whose death coincided with the bill's passage. Years before, she had sent out 17,000 circulars to female merchants and shopkeepers, attempting to enlist their support. She received only two responses, one of which was slightly abusive.⁵⁵ Then in 1883 she petitioned the Chamber of Deputies in the name of l'Amélioration. Six years later the Deputies capitulated, but the Senate stalled after a survey revealed that seventy-nine of ninety-six local Chambers of Commerce objected.⁵⁶ When the Senate, led by Jean Macé, finally came round, it amended the bill to prohibit women from holding the judgeships themselves. Nevertheless, the commerçante vote represented a significant achievement and crowned Maria's career. She had overcome both female indifference and male opposition, and had created a small breach in the masculine edifice.

⁵⁵Schmahl, "Progress of the Woman's Rights Movement in France," 85.

⁵⁶Madame Vincent, "Le Vote des femmes dans les élections consulaires," La Revue féministe (5 November 1895); Deraismes, Eve dans l'humanité, 356-77.



The pivotal importance of Maria Deraismes to French feminism did not, however, stem from practical legislative success. The business woman's vote was not an isolated advance; several reforms in the 1880's and the 1890's opened new opportunities to women, especially in the fields of education and administration. But by then the cancer that eventually took Maria's life had largely removed her from the struggle. Her principal contribution lay, instead, in a legacy. To subsequent militants, many of whom she personally recruited, she bequeathed an impetus to action. Earlier feminist rumblings, particularly those of 1789 and 1848, had attempted to do the same and had failed. Deraismes succeeded: She helped to break the vicious cycle of feminist stillbirths. Her "consoeurs" could therefore take another step, bolder and at variance in some cases with her own cautious objectives.⁵⁷ They would no longer find it necessary to remake the past. Thanks in part to Deraismes the Age of Ridicule had begun to recede.

Léon Richer

Deraismes' closest associate in the movement was Léon Pierre Richer.⁵⁸ Compared to her, the "talented polemicist" and "golden voiced"

⁵⁷Maria Deraismes coined the word "consoeurs" in an address to a group of women writers. Jean-Bernard then polled twenty female writers for their reaction to the neologism. Six approved: Deraismes, Vincent, Eugénie Pierre, M.-L. Gagneur, Nelly Lieutier, and Eugène Garcin. Six abstained from endorsing the word: Marie-Louise Néron, Gyp, Séverine, Astié de Valsayre, Clémence Royer, and Juliette Adam. Eight opposed: Léonie Rouzade, Blanchecotte, Pauline Savary, André Valdès, Lydie Rostopchine, Mie d'Aghonne, Henry Gréville, and Georges de Peyrebrune. Jean-Bernard, "Notice," XI-Lii. Within the *Droit Humain* women called men "mon Frère;" men called women "ma Soeur." "Les Soeurs y forment une collection de bas-bleus, dont le moindre défaut est une prétention plutôt exagérée," wrote the hostile Tourmentin, La Femme chez les Francs-Maçons, 25.

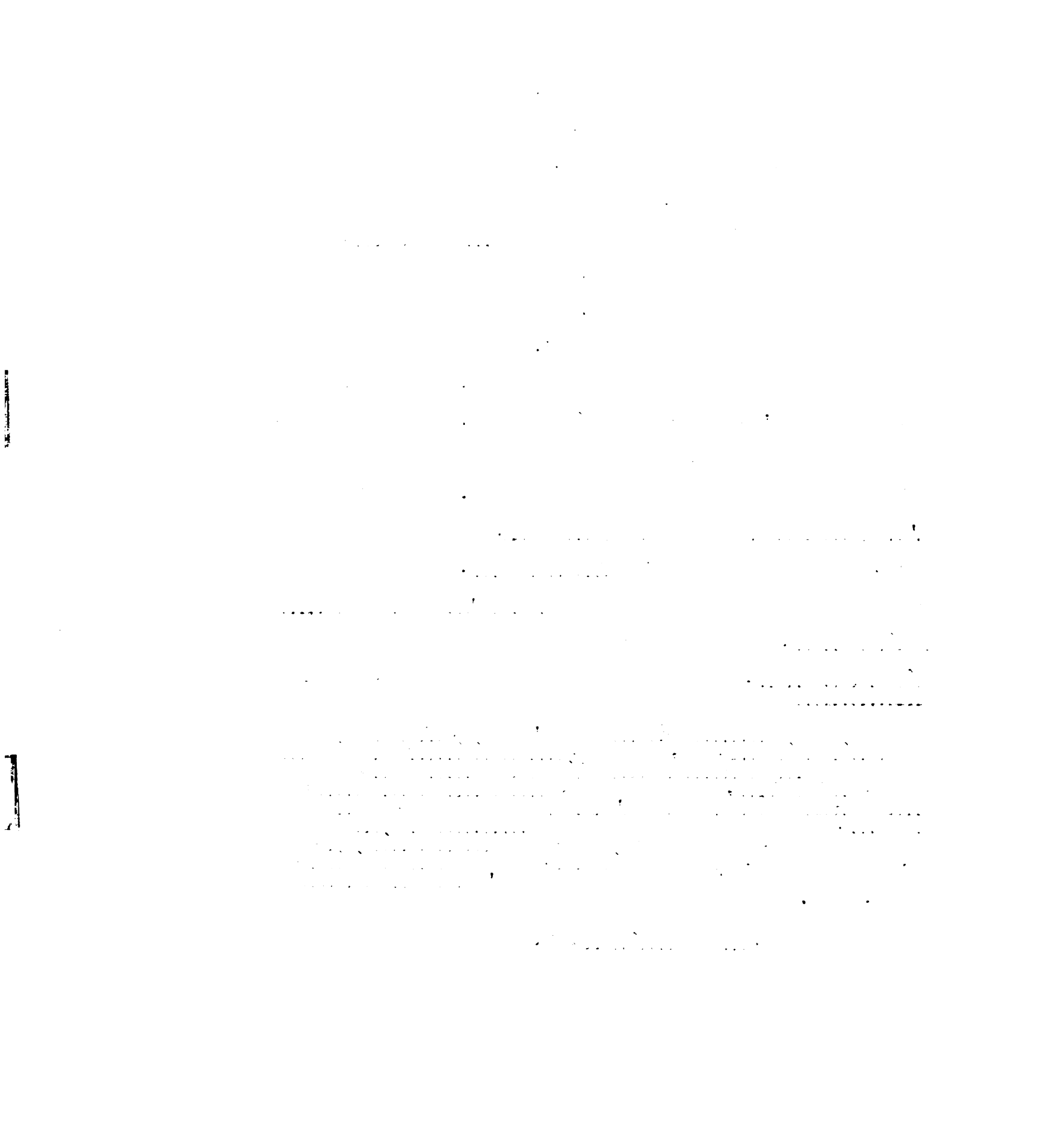
⁵⁸For biographical information on the life of Richer, see: Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 137; Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme,"

orator, he was a "tranquil and serious man."⁵⁹ He shared Deraismes' republican and anti-clerical interests, but felt less need, perhaps because of his sex, to put them on display. As a male he met the essential Masonic entrance requirement, and at the time of their first meeting he held the post of Vénérable Maître in the Lodge Mars et les Arts.

Marriage represented no threat to him, and both his wife and a son Paul assisted him in the feminist movement. His origins were relatively humble, at least in contrast to Deraismes'. Born in 1824 at Oigle (or Oagle) in the Department of Orne due west of Paris, he worked for eleven years as a notary's clerk for the Orléans Railroad. Journalism constituted his major avocation, and towards the end of the Second Empire he quit his job in order to pursue a newspaper career. He contributed to l'Alliance Religieuse and the Libre Conscience, both directed by Henri Carle, and to Adolphe Guérault's Opinion Nationale, for which he wrote a controversial weekly series entitled "Lettres d'un libre-penseur à un curé de village." Sometime later he became editor-in-chief of the daily République radicale. In response to his "letters of a free-thinker,"

33-37; Sullerot, La Presse féminine, 30; D'Eaubonne, Histoire et actualité du féminisme, 138; Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 128; Brault, La Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 49-126; Thomas, Louise Michel, 63; Trevor Lloyd, Suffragettes International: The World-Wide Campaign for Women's Rights (London, 1971), 14; La Française, 30 December 1906, 25 June 1911; Le Droit des Femmes (letter from Paul Richer), 24 June 1919; Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 11-22, 51-71; Abensour, Le Problème féministe, 126 and Histoire générale, 274; and Victor Poupin's introduction to Richer's Le Livre des femmes (Paris, 1872).

⁵⁹Sullerot, La Presse féminine, 30.



atheists and materialists reproached him for not going far enough, and priests from all corners of France sent him their maledictions. For the first of many times he found himself branded as a destroyer of faith, troubler of consciences, and arch enemy of the family.⁶⁰ When he applied for permission to found his own newspaper in 1869, the prefect of police reported his financial situation as sound and his political views as liberal.⁶¹

Richer's devotion to feminism won him the title of "l'homme des femmes" from his contemporaries, and Simone de Beauvoir described him as "the true founder of feminism in France."⁶² His conversion to feminism grew out of an awareness of women's legal subordination, a byproduct of his years as a clerk. In the mid-1860's he organized a series of "philosophical conferences" with the aid of Jules Labbé, Adolphe Guérault, and Madame Adam's friend Charles Fauvety. Parisian Freemasons sponsored the gatherings, taking advantage of their friendly ties with the government. From the start women attended free of charge, but none spoke until Richer induced Deraismes to do so on 7 February 1866. Masonic tradition designated females as "persons of sex" and forbade them membership, which led some of Richer's brethren to object to the presence of women in their hall. He managed without difficulty to override the objection, but failed in his effort to reverse the discriminatory membership policy.

⁶⁰ Le Droit des Femmes, 5 January 1890.

⁶¹ AN, F¹⁸ 339.

⁶² Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 51. Beauvoir, The Second Sex, 137.

Richer shared Deraismes' faith in the tactic of "the breach." A eulogy at the time of his death in 1911 praised him for avoiding utopian schemes and for seeking social "amelioration without disruption."⁶³ While he lived, however, suffrage-oriented feminists considered him "a reactionary and an opportunist."⁶⁴ In theory he favored woman's political rights, but feared their practical effect on the Republic's future. "The feminine mind," he remarked, "was still too crushed by the yoke of the Church."⁶⁵ If women had the franchise the Republic would not last six months: "It is enough for us to have to struggle against reactionaries of the masculine sex without giving to these partisans of defeated regimes the support of millions of female votes subject to the occult domination of the priest, the confessor."⁶⁶

Richer therefore concentrated on removing woman's civil disabilities. Every issue of the journal he edited between 1869 and 1891 carried a critique of French law. On the inside cover in two columns he listed relevant points of the Code and how he proposed to amend them. In the mid-1870's the program centered on male abuses outside marriage and woman's subordination within it. Specifically he railed against loopholes in the law that punished men only when they habitually corrupted minors or used force in seducing girls over fifteen. Women, he said, ought to have the right to file paternity suits, just as men could initiate maternity inquests, and guilty fathers should be held

⁶³ La Française, 25 June 1911.

⁶⁴ Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 21.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Le Droit des Femmes, 20 May 1888.

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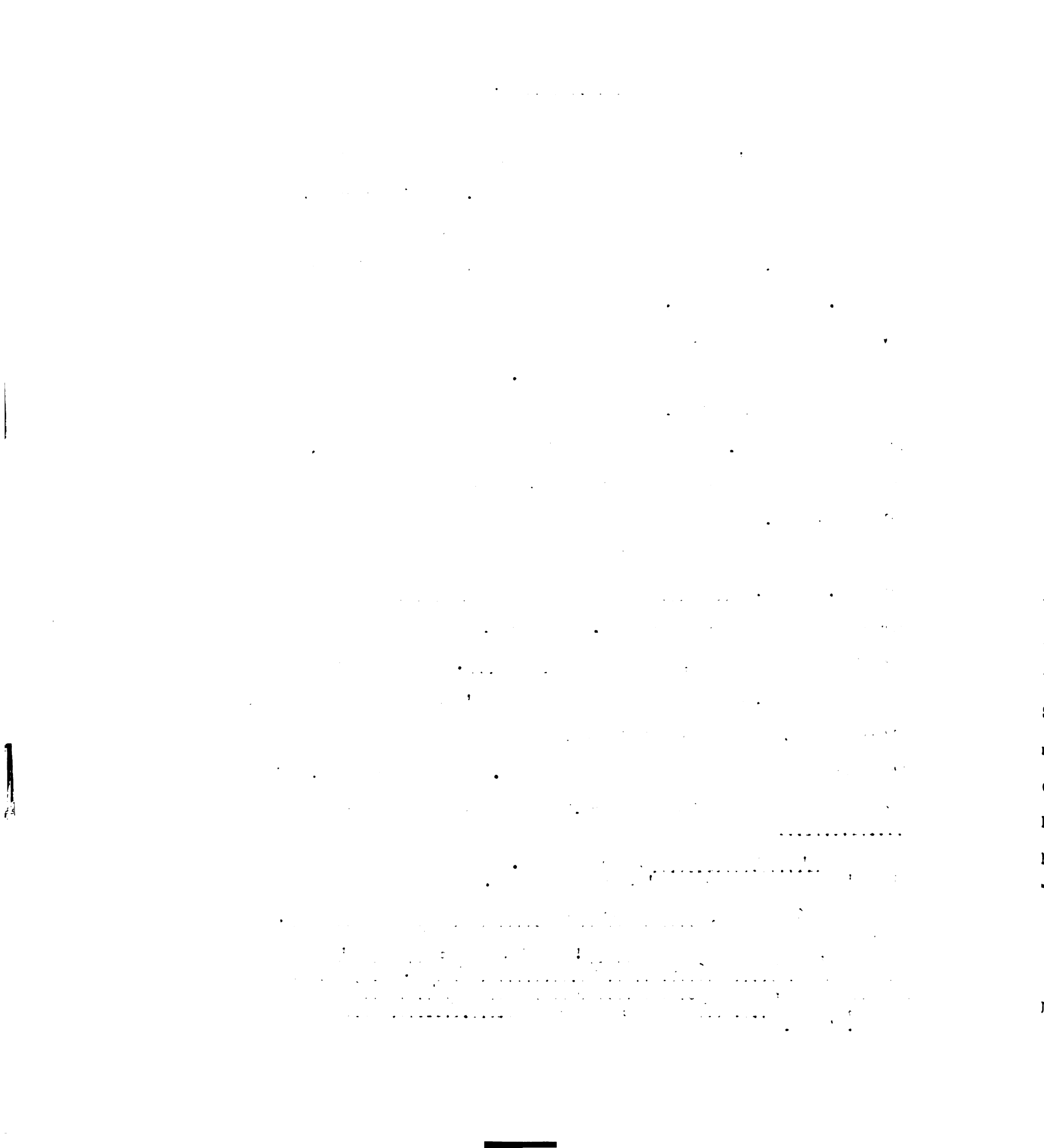
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responsible for the care of an enfant naturel. Betrothals should be treated as contracts, enabling the jilted party to sue for breach of promise, and woman's right to bear witness in criminal proceedings should be extended to cover all public and private acts. Within marriage, Richer called for conjugal equality in controlling children, handling personal wealth, disposing of household property, and belonging to Family Councils. As for adultery, he felt the penalties for wives should apply equally to husbands, eradicating the double standard that condoned male immorality outside the family domicile. In order to guarantee the sanctity of marital unions, he demanded divorce in place of the hypocrisy of legal separation, "which breaks marriage without dissolving it, separates spouses without disuniting them, and opens the door to shameful compromises."⁶⁷

Between 1873 and 1883 Richer published three books on the woman question.⁶⁸ Two, La Femme libre (1877) and Le Code des Femmes (1883) struck at a wide range of problems. The third, which caused a sensation when it appeared in 1873, was entitled Le Divorce. Louis Blanc wrote the introduction, and the text elaborated Richer's ideas for a model act. Alfred Naquet, "The Father of Divorce," took up the proposal and managed it through the legislature eleven years later. The final version, which Richer termed "a magnificent victory," restored a right suppressed since

⁶⁷ L'Avenir des Femmes, January 1876. For the complete text of Richer's program in the 1870's, see APPENDIX A.

⁶⁸ Léon Richer, La Femme libre; Le Code des femmes; Le Divorce. In addition to these works and the many newspaper articles that he published, Richer also wrote: Alerte! (Paris, 1869); Lettres d'un libre-penseur à un curé de village; Lettres parisiennes. La politique en 1873 (Paris, 1874); Le Livre des femmes; Propos d'un mecréant (Paris, 1868); Le Tocsin (Paris, 1868); and Un mariage honteux (Paris, 1876).



1816.⁶⁹ Richer viewed the new law as immensely beneficial to women, pointing out that of the 3,286 legal separations in 1882 wives had secured 86%.⁷⁰ But the grounds for divorce fell short of expectations. The law of 1884 required demonstration of cause in the form of adultery, grievous injury, or criminal conviction. A Senate amendment had struck divorce by mutual consent from the bill. Feminists nevertheless approved of it. Deraismes expressed pleasure that the grounds of adultery applied equally to either spouse, and suffragist Hubertine Auclert saw in Naquet's decade-long campaign a source of inspiration for future efforts.⁷¹

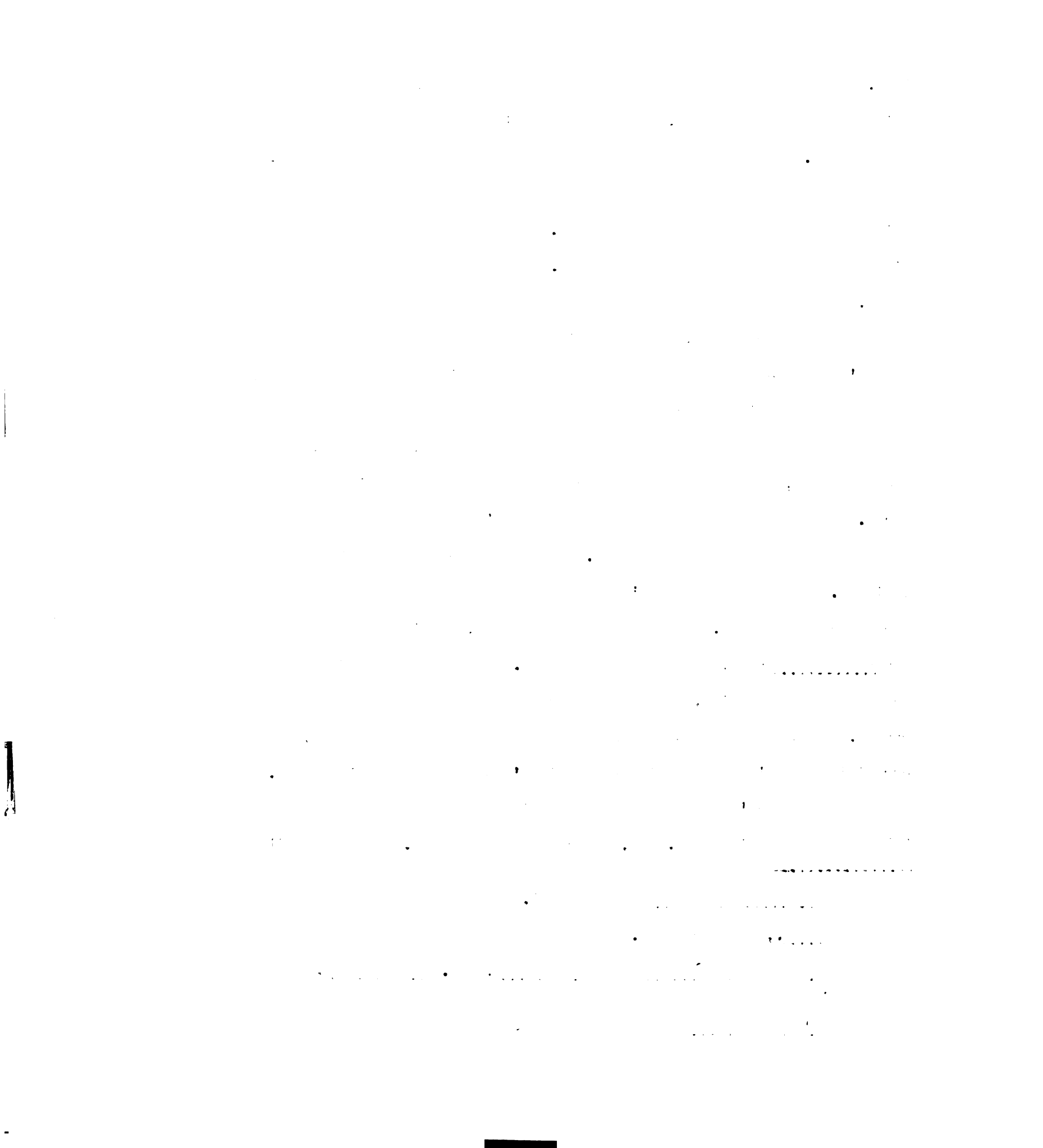
Although it had benefited from a clear-cut Napoleonic precedent as well as a sporadic campaign covering two monarchies, an empire, and two republics, the 1884 divorce law engendered euphoria within feminist ranks. Its passage appeared to confirm Richer's belief that the contemporary epoch was ripe for reform.⁷² But the euphoria rapidly vanished. Richer ranked woman's right to file a paternity suit next in importance to divorce. He demanded it for years, as did Deraismes for the commercante vote, but failed repeatedly. Not until 1912 did the Senate approve the bill, and by then Richer had been dead for several months. In the meantime other aspects of his program fared better, especially women's witness rights and wives' control over their income. But perhaps Richer's greatest achievement in a career that spanned a half century was his first. He, as much as anyone else, deserved credit

⁶⁹Le Droit des Femmes, 6 July 1884.

⁷⁰Ibid., February 1883.

⁷¹Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 355. La Citoyenne, June 1884.

⁷²L'Avenir des Femmes, January 1876.



for opening baccalauréat examinations to women. Shortly before the Second Empire struck down the Faculty of Medicine's sex barrier, a fight in which he also played a prominent role, Richer threw his influence behind Julie Daubié's struggle. The victory they won paved the way for many subsequent breaches of the male-dominated education system.

La Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme

In April 1870, in one of their last acts before the deluge of foreign and civil war, Deraismes and Richer established l'Association pour le Droit des Femmes. Imperial officials, as well as those of the subsequent republic, objected to use of the word "droit," holding that only governments could define legal rights. The group therefore changed its name to l'Association pour l'Avenir de la Femme.⁷³ The journal Richer founded in 1869, Le Droit des Femmes, elicited the same objection, forcing it to appear throughout most of the next decade as l'Avenir des Femmes. In 1873 l'Association joined the New York based International Woman's League and altered its name once more, emerging as La Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme.⁷⁴ Regardless of names, between l'Amélioration and l'Avenir, Deraismes and Richer controlled the organization and propaganda of the movement. No one challenged Richer's paper, due in part to restrictive press laws prohibiting women from directing journals until 1881. L'Amélioration had two rivals, but Julie Daubié's l'Association pour l'Emancipation de la Femme folded with its founder's death in 1874,⁷⁵ and Hubertine Anclert's maverick suffrage group, established in 1876, did not come into its own until the 1880's.

⁷³Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 74.

⁷⁴Ibid., 92. Le Droit des Femmes, 24 June 1919.

⁷⁵Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 202.

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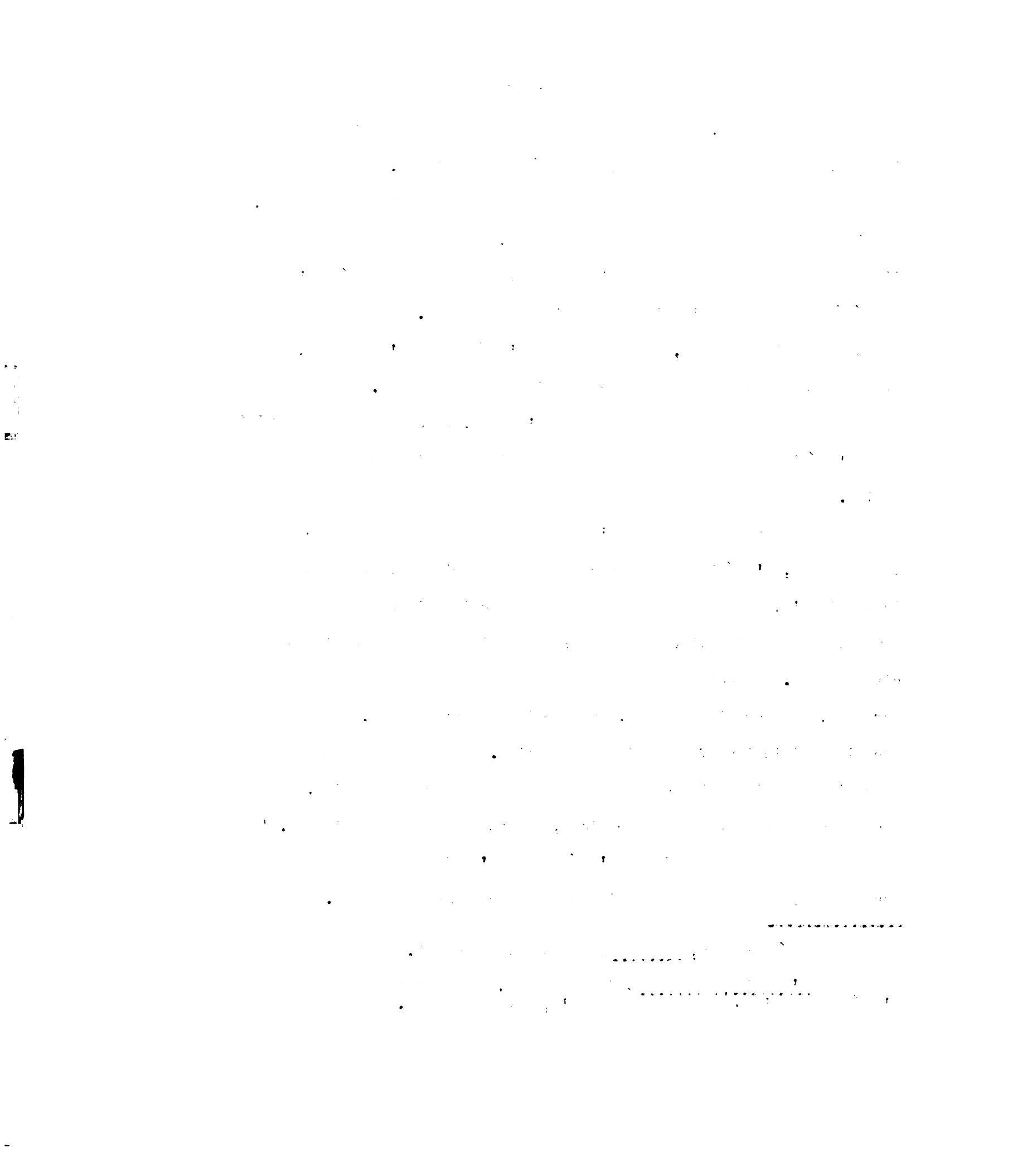
Richer served as president of l'Amélioration until shortly after the Congress of 1878. Deraismes then occupied the post until her death in 1894, followed by her sister, Anna Féresse-Deraismes. Only on the eve of the First World War did its leadership pass outside the "family." Despite the wealth of the Deraismes sisters, the group was not well off financially until the early 1880's, when it merged with André Léo's Société pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme. The fusion of the groups brought nearly 20,000 francs into l'Amélioration's coffers, giving it a degree of security unprecedented within the movement. It also brought about a lengthening of the group's name, which became La Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme et la Revendication de ses Droits.⁷⁶

In accord with Deraismes' fear that women voters would undermine the Republic, l'Amélioration excluded political rights from its program in the 1870's, stressing instead the "complete identification of man and woman from the point of view of legal possession and the exercise of civil rights." Specifically the platform called for equality within marriage, one morality for all, reestablishment of divorce, and the "progressive initiation of woman into civic life." It also demanded complete educational parity "without other limits than aptitudes and will," free access to all careers and professions, and equal pay for equal work.⁷⁷

The greatest crisis in l'Amélioration's history occurred in December 1875 when Interior Minister Buffet outlawed the group.

⁷⁶Amélioration, Bulletin, July-September 1894.

⁷⁷L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 April 1877. For the text of l'Amélioration's program in the 1870's, see APPENDIX B.



Monarchists dominated the government at the time, and they viewed the group's republican and anti-clerical tendencies as a threat to public order. Richer, who suddenly found himself president of an illegal organization, denied the charge. In a series of editorials for l'Avenir and in an open letter to the press he depicted l'Amélioration as a force for "moral order," whose sole purpose was to improve woman's lot. Foreign newspapers, Richer reported, wondered how a group devoted to stamping out prostitution, "that most hideous expression of debauchery," could be considered a threat. But l'Avenir dared not print their comments for fear of also being outlawed. Richer speculated that Victor Hugo's obvious sympathy for the group, as well as Garibaldi's adherence, had prompted Buffet's action, and he accused the Interior Minister of disliking anyone who was not Bonapartist or clerical. But for the moment nothing could be done about it. He advised patience to l'Amélioration's members and urged them to carry on its work as individuals. Buffet could not last long, Richer predicted, because the current ministry would soon give way to one more liberal. In any case, subscriptions to l'Avenir had increased. "And that is how, in wanting to weaken us, the Minister of Interior has fortified us," Richer observed: "Thank you! A thousand times thank you."⁷⁸

Subsequent events proved Richer correct. L'Amélioration began to regroup clandestinely in March 1877. Two months later, on the sixteenth of May, a serious constitutional crisis erupted. Monarchists wanted to broaden the president's powers and appealed to the country for support. Republicans rallied in opposition to the idea and won an

⁷⁸Ibid., January 1876, 6 January 1877, 6 February 1877.

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impressive victory at the polls. L'Amélioration benefited from the trend, but did not immediately recover its official authorization. Richer complained a year later that the sanction his group deserved had gone to another worthy, but less elevated cause, a Société Protectrice des Animaux.⁷⁹ But despite the technical continuation of the ban, l'Amélioration renewed its campaign for woman's rights. Finally on 3 August 1878, shortly after the Women's Rights Congress of that year, it reacquired the authorization. Several months later, Richer took advantage of the liberal trend to restore his journal's original name, Le Droit des Femmes.⁸⁰

At the time of the ban Richer cited smallness as a point in l'Amélioration's favor, implying that regardless of political orientation it hardly constituted a threat. He estimated in 1876 that although its membership, including foreigners, totalled 150 to 160, its meetings drew only ten to twelve of the more militant.⁸¹ An 1894 Bulletin of the group listed seventeen individuals and one organization, La Solidarité of Geneva, as founders. Seven of the original seventeen were men, including three who became deputies and one departmental councillor. Within that group the most militant by far was the deputy from Finistère, M. Joseph de Gasté. All of the women but two, Maria Deraismes and Mlle. Charlotte Duval, had married. Several others were widows. By 1894 nine of the seventeen, including Deraismes, had died.⁸² Absent

⁷⁹Ibid., 3 March 1878.

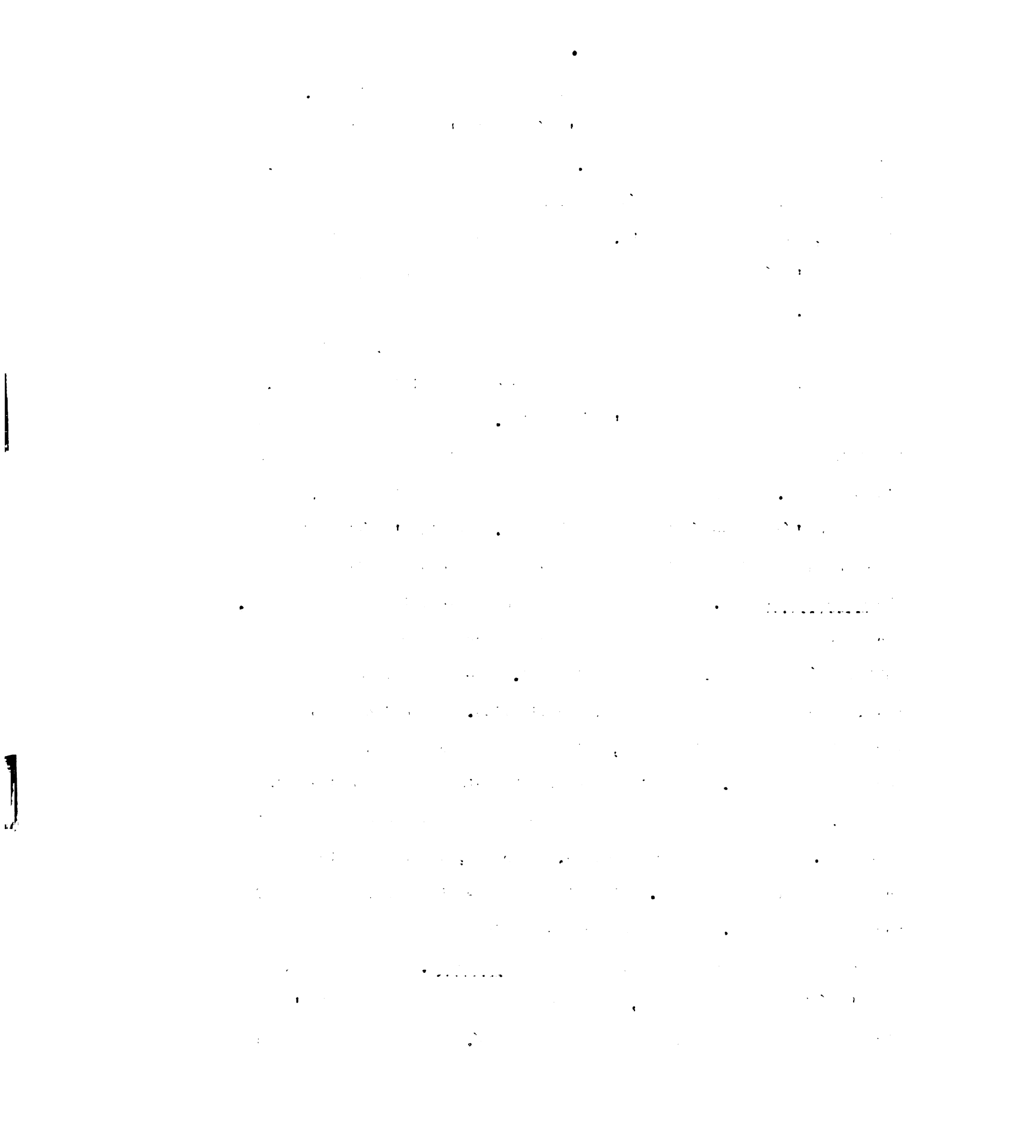
⁸⁰Ibid., 1 September 1878, 3 November 1878.

⁸¹Ibid., January 1876.

⁸²Amélioration, Bulletin, April-June 1894. For Amélioration's 1894 roster, see APPENDIX C.

from the list of founders were Richer, Victor Hugo, and Garibaldi. It seems clear therefore that many of l'Amélioration's more active members joined after the 1870-1 interregnum. Women such as Hubertine Auclert, Aline Valette, Eugenie Potonié-Pierre, and Madame Vincent, all younger militants, joined in the 1870's. Eventually, all four also drifted away from l'Amélioration in order to found their own journals and organizations.

Next to the Deraismes sisters and deputy de Gaste, Virginie Griess-Traut played the most prominent role of the original seventeen. Her husband also helped found l'Amélioration. A convinced Fourieriste, Virginie believed that social transformation required the full cooperation of woman. She spent freely and at one point contributed 50,000 francs to l'École Sociétaire phalanstérienne. Within l'Amélioration she rose to the position of vice president and worked closely with Maria on the commercante vote. She belonged to two other feminist groups as well, the Ligue française pour le droit des Femmes and the Groupe de la Solidarité des Femmes, established in 1891. One of her major interests was a cause dear to all feminists, prostitution. She objected to its regulation by the Morals Police, which she felt stamped prostitution with government approval. Virginie discounted hygienic and disease justifications, claiming that such arguments served as a smokescreen to disguise male lust. Abolish the Morals Police, she urged, or grant their wards pensions as state employees. Virginie also subscribed to the notion of woman as peacemaker. After the Franco-Prussian War she demanded neutralization of her native Lorraine, rather than revanche. She belonged, as did l'Amélioration as a group, to her old friend Charles Lemonnier's Ligue International de la Paix et de la Liberté. She also served on the



administrative council of the Société Française d'Arbitrage entre Nations, and presided over a group that united both her passions, l'Union Internationale des Femmes pour la Paix. She died 9 December 1898 at the age of eighty-five from injuries caused by a fall. A life of serious devotion to just causes had preserved her youth, a former colleague reflected, making her an excellent example for others.⁸³

L'Avenir des Femmes

Though president of l'Amélioration throughout most of its first decade, Richer's primary concern was propaganda. He therefore turned the group's daily operation over to the Deraismes sisters and Virginie Griess-Traut, and devoted himself to convincing doubters that a feminist newspaper could succeed. He viewed the effort as a further extension of what the Saint-Simonians and Laboulaye's Histoire morale des Femmes had begun.⁸⁴ He brought to the task several years of journalistic experience, a tenacious faith in woman's rights, and a belief that his was an epoch of reform. His past record, as well as his moderation, brought him the support of influential journalists and men of letters, including La Liberté's Emile de Girardin, Camille Flammarion, Jules Claretie, Francisque Sarcy, Victor Hugo, and Louis Blanc.⁸⁵

In order to announce the reappearance of l'Avenir after the interruption of the war and the Commune, Richer staged a sumptuous banquet in July 1872. One hundred fifty people packed the Corazza restaurant at

⁸³Le Journal des Femmes, January 1899. FMD, Dossier Griess-Traut.

⁸⁴L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 January 1877.

⁸⁵Brault, Franc-Maçonnerie et l'émancipation des femmes, 76. Monestier, Les Sociétés secrètes féminines, 128.

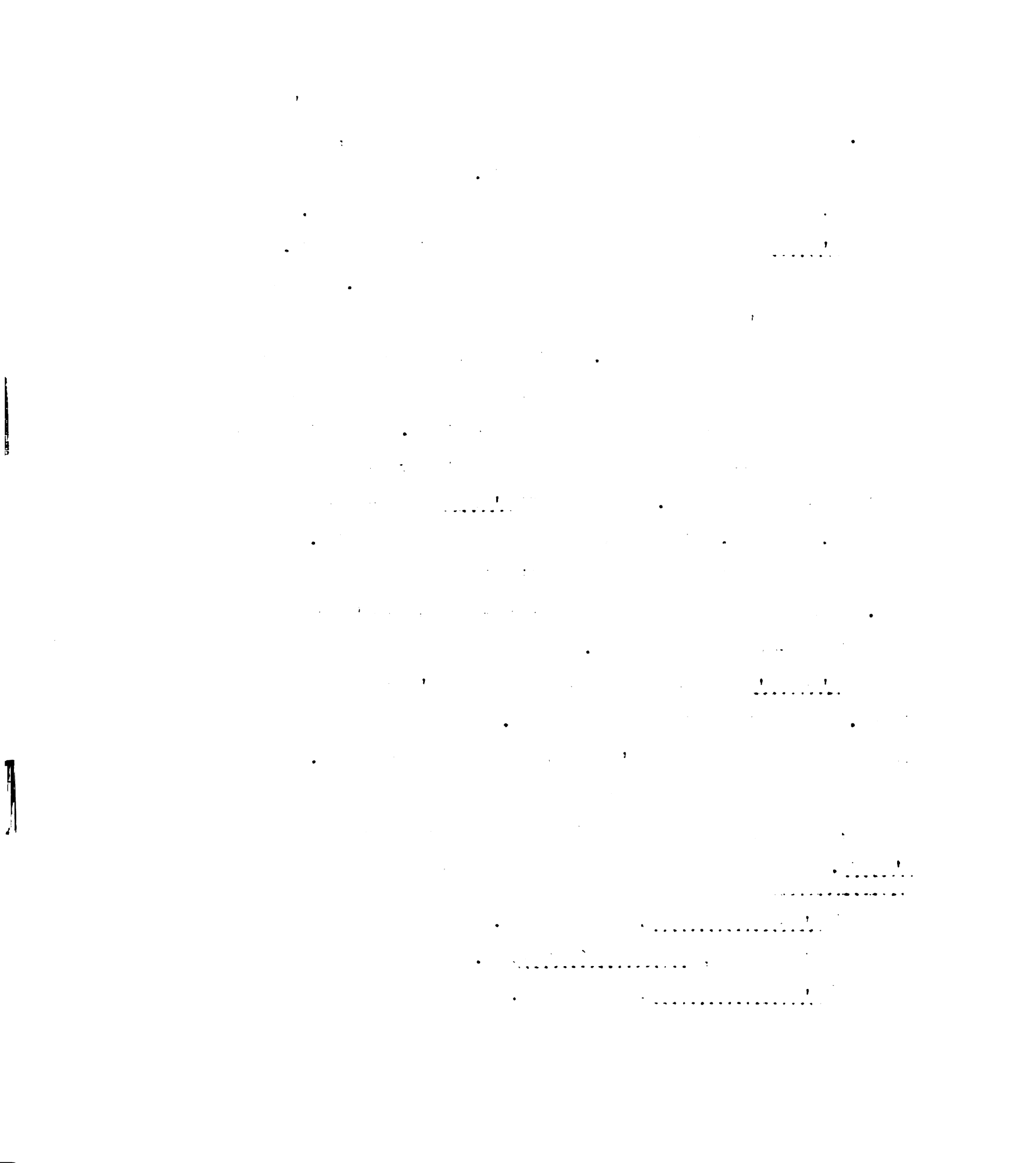
the Palais Royal to hear Victor Hugo endorse the struggle for woman's rights. Louis Blanc covered the event in a series of articles, and in general the press raised a great noise about it.⁸⁶ But publicity was not money, and Richer found it increasingly necessary to cut costs. Already l'Avenir had become a monthly instead of the intended weekly. For a brief period in 1873 it appeared only every other month. To reduce contributors' expenses Richer wrote articles under the pseudonyms of Georges Bath and Jeanne Mercoeur. To increase circulation he sent out costly complimentary copies and reduced rates for second and third year renewals from ten to seven and five francs respectively.⁸⁷ Donations provided some relief — the Deraismes sisters regularly gave forty francs per issue — but not enough. By March 1877 l'Avenir had accumulated a debt of 1,200 francs. Richer salvaged the paper by incorporating.⁸⁸ Poor health forced him to suspend publication indefinitely in December 1891. By then his journal had survived twenty-two years — longer than any of its pre-World War One rivals.

L'Avenir's finances also suffered from Richer's stand on the issues. Divorce in particular proved costly. Protests of "extreme violence" inundated the journal's headquarters at Clermont (Oise). A reader from Nantes engaged Richer in a protracted exchange of published letters, and sixty or seventy Lyonnaise pledged no longer to read l'Avenir. Richer estimated that altogether over two hundred cancelled

⁸⁶ L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 January 1877.

⁸⁷ Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 61.

⁸⁸ L'Avenir des Femmes, 4 March 1877.



their subscriptions at a "dead loss" of 2,000 francs per year.⁸⁹ His other major proposal, woman's right to file a paternity suit, likewise excited opposition, although the monetary impact is unclear. Jeanne Deroin, the militant feminist who fled France in 1851, wrote from England that the most certain effect of such a law would be an increase in infanticides.⁹⁰ More unpopular than either, however, was Richer's plan to legitimize incestuous unions rather than leave the parties in a state of public concubinage. He limited approval to "certain exceptional cases" and recognized that it would take fifteen or twenty years, "perhaps less," to secure the measure. In the meantime he anticipated renewed vilification for sapping the "sacred base of the family." But always, he proudly confessed, "my greatest wrong has been to be right too soon."⁹¹

Richer subtitled l'Avenir a Revue politique, litteraire, et d'economie sociale. He hoped not only to promote feminist reforms, but to interest women in larger issues. L'Avenir frequently expressed opinions on crucial national problems. In particular, Richer sought to sway his readers in favor of disarmament and an end to conscription, separation of Church and State, tax cuts, abolition of capital punishment, and peace through arbitration.⁹² After the crisis of 16 May 1877 his republican sympathies led him to warn against specific dangers. He pointed out the continuing clerical threat, and accused Louis Veuillot's

⁸⁹Le Droit des Femmes, 5 January 1889.

⁹⁰Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 53-4.

⁹¹Le Droit des Femmes, 5 January 1889.

⁹²Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 64. L'Avenir des Femmes, 5 August 1877.

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l'Univers of attempting to involve France in a war with Italy on behalf of the Pope.⁹³ He also condemned Le Gaulois as reactionary, citing as evidence its attacks on the republicanism of the Deraismes sisters.⁹⁴ The time was not ripe for woman suffrage, he maintained, but loyal democrats needed the support of woman's influence.

Richer himself made a bid for the Chamber of Deputies in February 1876 at Troyes. The effort failed, but what disturbed Richer more was that only two other candidates, Émile Acolas and Alfred Naquet, subscribed to l'Avenir's program.⁹⁵ Subsequent elections produced better results, due in part to Richer's influence, but years passed before the Chamber could form a feminist caucus. Soon after his electoral defeat, Richer turned to expanding feminism's organizational base. In 1876 he applauded Hubertine Auclert's new group and served on its committee of initiative.⁹⁶ The following year he urged each community throughout the land to establish a group of its own, and published the statutes of another Parisian société named Egalité, as a model.⁹⁷ A serious incident occurred late in 1876, however, when Celeste Hardouin created a Ligue française pour l'amélioration du sort des femmes. The outgrowth of a Congress of Women Workers, Hardouin's Ligue focused on improving female labor conditions. Richer approved the goal, but objected to the use of a name so similar to that of his recently banned l'Amélioration. When Hardouin rejected his plea to adopt a different title, Richer

⁹³L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 July 1877.

⁹⁴Ibid., 4 November 1877.

⁹⁵Ibid., 5 March 1876.

⁹⁶Ibid., 3 December 1876.

⁹⁷Ibid., 6 May 1877.

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dashed off a letter to the press explaining that the new group should not be confused with his own.

Le Congrès International du Droit des Femmes of 1878

Still there remained the question of national coordination.

Richer had been active in the movement for a decade, and with Deraismes he had tossed around the idea of a feminist convention. The crisis of 16 May 1877 interrupted their plans, however, and it was not until the following January that the idea could be taken up again. Paris played host to an Exposition that year, and though time was short, they decided to go ahead. In late July 1878 the first French Congrès international du Droit des Femmes opened at the Grand-Orient, the scene of Deraismes' public debut twelve years before. It ended two weeks later with a grand, six-franc banquet at the Salon des Familles of the restaurant Maurice.

Eight representatives from four foreign countries served on the Congress' twenty-seven member Committee of Initiative: three Italians (a deputy, a doctor, and a countess); three Americans (Julia Ward Howe, Theodore Stanton, and Mary A. Livermore); and one each from Switzerland and Holland. The remaining nineteen were French: two senators (Victor Schoelcher and Eugène Pelletan); five deputies (Louis Codet, Tiersot, Charles Boudeville, Émile Deschanel, and A. Charles Laisant); three municipal councillors from Paris (Antide Martin, Georges Martin, and Severiano de Heredia); and Richer and eight feminist associates. The real work fell to the all-French fifteen member Committee of Organization. Richer served as Commissaire général du Congrès. M. de Heredia and Anna Deraismes shared the treasury, and Mlle. Eugénie Pierre took on the secretarial duties. The remaining

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eleven included Maria Deraismes, Hubertine Auclert, and Virginie Griess-Traut.⁹⁸

The Congress operated on a budget of 3,350 francs, donated by eighty-one individuals and three groups. Most of the contributions were small; over eighty per cent fell into the two to twenty franc range. The bulk of the sum came from a handful of wealthy donors. The Deraismes sisters gave eighty francs; two couples, the Griess-Trauts and the Henri Krohns of Passy, gave fifty and one hundred respectively; the New York based Association for Women's Suffrage sent 250; and Count and Countess Malliani of Italy provided 2,000. Two-thirds of the total defrayed the cost of printing the final report. The rest paid for the Congress itself: 400 francs for printed matter, 500 for rent of the hall, and 90 to buy meals for fifteen newspapermen at the closing banquet. The final twenty-five francs went for a tip to the Grand-Orient's concierge. Compared to the problems feminist groups and journals faced in their day-to-day operations, the Congress had no serious money troubles.

The official roster of delegates named 220 people from eleven nations, and sixteen groups.⁹⁹ Women held a slight overall majority, 113 to 107. But within the French delegation they represented only forty-five per cent, 77 of 168. In contrast 69% of the fifty-two delegates from outside France were women. Even more significant, the British and American contingents, reflecting perhaps a more advanced

⁹⁸For information on participants in the Congress, see Ibid., 7 July 1878. For a roster of the 1878 Congress, see APPENDIX D.

⁹⁹Ibid. The lone representative from Germany was a French woman from Alsace-Lorraine. Rumania, Brazil, Belgium, and Holland also had only one representative each. The largest delegation, next to the French, was the sixteen member American, followed by Britain (13), Italy (8), Russia (6), and Switzerland (4). In some cases residents of France appeared on the roster as foreigners due to their place of birth.

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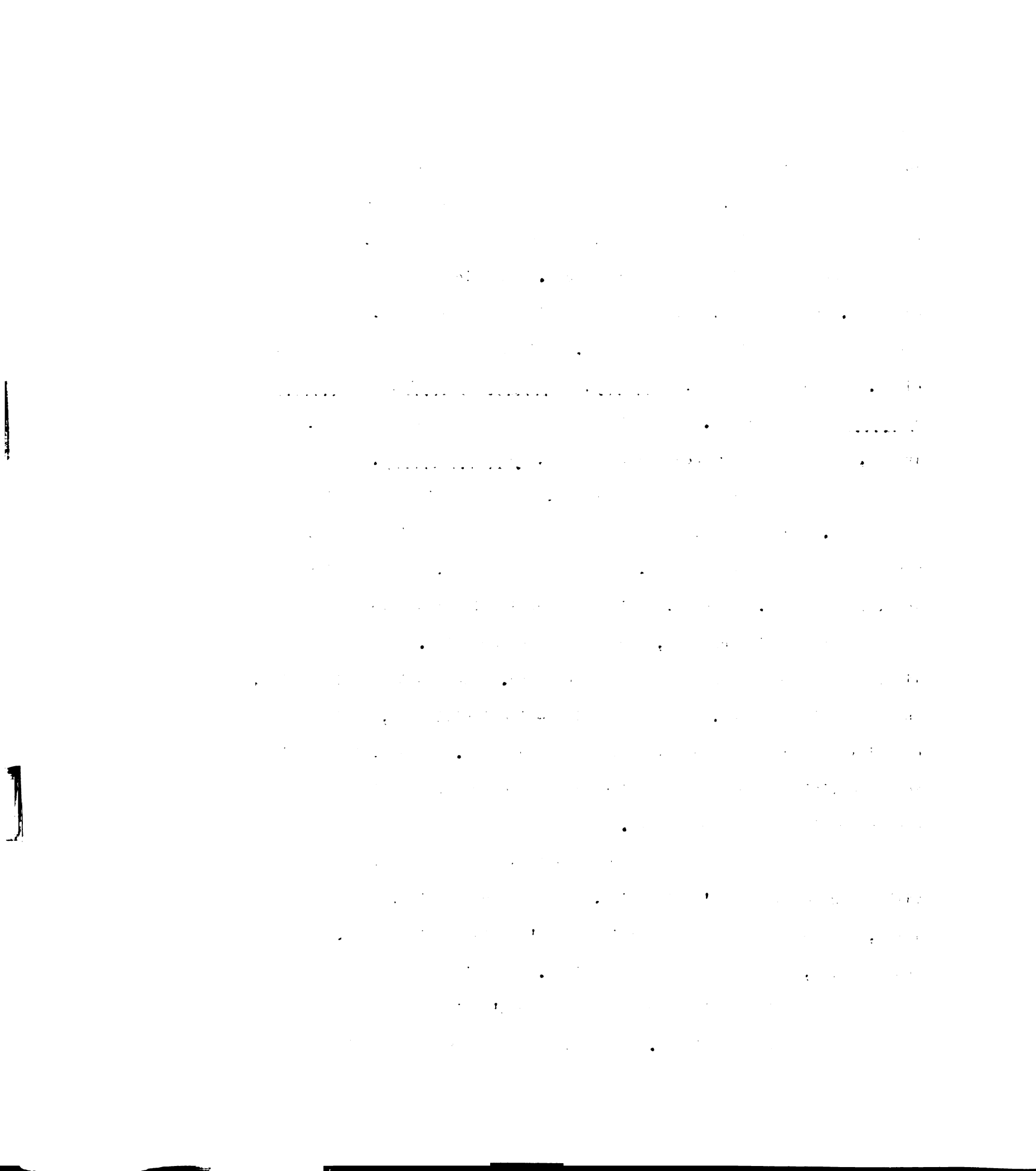
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stage of the movement, provided 83% females, 24 of 29. In respect to organizations, the head start of foreigners was also evident. Of the sixteen officially participating only two came from France, whereas nine represented Britain and the United States. France should have had three, but l'Amélioration — the group most responsible for the Congress — could not figure on the published roster because it had not yet recovered its governmental authorization.

One of the French groups was the Société des Dames Réunies of Lyon. The other was the Chambre Syndicale des Ouvrières Lingères, Couturières, Brodeuses et Confectionneuses of Paris, which along with a similar group from London gave working women a voice at the Congress. Only two organizations, both from the United States, espoused woman suffrage. Julia Ward Howe, a suffrage delegate, also represented the third American group, the New England Women's Club. Three of the six British associations existed to combat governmental regulation of prostitution, a goal made clear by one name, the National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Act. Two London based groups, in addition to the worker's society, rounded out the British contingent, L'Association de Vigilance pour la Défense des Droits Personnels and La Ligue Protectrice et Providentielle des Femmes. From Italy came l'Association Démocratique of Milan, the masonic lodge Concordia of Florence, and the Comité de Naples pour l'Émancipation des Femmes Italiennes, represented at the Congress by Richer. Geneva sent one specifically feminist society, La Solidarité, which relied on Virginie Griess-Traut and Charles Lemonnier as its spokesman, as well as the group Lemonnier himself founded, La Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté.

The fact that only two groups represented working women underscored the bourgeois character of the Congress — an impression reinforced by the relatively high number of known professionals among the French male delegates. Frenchmen constituted eighty-eight per cent of all the men who officially attended, and nearly half of them, 42 of 91, pursued occupations in one of three areas. Politics contributed nine deputies, two senators, five Parisian municipal councillors, and two "former representatives of the people." Five, not counting the politicians, had legal training, an avocat, a licence en droit, two docteurs en droit, and a student. Publicists stood as the largest subgroup, ten in all, and four others accepted the label, homme de lettres. A final four listed themselves simply as doctors, and a 43rd indicated his status as retired. Frenchwomen, forbidden by law to hold elective office, manage newspapers (until 1881), or attend law school, went undesignated for the most part. However, their presence implies two things rarely found in proletarian circles, some money and more time. Finally the figure of 220 delegates is somewhat deceptive. Twenty-five family units, mostly married couples, contributed fifty-nine individuals, so that the official roster counts only 188 different surnames. Others, in addition to the official delegates also attended the Congress; the first session drew over six hundred spectators.

The main work of the Congress fell to five sections, each dealing with an aspect of woman's situation. The History Section, which reported first, assumed the task of examining woman's role and influence, for good or evil, everywhere and at all times. The discussion centered on groups and individuals that had promoted women's rights in the past and the reasons for their failure. It also surveyed developments in



countries which enjoyed strong contemporary movements, hoping to unearth the determinants that made for success. The History report ended with an affirmative answer to two rather rhetorical questions: "Is this movement a fatal, inexorable law of the historical development of humanity? Is it a logical consequence of the moral, social, and political progress accomplished until now?"¹⁰⁰

The Education Section reported next, and like the three subsequent sections it proposed a series of resolutions. It operated on the dual and somewhat contradictory promise that both sexes partook of the same humanity and that the care of children was a uniquely female concern. Citing the higher mortality rate among infants farmed out to wet nurses, it called for mothers to breast feed their own children. Where poverty made this difficult, it demanded that municipalities provide aid to women during the first eighteen months of their infants' lives. For pre-schoolers, the Education section urged the establishment of kindergartens which would subscribe to "the système Froebel or better yet the methode naturelle."¹⁰¹ Children of all ages should attend sexually integrated classes, which — as the American experiment showed — served as "a powerful stimulant for the progress of studies and of moralization." And lastly, "considering that the essential vices of education

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 7 July 1878.

¹⁰¹ According to Prost, Froebel was a pioneer in early childhood education. A disciple of Pestalozzi and a representative of the rousseauiste tradition, he founded a maison de première éducation in Switzerland in 1837. In 1840 he described his school as a jardin d'enfants. "He practiced there a pedagogy of which certain aspects were too systematic, but that accorded an essential role to the spontaneity of children." He attached great importance to games, as did Pauline Kergomard, who in 1887 made games the principle activity in France's écoles maternelles, the only co-educational level in the French school system. Prost, L'Enseignement en France 1800-1967, 283-86.

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are the result of social inequities that separate into distinct classes the citizens of the same country . . . [and] that integral education will be established only when Schools will be absolutely distinct from Churches," the Education Section demanded that all instruction be free, lay, and obligatory."¹⁰²

Two days later the Economic Section met, chaired by Richer. From its deliberations emerged several resolutions, all of which reflected the theme that woman deserved the same freedom and right to work as man. Traditional claims, such as equal pay for equal work and open access to all professions, topped the agenda. Once again the link between low wages and prostitution received an airing. The section also affirmed the value and merit of household tasks. Its more specific recommendations, however, related directly to the lot of working women. To improve their bargaining power, it urged the creation of female unions, and the admission of women to the conseils de prudhommes — elected agencies charged with regulating industrial disputes. To improve their competitive position, it called for strict supervision of convent and prison factories, and enactment of a special tax to equalize the cost of free and "compulsory" production. It also recommended female cooperatives and factory associations. Liberty should be the essential base of republics, the Economic section concluded, and liberty required "the suppression of all laws restrictive of the right of assembly and the right of association."¹⁰³

¹⁰²L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 September 1878.

¹⁰³Ibid.

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Prostitution headed the agenda of the Morality Section, presided over by Deraismes. The section attempted to elaborate a uniform system of values for both sexes in order to bring human laws into line with moral precepts. It repeated the oft-heard feminist assertion that state regulation of "public women" had no hygienic justification, and accused the government of sanctioning "the immoral prejudice that debauchery is a necessity for man." It demanded the abolition of whore houses and an end to official regulation of prostitution."¹⁰⁴ Beyond that, it urged

¹⁰⁴The medical profession aroused a good deal of controversy within the ranks of feminists and other reformers in the nineteenth century. Feminist concern stemmed in part from the fact that most doctors were men (male physicians outnumbered female 15,668 to 112 according to the 1896 census) but more so from the prevailing tendency to define women solely in respect to their reproductive function. In general, a physical, pre-Freudian "anatomy is destiny" premise underlay many of the popular assumptions about woman's role in society, which made feminists especially susceptible to the impact of physicians' pronouncements. These pronouncements served the feminist cause at times, as with condemnation of the corset as unhealthy, and most feminist groups enlisted the support of at least a few doctors as members. But on certain issues the medical profession adopted positions contrary to feminist goals. State regulation of prostitution constituted one such position. Medical opinion sided with the practice, maintaining that agencies like the Morals Police helped to protect society from sex-related diseases. To feminists, however, this argument amounted to nothing more than a smoke-screen behind which men could exercise their lustful passions with impunity. A report to the Paris Municipal Council in 1899 by the feminist group *Égalité* stressed that in places where "regulation" did not exist, like at Colmar, "statistics prove that maladies have diminished in the civil and military hospitals of the city." In retrospect it seems that medical opinion tended to accentuate some of the worst assumptions about women, particularly in areas like hysteria, masturbation, etc. (see Chapter I), but state supervision of prostitution struck feminists as especially offensive because it provided legal sanction to a medical thesis. As a result, feminists perceived themselves in conflict with a kind of "medical-political complex." Other reformers detected the machinations of this "complex" in the trend towards compulsory vaccination, required by law in Britain since the early 1880's. A *Société pour l'Abolition de la Vaccination Obligatoire* emerged in London to oppose the legislation, and many dissenting physicians agreed with Doctor H. Caron of Paris, who wrote that "I positively refuse to vaccinate, and I regard vaccination as a joke." Even in rhetoric, feminists and anti-vaccinationists spoke a similar language of "progress:" "Faith in vaccine is an old prejudice from that time of obscurantism

ordinary hospitals, rather than prison infirmaries, to accept "women of the street" for treatment. Special half-way houses under lay direction should be created to help female ex-convicts adjust to freedom without falling victim to male lust. And in a rather curious resolution, it demanded that inasmuch as "celibacy is one of the great causes of prostitution," all laws which gave rise to that state should be repealed. Perhaps, given the anti-clerical tenor of the Congress, the recommendation sought to restore priests and nuns to marriageable status. Or it may have emanated from Deraismes' personal aversion to wedlock, if in fact she refused to marry because of the legal imprisonment such a step entailed. In any case there can be no doubt about the intent of the section's other two resolutions: woman's right to file a paternity suit and stiffer laws to protect minors from seduction.¹⁰⁵

The Legislation Section concluded the formal work of the two-week long Congress. Two of its resolutions reiterated those of earlier sections: the abolition of the Morals Police and the passage of a paternity suit bill. In a related action, the section called for eliminating the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children, making all offspring equally eligible to share in their father's legacy. But its main thrust came in the areas of adultery, marriage, and divorce. Both sexes should suffer identical penalties for adultery, regardless of where the act occurred; and marriage promises should assume contractual

when science had hardly begun to establish itself; but as it was lucrative, one should not be surprised at its persistence into our epoch." Schirmacher, Le Travail des femmes en France, 355; Rapport adressé au Conseil Municipal de Paris de la Société Feministe "L'Egalité" (Paris, 1899), 13; Ph. Linet, "Inutilité et dangers de la vaccine," La Société Nouvelle, XIX (1894), 810-23 and XXI (1895), 375-89.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

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status, enabling the jilted party to sue for damages. More important, because "the indissolubility of marriage is contrary to the principle of individual liberty," divorce must be reestablished. The section asked the legislature to specify the details, perhaps due to an inability to agree on them itself, but its intention left no room for doubt; "Divorce is necessary from the point of view of humanity, of morality, and in a word, of the social future."¹⁰⁶

Perhaps the foremost significance of the 1878 Congress was ordinal: It constituted not only the first international Woman's Rights Congress, but "the first important act of feminism in France."¹⁰⁷ Richer claimed more, seeing in it proof that "the sentiment of right, of justice penetrates everywhere."¹⁰⁸ He took particular pride in the unanimity accorded to most of the resolutions, and wrote soon after the event: "The question of women is no longer a narrow question, the utopia of some empty minds; it is a universal question."¹⁰⁹ But in the opinion of another participant, the Congress proved only that the majority of French women were indifferent to their rights.¹¹⁰ Moreover, though many leading feminists attended, no permanent association emerged. Disorder marred the movement's subsequent growth, until eleven years later a second Congress attempted to provide overall direction. One cause of the

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 15.

¹⁰⁸L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 September 1878.

¹⁰⁹Ibid.

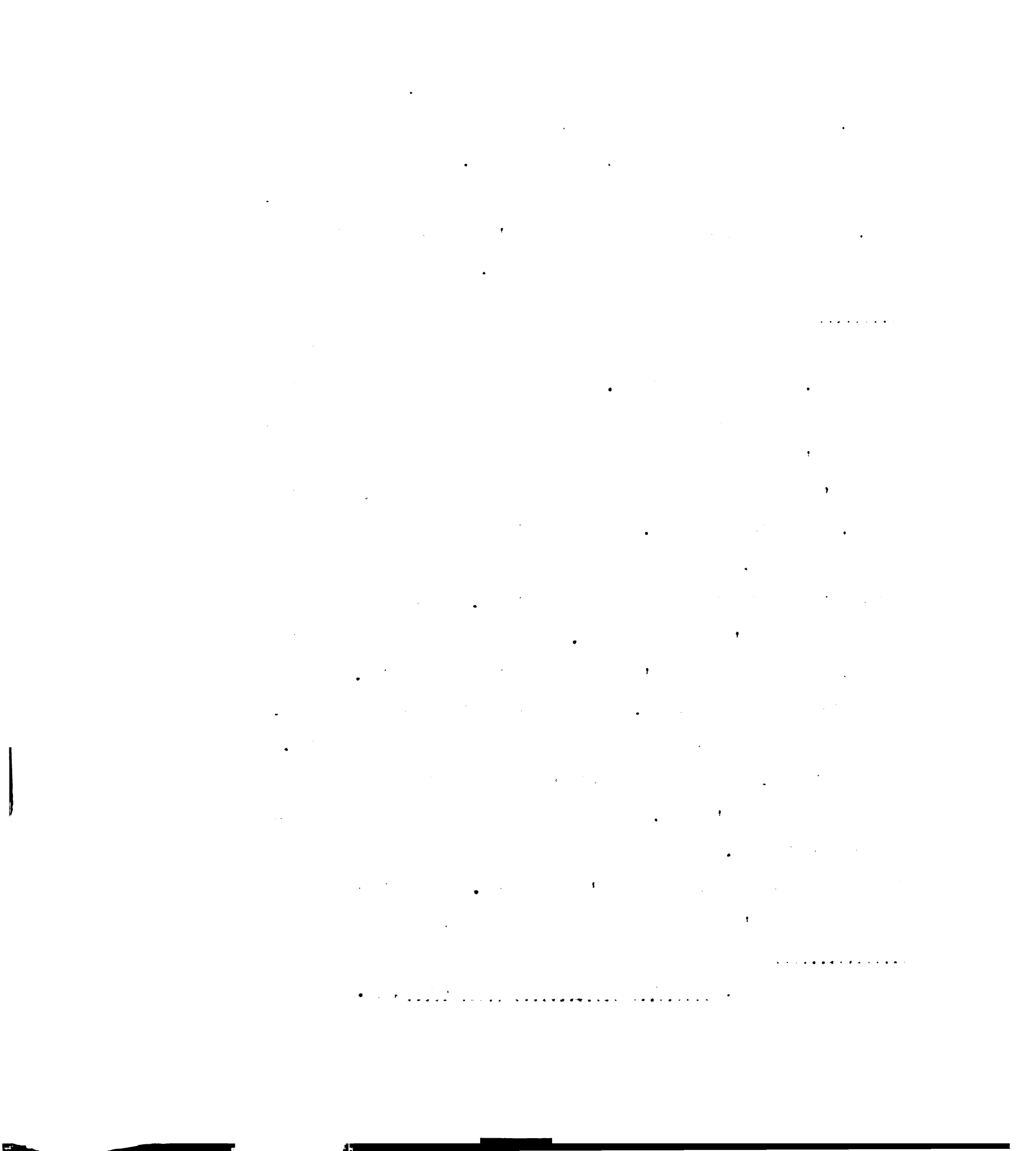
¹¹⁰Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 85.

fragmentation stemmed directly from the 1878 gathering. Deraismes and Richer, anxious to avoid immoderation, refused to allow Hubertine Auclert to speak on her favorite subject, woman suffrage.¹¹¹ Auclert bolted the Congress and assumed leadership of a suffrage wing within the movement. Thus, public opinion — so crucial to Richer's plans — found itself subjected almost immediately to divergent appeals.

Conclusion

The Congress of 1878 reflected the ideas of its two principal organizers, Deraismes and Richer. Between them they created a distinct school of feminism — one that dominated the movement for a generation. The school's two outstanding characteristics were the priority accorded to woman's civil rights and the close link between feminism, republicanism, and anti-clericalism. In the 1870's both characteristics served the movement well. Republicans welcomed the support and in return raised little objection to the limited feminism. A few even actively assisted the woman's rights campaign. But once the republic consolidated itself, some of the movement's younger recruits grew restive. Militants who desired a broader program, particularly the inclusion of suffrage, rejected the Deraismes-Richer School as conservative and opportunist. Other militants, who accepted the civil rights priority but wished to broaden the movement's base, accused the school of political and anti-clerical radicalism. The result was that by the turn of the century it no longer occupied the movement's mainstream. Indeed in 1925 an opponent of woman's suffrage defended his stand with a lengthy tract

¹¹¹Grinberg, Historique du Mouvement Suffragiste, 72.



praising Richer.¹¹² Yet if it eventually had a retrograde impact, Deraismes' and Richer's feminism served the 1870's and 1880's well. The combination of a moderate woman's program and a radical political stance won sufficient acceptance to permit for the first time in a century a new generation of feminists to build on the old.

¹¹²Fernand Golland, Les Féministes françaises (Paris, 1925). For a contemporary American appraisal of the 1878 Congress, see Theodore Stanton's account in Stanton et al., History of Woman Suffrage, III, 896-99.

CHAPTER IV
CONFLICT: HUBERTINE AUCLERT
AND THE STRATEGY OF L'ASSAUT

The Woman's Rights Congress of 1878 coincided with several events that propelled French feminism along new paths. Since the late Empire, proponents of woman's rights had marched in lockstep with advocates of republicanism. They had fought together in opposition to Napoleon III's personal rule, and during the first seven years of the Third Republic, from its proclamation of 4 September 1870 through the seize mai crisis of 1877, they had deemphasized the struggle to liberate women in order to concentrate their energies against authoritarian and clerical opponents of the new democracy. In the next two years, from 1877 to 1879, republican victories at the polls lessened the immediate political danger, which encouraged feminists to organize the 1878 Congress. By then the Third Republic had outlived its 1848 predecessor; and with the resignation of Marshal MacMahon in December 1878 and further republican gains in the Senate in January 1879 "a kind of divide had been crossed, irrevocably this time. The era of experiment and uncertainty was over; France was permanently a republic."¹

Permanence was not stability. Many feminists mistook subsequent incidents for full-blown crises, and Maria Deraismes in particular

¹Wright, France in Modern Times, 295.

redoubled her political activity in the early 1880's. In reality, however, the essential precondition for which feminists had temporarily sacrificed their campaign had materialized. France had its republic, which by definition meant a society open to debate and reform from below. In theory, therefore, feminists should have achieved a rapid implementation of their program. What actually happened was quite different. Defeat of their common foes revealed divisions within republican ranks. A new spectrum of radical, moderate, and conservative politicians emerged, none of whom possessed sufficient strength to govern alone. As a result, power fell to men who labeled themselves Opportunists, a shifting coalition comprised of moderates and a handful of radicals led by Léon Gambetta. Their motto was "sérier les questions" -- take up the issues one at a time -- which resembled the "breach" strategy of Deraismes and Richer. But unfortunately for the movement, the Opportunists accorded a very low priority to the woman question.

Rule by the Opportunists in the 1880's brought reforms in only two areas of specific concern to women, education and divorce. By feminist standards, however, the expanded system of girls' schools, with its special curriculum and inferior degrees, simply institutionalized woman's subordination on a larger scale.² In contrast, the 1884 divorce law had at least two positive features; it permitted wives to escape from brutal husbands legally, and it partly eliminated the double standard for adultery.³ Its great drawback stemmed from the fact that, in addition to the absence of divorce by mutual consent, the 1884 law completely sidestepped what to feminists was the root of the problem, woman's servitude

²See Chapters I and II.

³See Chapter III.

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in marriage. Furthermore, from the standpoint of the movement's appeal to non-feminists, the enactment of these two reforms, despite (or perhaps because of) their limitations, partially stripped the organized effort of its two most popular issues.

As a result of these developments, feminism and republicanism reached a fork in the road in the early 1880's. The republican precondition had materialized, and the top-priority feminist demands, education and divorce, had received at least a degree of attention. Even before the divorce law of 1884 had passed, a minority of feminists had begun to recognize the end of the honeymoon. From then on, though many advocates of woman's rights were slow to realize it, the Republic itself became the chief obstacle to woman's emancipation. On several occasions feminists rallied again to the defense of the Republic, but it persistently refused to reciprocate. Its primary interest in women was to insure through education a sufficient supply of obedient, cultured wives and loyal republican camp followers.

Hubertine Auclert

One of the first to recognize the limits of mutual interest between republicanism and feminism was Hubertine Auclert.⁴ Like Deraismes

⁴For information on the life of Marie-Anne-Hubertine Auclert (10 April 1848 - 8 April 1914), see: La Vie et la mort du féminisme, 36-38; La Française, 18 April 1914; Thomas, Louise Michel, 186; Brion, ed., Encyclopédie Féministe, I; Marie-Hélène Lefauchaux et al., Women in a Changing World: The Dynamic Story of the International Council of Women since 1888 (London, 1966), 9-11; Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 38-50; Vital Gougeon, Du Vote des Femmes (Law thesis, University of Rennes, Rennes, 1907), 40-75; Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France, 217-18; Abensour, Histoire générale, 275; Dictionnaire de Biographie française, IV (Paris, 1947), 327; Alcyone, "Les Femmes voteront-elles? Hubertine Auclert, la première des suffragistes françaises," La Lumière, 16 February 1935; Stanton et al., History of Woman Suffrage, III, 899 and IV, 23, 27; Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 7-12,

and Richer, with whom she worked closely in the 1870's, Auclert held strong republican convictions. But she placed a greater priority on women's liberation than they did. She therefore bolted the 1878 Congress, convinced that the tactic of la brèche offered little prospect of success. Well in advance of most of her feminist colleagues, Auclert perceived that the Republic, though in theory open to debate and reform, had become a bastion of male domination. France's seventeen million women would remain slaves to an equal number of men, Auclert wrote in 1881, unless females shared power: "Therefore, it follows from all evidence that political rights are for women the passkey (clef de voute) that will give her all other rights."⁵

Auclert was thirty years old at the time of the 1878 Congress. She was born at Tilly in the commune of Saint-Priest-en-Murat, 150 miles south of Paris in the department of Allier. The fifth of seven children, she spent her early youth in relative ease, displaying contemporary signs of "feminine" precocity.⁶ Throughout her life she remained financially

44-49; BMD, Dossier Auclert and Dossiers VOT 396 for the period 1880-1914; "Hubertine Auclert" by her sister, Marie Chaumont, in Auclert, Les Femmes au Gouvernement (Paris, 1923), 1-91; Le Droit des Femmes, 15 April 1914; Jean Maitron, ed., Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français (Paris, 1973), X, 165-66. Henri Avenel, Histoire de la presse française depuis 1789 jusqu'à nos jours (Paris, 1900), 818.

⁵ La Citoyenne, 13 February 1881.

⁶ Recalling their youth together in the family home, Auclert's sister wrote: "Already at that moment, the petite fille manifested precious gifts, she was admired for the manner in which she dressed her dolls, the ease with which she knew how to pull apart the tiniest piece of moire or taffeta to fashion beautiful robes for them imitating those of dames. She embroidered just as marvelously and took an interest in all the details of domestic life, she thus acquired all the qualities of an accomplished woman of the house." Marie Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 1-2.



secure, but tragedy marred her later youth. The death of her parents and the apparent absence of parentally-inclined relatives or friends left her an orphan. She spent the remainder of her minority in a convent.

Under the tutelage of local nuns, Auclert acquired an awareness of social injustice and perhaps the martyr-like attitude that characterized her campaign for woman's rights. But the Church itself did not appeal to her. Throughout her career she passionately encouraged anti-clericalism in her fellow feminists. Her stay in the convent undoubtedly limited her access to a broader education, and, in comparison to Deraismes, "she possessed only an average culture."⁷ Neither philosophy nor literature attracted her. She spoke well and wrote in a journalistic manner. Polemics were her forte, impulsiveness was her style. Whatever the precise circumstances, the cumulative effect of Auclert's youthful experiences had a decided impact on her beliefs. "I have been a rebel against female oppression almost since birth," she later recalled, "so much brutality of man towards woman, which terrified my childhood, prepared me at an early age to demand for my sex independence and consideration."⁸

Auclert's exit from the convent coincided with two events of crucial significance to her subsequent career. The first was the Franco-Prussian War. Distance protected her community from direct involvement in the conflict, and the French Red Cross had not yet penetrated into the provinces. Auclert spent the war years caring for the

⁷ Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 38.

⁸ Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 3-4.

victims of another scourge, smallpox. As she grappled with the epidemic, news of the Empire's collapse reached her home town, sending her into transports of joy. The vision of a democratic France filled her with hope; and, although her devotion to women's liberation was to provoke many confrontations with the Third Republic, she never abandoned faith in her twin idols, "ma patrie et ma république." "O ma patrie," Auclert exclaimed, "you must be incomparable because I prefer to live here in slavery than to be free elsewhere."⁹

The second event brought her into direct contact with the feminist movement. Accounts of the first feminist banquets had begun to reach the provinces in the late 1860's and early 1870's. When Auclert heard of them she immediately set out for Paris to meet their organizers. Upon her arrival in the capital, she joined a "comité féministe," either Deraismes' l'Amélioration or Daubié's Association.¹⁰ Which one is unclear, but she came to know Deraismes well (Daubié died in 1874), and Richer took her on as secretary of l'Avenir des Femmes. At the time, however, Victor Hugo made the greatest impression on her. From him, the most famous of the feminist banquet luminaries, she heard the words that guided her campaign to the end: "In our legislation, woman is without political rights; she does not vote, she does not exist, she does not count. There are male citizens; there are no female citizens. This

⁹Ibid., 4.

¹⁰It was Auclert herself who described the group she joined in the early 1870's as a "comité féministe," but, in addition to the problem of identifying the particular group, the word "feminist" had not yet come into popular usage. Auclert first used the word in a letter to the prefect of the Seine in 1882. Ibid., 5. The first women's rights congress in France to use the word "feminist" was held in 1892. Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France, 218.

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is a violent state; it is necessary that it cease."¹¹

La Société le Droit des Femmes

From the outset Auclert was an integralist. She refused to accept the strategy of civil rights first. Rather than the piecemeal approach of la brèche, she advocated l'assaut -- attacking all sex barriers at once.¹² Initially, however, the choice between la brèche and l'assaut did not arise. During the Second Empire, Richer and Deraismes frequently espoused woman's political rights. So long as France remained under autocratic rule, they viewed the extension of the franchise to anyone as a step in the right direction. Indeed when Auclert joined the movement much the same rhetoric could still be heard. Only in the second half of the 1870's, after the Third Republic had achieved a degree of stability, did the problem of strategy crop up. Auclert then found herself out of step with the majority of her colleagues. Her position had not changed, but theirs had. For them integralism entailed too many risks. Prior to 1870 it meant toppling an oppressive regime; now, they thought, it would cause the reversal of the Republic.

The first overt incident in the estrangement between Auclert and her colleagues occurred in 1876, when she founded the Société le Droit des Femmes. Richer, whose l'Amélioration had been outlawed the previous December, applauded the new group and served on its Initiation Committee.¹³

¹¹Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 34. Auclert later recalled that "in citing our great poet, the Press awakened among the exploited the idea of rights and, within a year, I was not the only recruit, who came from a hundred places to enroll in the feminist army . . ." Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 102-3.

¹²Ibid., 36.

¹³L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 January 1877.



But his support was less than whole-hearted. The Société's program considered "the political emancipation of woman as the sole means of arriving at the economic and civil emancipation of woman."¹⁴ It was an organization bent on l'assaut. Richer could hardly disavow the group, since he had just urged all communities to establish feminist organizations.¹⁵ But six years later he founded the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes, one of whose purposes was to offset the Société's radical image.¹⁶ The following year, in 1883, Auclert brought the name of her group into line with its objective. From then until the First World War it was known as the Société le Suffrage des Femmes.

In addition to political rights, the program of Auclert's Société stressed common feminist themes such as equal pay for equal work, co-education, the right to file a paternity suit, and divorce -- in a phrase, "equality of both sexes before the law."¹⁷ The group also professed neutrality in matters of politics and religion, but words could not disguise its obvious republican and anti-clerical orientation. The same conservative government that outlawed l'Amélioration rejected its request for authorization in 1877 and ordered it dissolved. The Société obeyed publicly, but continued to meet in private until the political situation

¹⁴ Hubertine Auclert, Historique de la Société le Droit des Femmes 1876-1880 (Paris, 1881), 6.

¹⁵ L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 May 1877.

¹⁶ Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 37.

¹⁷ Auclert, Historique, 7. For the Société's program, see APPENDIX E.

improved after the crisis of 16 May 1877.¹⁸ Finally on 28 September 1879 it received official approval.¹⁹

According to its statutes, either sex could join the Société, though all members had to support the goal of woman's suffrage and eligibility. Dues were three francs per year, and an annually chosen three-member Control Committee oversaw the group's finances. Administration fell to a ten-member Executive Committee, elected each year along with a general secretary, corresponding secretary, and a treasurer. The group had no permanent president, and each assembly chose its presiding officer by a show of hands.²⁰ Its headquarters were at 21 rue Cail in the 10th arrondissement, the home of its perennial general secretary, Hubertine Auclert.²¹

Richer lived only a few blocks away at 4 rue des Deux Gares; but whereas a middle class cadre rallied to him and Deraismes, Auclert managed to attract "numerous sympathetic working women" to the cause.²² In the mid-1870's, while serving on l'Avenir, she initiated a subscription drive on behalf of a female cooperative workshop which netted over

¹⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

¹⁹ La Citoyenne, 1 May 1881.

²⁰ Taken from the statutes of the Société le Suffrage des Femmes in a two page handout distributed sometime after 1903. BMD, Dossier Auclert.

²¹ L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 January 1877.

²² L'Amélioration, Bulletin Bimestriel, June - July 1897. Of the twenty-six people who signed Auclert's protest against the counting of women in the census, six lived in Auclert's 10th arrondissement, seven lived in the 18th, three each lived in the 11th and 20th, two each in the 8th and 19th, one each in the 5th and 17th, and another at Pantin. La Citoyenne, 19 - 25 December 1881.



128 francs.²³ In October 1879, she travelled to Marseilles, and personally induced the first French Socialist Congress to adopt a resolution supporting the political and social equality of the sexes. Her success there represented "the first effort to bring the working class movement to adopt a more progressive view of the role of women."²⁴ She also demanded amnesty for the Communards and in July 1879 created a committee to aid women returning from prison and deportation.²⁵ When Louise Michel arrived at the Gare Saint-Lazare in November 1880 after ten years of exile, Auclert stood among the thousands who greeted her with the cry of "Long live the Commune! Long live the social revolution! Long live humanity!"²⁶

Auclert's initial appeal for members, carried in October 1876 by Le Rappel, La Tribune, and Les Droits de l'Homme among others, emphasized the similarity between workers and women. "Women of France," Auclert wrote, "despite the benefits of our revolution of 1789, two kinds of individuals are still enslaved; proletarians and women." Male workers contribute luster and richness to the nation, she maintained, only to die of

²³L'Avenir des Femmes, 5 March 1876.

²⁴Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 7. Pages 7 to 12 of Sowerwine's work provides the best account of Auclert's role at the 1879 Marseilles Congress. See also: Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 41. Richer applauded the Marseilles Congress for discarding the Proudhonian perspective on women and for adopting Auclert's resolutions, but he rejected the collectivist ideal as contrary to human nature and inimical to individual liberty. He recognized the gulf between classes, but maintained that an even greater gulf separated women from men. He also faulted the Congress for focusing on sweeping change, which violated his own preference for "practical" reformism: "Progress is not made by brusque jumps, by sudden changes. There is, in the facts, a logical order, a natural sequence." Le Droit des Femmes, December 1879.

²⁵Auclert, Historique, 19-20.

²⁶Thomas, Louise Michel, 186.

misery. Working women are worse off; for the same tasks they receive less than half the wage of men. And, regardless of income, all women suffer from "vexations and injustices in a legislation that restricts the circle of activity in which they move, that exploits and atrophies them." The proletariat has begun to free itself, Auclert concluded, and women must follow its example; "It is time to abandon indifference and inertia in order to protest against the prejudices and laws that humiliate us. Let us unite our efforts, let us associate; the example of the proletariat invites us; let us learn from it how to emancipate ourselves."²⁷

Prospective members could find Auclert at home every Tuesday and Friday afternoon.²⁸ Twenty joined the first week; "some others"

²⁷ Auclert, Historique, 8-10. Auclert's compassion for the working class and her emphasis on the analogous subordination of the proletariat and women did not mean complete acceptance of the socialist perspective. Sex oppression ran deeper than class oppression, she maintained, because male domination struck wealthy and poor women alike. "Those who go off to war against the monopolies of capital forget that men are like the rich. . . . Men exercise monopolies over lucrative work, public functions, employment, rights and sovereignty. . . . The question of women is the new Gordian knot that, once severed, would permit resolution of the social question, but, so long as women have their hands tied by civil laws and are, from a political point of view, gagged, the economic transformation advocated by collectivists will only operate to the profit of men." La Citoyenne, May 1885. Socialist women disagreed. "The difference that exists between the most advanced demands of bourgeois feminism and the socialist Party is that those demands form the maximum program of the former, whereas they represent the minimum program of the socialist Party," wrote Louise Saumoneau, La Femme Socialiste, July 1902. Worker solidarity must take precedence over sex solidarity, because "the general interests of the female bourgeoisie, being attached to the interests of their parasitic class, are in profound antagonism with those of the female proletariat, attached equally to the interests of their exploited class," explained Saumoneau, Le Mouvement Féministe Socialiste (Paris, 1903), 3. For more on Auclert's attitude towards the collectivists, see Chapter XXVIII, "Le Socialisme n'aurait pas pour résultat l'affranchissement de la femme," in her Les Femmes au Gouvernail, 359-64.

²⁸ L'Avenir des Femmes, 6 January 1877.

later.²⁹ By February 1877, enough had enrolled to convene a private meeting at the Salle Sax in the Saint-Georges quarter of Paris.³⁰ Armand Duportal, deputy from Toulouse, presided, assisted by deputy Charles Laisant (Loire-Inférieure) and Municipal Councillor Ferdinand Buisson. Discussion centered on woman's civil condition, especially the right to file a paternity suit. Whether suffrage came up is unclear -- Richer's account omitted the issue entirely.³¹ Also unclear is the status of the three men; were they members or simply guests? Buisson at least may have joined, inasmuch as he eventually emerged as the chief parliamentary sponsor of woman suffrage in the decade before the First World War.³² At the time, however, the question of membership quickly became moot. Shortly after the meeting, the government refused to authorize the new Société, which probably caused some resignations. In any case, when the group openly reemerged two years later, it embarked on a campaign that appealed only to the most ardent feminists.³³

Launching the Assault

On only one occasion during the movement's first generation did Auclert suspend her campaign for woman suffrage. At the height of the

²⁹ Auclert, Historique, 10.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ L'Avenir des Femmes, 4 March 1877.

³² Buisson assumed leadership of the woman suffrage faction in the Chamber of Deputies upon the death of Paul Dussaussoy (Pas-de-Calais), who introduced a measure for granting women the vote in municipal, arrondissement, and general council elections in 1906. Dussaussoy died in 1909. Buisson served as president of the Chamber's Committee on Universal Suffrage. His views on the issue can be found in Ferdinand Buisson, Le Vote des Femmes (Paris, 1911).

³³ For a roster of Auclert's followers, see APPENDIX F.

1877 political crisis, she called on feminists to concentrate their energies against the danger of reaction: "The republican ideal excludes the aristocracy of sex as it excludes the aristocracy of caste; but we would be wrong to speak of social questions in the face of the dominant necessity of the present."³⁴ With the return of republican stability, however, she redoubled her efforts to obtain the franchise for women. She expected to raise the issue at the Woman's Rights Congress of 1878, and she served on the Congress' Initiation Commission and Organizational Committee. But when Deraismes and Richer forbade the matter, she quit both committees and boycotted the Congress. The address she had hoped to deliver appeared soon thereafter as a pamphlet: Le Droit politique des femmes; Question qui n'est pas traitée au Congrès International des Femmes.³⁵ In January 1879, she repeated the pamphlet's theme in a press release. The time has come for women to seize their liberty, Auclert announced: "Man makes laws to his advantage and we are obliged to bow our heads in silence. Enough of resignation. Pariahs of Society, stand up!"³⁶

The stepped-up campaign involved a variety of actions.³⁷ In addition to her personal role at the Marseilles Socialist Congress in 1879, delegates from her Société attended the Congrès de la Paix in 1878 and the Congrès régional du Centre in 1880. The Société resumed public meetings, with two at the salle Petrelle in March and July 1879, another

³⁴ Auclert, Historique, 11.

³⁵ Hubertine Auclert, Le Droit politique des femmes; Question qui n'est pas traitée au Congrès International de Femmes (Paris, 1878).

³⁶ Auclert, Historique, 18-19.

³⁷ Ibid., 15-20.

at the Oberkampf theater in March 1880, and two more in May and July 1880 at the salle Levis and the salle Rivoli. Petitions proliferated. Early in 1878 the Société appealed to the Senate for a paternity suit law. A few months later it demanded of the Education Minister that women teachers be given visiting privileges at the National Exposition equal to those of men instructors. In May 1879, the Société petitioned the President of the Republic to offer amnesty to the Communards. At the end of the year, in December, the group brought the plight of abandoned children to the Interior Minister's attention. The Société also found it necessary to petition the Chamber of Deputies in defense of woman's right to petition. Clerical opposition to Ferry's education reforms had provoked some republicans to propose the striking of female signatures from Catholic protest petitions. Auclert viewed the proposal with abhorrence. While disclaiming any sympathy for the Church's position, she lashed back: "If one did not continually deny the rights of women, if one gave to them knowledge and power, one would not find so many female clericals." The petition represented the only legal means of political protest available to women, Auclert pointed out: "We who are not, we protest equally against the ideas that have guided the clerical petitioners and against the injustices of men, who deny to women their right to petition."³⁸

In February 1880, the Société moved to more direct action.³⁹ Auclert and a handful of followers first attempted to register to vote. In addition to considerations of principle, they based their attempt on the fact that no law specifically forbade woman's suffrage. They argued that legally and constitutionally the term les français applied to all

³⁸ Ibid., 22.

³⁹ Ibid., 23-4.

citizens regardless of sex. Women had to obey laws and to pay taxes under that designation, and they should therefore be entitled to vote. The mayor of Paris' 10th arrondissement disagreed, however, pointing out that every judicial and administrative decision since 1789 had reserved political rights to the exclusive use of men. To alter that tradition would exceed the limits of his authority, he maintained, and until legislative reform brought change, les français would continue to exclude women from the franchise.

Auclert's Société denounced the mayor's ruling, comparing it to the doctrine of original sin and the pretensions of the French nobility, both of which assigned all or part of humanity to hereditary ignominy.⁴⁰ It also employed the ruling as the basis for another protest. In April 1880, Auclert informed the Prefect of the Seine that, having been denied representation, she would no longer submit to taxation:

Having wished to exercise my rights as a French citizen, having demanded during the revision period my inscription on the electoral lists, /the authorities/ have responded to me that 'the law confers rights only to men and not to women.'

I do not admit this exclusion en masse of ten million women, who have not been deprived of their civic rights by any judgment. In consequence, I leave to men, who arrogate to themselves the privilege of governing, arranging, and allotting the budgets, I leave to men the privilege of paying the taxes that they vote and divide to their liking.

Since I have no right to control the employment of my money, I no longer wish to give it. I do not wish to be an accomplice, by my acquiescence, in the vast exploitation that the masculine autocracy believes is its right to exercise in regard to women. I have no rights, therefore I have no obligations; I do not vote, I do not pay.⁴¹

Twenty women joined Auclert's protest.⁴² At least eight were widows; the rest were probably single like Auclert since husbands controlled

⁴⁰ Ibid., 24-5.

⁴¹ Ibid., 26.

⁴² Ibid., 27. Grinberg, Historique du Mouvement Suffragiste, 76. Auclert named eight of her fellow tax-strikers on 8 April 1880 in a

family finances. Most lived in Paris, though a few resided in Marseilles, Lyon, and Pont-Lieu. In the end all but three backed down when the authorities demanded payment. Auclert and two widows, Bonnaire and Leprou, held out, appealing to the Conseil de Préfecture and the Conseil d'État. Neither appeal succeeded. Auclert continued the protest until an officer of the court attempted to seize her furniture. Whereupon, having made her point, she paid the back taxes.⁴³ Subsequently, although French suffragists repeated the registration tactic, the advocates of women's liberation abandoned the tax strike.

"It would take too long to recall here," Auclert remarked at the time, "the noise that the demand for the inscription of women on the electoral lists made in the great Parisian press."⁴⁴ A later feminist confirmed that Auclert's "refusal to pay taxes particularly caused waves of ink to flow."⁴⁵ Predictably, hostility characterized much of the reaction, and the conservative Le Figaro caustically inquired if, after women, cattle would vote.⁴⁶ Yet, several journalists, including

press release: J. Coulassiez, Marie Chevassus (of Lyon), and six widows (Lodoue, Blondit, Marc, Rioux, Dupénet, and Jamier). Unidentified press clipping of 11 April 1880 at BMD, Dossier Auclert.

⁴³Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 11. This account by Auclert's sister indicates that Auclert paid the back taxes. Other accounts disagree. According to an official history of the International Council of Women, "Hubertine Auclert, future founder of the French Women's Suffrage Movement allowed her household goods to be seized by bailiffs rather than pay taxes in obedience to laws she had not voted." Le faucheur et al., Woman in a Changing World, 9-10. Clark maintained that Auclert went to prison rather than pay. Clark, The Position of Women in Contemporary France, 217. Auclert's tax bill came to 30 francs and 85 centimes based on her rent of 550 francs. The applicable law of 1852 exempted rents under 400 francs. Le Soleil, 12 August 1880. Widow Leprou had her furniture seized, according to La Citoyenne, 2-8 January 1882.

⁴⁴Auclert, Historique, 25.

⁴⁵Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 39.

⁴⁶Cited in Hubertine Auclert, Le Vote des Femmes, 107.

Auguste Vacquerie, Albert Delpit, and Henri Fouquier, rallied to Auclert.⁴⁷ Fouquier praised the tax strike as courageous, expressed agreement in principle with woman suffrage, but warned against rapid enfranchisement due to woman's lack of education.⁴⁸ Most surprising of all, however, was the conversion of Alexandre Dumas fils, who reversed his earlier stand and endorsed woman suffrage in Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent.⁴⁹

Dumas' about-face stemmed in part from Auclert's campaign, as well from another cause célèbre -- the trial and eventual acquittal of Madame du Tilly, who had bathed her husband's mistress in acid.⁵⁰ The vote, Dumas felt, would enable women to bring laws into line with changing values, thus stabilizing marriage. Once enfranchised, women would no longer have to resort to illegal and disruptive acts in order to protect their homes. With the ballot, they could perfect their roles as wives and mothers and provide society with a reinvigorated domestic base. They should not, however, exercise greater power, as distinct from greater influence. Family life constituted their "natural" sphere, and they would betray themselves, as well as the social order, if they aspired to hold office directly. Government ought to remain under the exclusive direction of men, Dumas concluded, because men alone defended it with their blood.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 39.

⁴⁸ Henri Fouquier, from an unidentified newspaper clipping of 30 July 1880 at BMD.

⁴⁹ Alexandre Dumas fils, Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent (Paris, 1880).

⁵⁰ Grinberg, Historique du Mouvement Suffragiste, 65.

⁵¹ Ibid.; Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 39-40.

Despite the essentially anti-feminist thrust of Dumas' opinions, Auclert welcomed his support. Several years later she went further and offered him the leadership of her Société. Dumas declined, declaring that "I would aid you more by remaining independent; if I accepted the presidency that you offer me, they would say to me: 'You are with Hubertine Auclert' . . . and I would no longer be heard at the Académie."⁵² Precisely what Dumas meant by "with Hubertine Auclert" is unclear, but perhaps it can be explained in part by an incident that occurred in April 1880. In that month, Auclert accompanied a wedding party to the mairie of the 10th arrondissement, the place where she had attempted to register two months before. Upon completion of the vows, she complimented the newlyweds for marrying in a civil ceremony and urged them to disregard the Code's subordination of the wife just as they had thrown off the shackles of the Church. Much ado followed until the Prefect of the Seine, critical of Auclert's lack of respect for the law, barred her from speaking at the mairie.⁵³ The ban lasted four years, but mattered little. For within a year of the Prefect's decree, Auclert found a more powerful means of propaganda. In February 1881 the first issue of La Citoyenne rolled off the presses.

The Founding of La Citoyenne

Auclert founded La Citoyenne with the aid of two attorneys, Léon Giraud and Antonin Lévrier. Giraud had a doctorate in law and a prolific pen, which he employed in his own name and under two pseudonyms,

⁵² Auclert, Le Vote des Femmes, 107.

⁵³ Ibid., 60-1.

Camille and Draigu.⁵⁴ Lévrier possessed a license in law and an interest in journalism. Both had participated in the 1878 Woman's Rights Congress. Of the two, Auclert worked more closely with Lévrier, who served as her legal counsel in the tax strike appeals of 1880 and 1881. He also excited in her an interest beyond woman's emancipation, and in 1888 they married. The timing of the nuptials coincided with Lévrier's appointment to a judgeship in Algeria. Auclert followed her husband to his new post, leaving one of her associates in charge of La Citoyenne. Four years later, after Lévrier's death, she returned to Paris, but by then La Citoyenne had passed out of her hands.⁵⁵ Its last issue appeared in November 1891.

La Citoyenne began as a weekly and nearly one-third of its 187 issues appeared the first year. Lack of money, the scourge of the French feminist press, forced it to switch to monthly publication in April 1882. Auclert tried to forestall the cutback by raising the subscription rate to ten francs from the original six, and by offering inducements. Semi-annual subscribers could receive a bottle of Pinaud perfume for five francs, half the regular price, and those willing to sign up for a full year could purchase a "superb revolver" for a

⁵⁴Giraud's works on women include: Le Roman de la femme chrétienne, étude historique avec une lettre-préface par Mlle Hubertine Auclert (Paris, 1880); Les Femmes et les libres-penseurs. Réponse à M. Benjamin Gastineau pour sa brochure "Les Femmes et les Prêtres." (Paris, 1880); Essai sur la condition des femmes en Europe et en Amérique (Paris, 1880); La Femme et la nouvelle loi sur le divorce (Paris, 1885); La Vérité sur la recherche de la Paternité (Paris, 1888); and Contradictions du Code Napoléon et nécessité de la réviser (Paris, 1889). He also wrote an account of the first feminist congress: Souvenirs du congrès pour le droit des femmes, tenu à Paris en août 1878 (Paris, 1879).

⁵⁵Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 42.

nominal eight francs.⁵⁶ Purchasers of the Christmas edition of 1881 got a free copy of l'Histoire de la Société le Droit des Femmes.⁵⁷ Auclert found it necessary to remind contributors, who had begun to ask for pay, that their articles represented an act of devotion, not a source of financial gain.⁵⁸ She herself doubled her output, as had Richer when faced with the same problem, by writing under a pseudonym, Jeanne Voittout.⁵⁹ But nothing, not even incorporation in February 1882, solved the money squeeze. The next 108 issues appeared monthly at an annual subscription rate of one and a half francs. Only in July 1889, when her successor devoted three editions to the second Woman's Rights Congress, and in 1891, when the new management brought it out fortnightly, did the publication tempo increase.

La Citoyenne might not have survived the first year, let alone a decade, had it not been for an elderly politician named Joseph de Gasté. Auclert early created a special fund "for the propagation of the journal," but donations came infrequently and in small amounts. Then in May 1881 Auclert sent a questionnaire on woman's rights to each deputy. De Gasté, who had just introduced Deraismes' proposal for the commercante vote in the Chamber, responded affirmatively with the first of a series of fifty and one-hundred franc gifts. Altogether, he gave close to ten thousand francs, a boon Auclert attempted to repay by repeatedly supporting his reelection. Others also gave, but in 1889, for example, de Gasté

⁵⁶ La Citoyenne, 29 May 1881.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 19-25 December 1881.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 11-18 September 1881.

⁵⁹ Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 42.

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donated 1200 francs of the 1358 collected in the special fund.⁶⁰ Little wonder that Auclert's successor dubbed him the John Stuart Mill of France.⁶¹

De Gasté's generosity, which earned him a reputation for eccentricity in the Chamber, contrasted sharply with the passivity of most Frenchwomen. Auclert could count on her group to support La Citoyenne, particularly after she raised yearly dues from three to five francs to include the monthly subscription cost.⁶² She also found some support in the provinces. A speaking engagement at Nîmes in the spring of 1884, for example, netted 220 francs in donations and one hundred new readers.⁶³ But most women remained indifferent, lacking in courage and paralyzed by fear of ridicule. John Brown died in 1859 because Blacks failed to follow him, Auclert complained upon her return from Nîmes; how many françaises were making the same mistake?⁶⁴ Liberty required financial sacrifice, she asserted later in the year, drawing attention to the death of an "archimillionnaire" who had subscribed to La Citoyenne but left no money to the cause.⁶⁵

At the beginning of La Citoyenne's fourth year, Auclert created a second group called the Cercle le Suffrage des Femmes. Similar in name to her other organization, which the year before had become the Société le Suffrage des Femmes, the Cercle reflected perhaps the influx of a

⁶⁰La Citoyenne, 1889.

⁶¹Ibid., June 1890.

⁶²Ibid., January 1885.

⁶³Ibid., February 1884.

⁶⁴Ibid., April 1884.

⁶⁵Ibid., December 1885.

new and higher class of supporters. De Gasté belonged to it, but its prime mover was a wealthy young Russian woman, Mademoiselle Marie de Kapcevitich. It may also have originated as a result of the collapse of Auclert's projected Société Nationale le Suffrage des Femmes, which never got beyond the planning stage. The Cercle initially met at 31 rue Paradis-Poissonnière, a few blocks from Auclert's residence, but ran afoul of an unsympathetic landlord, who tore down its posters and ordered it to move. Finally in November 1885, thanks to Kapcevitich, it found new headquarters at 8 Galerie Bergère in the southeastern corner of the 9th arrondissement.⁶⁶ The Société le Suffrage des Femmes began to meet there as well, and between them the two groups provided activists for La Citoyenne's cause.

The Case for Woman Suffrage

La Citoyenne was an organ of l'assaut. In theory it aspired to print all things of interest to women, but in practice it relentlessly and singlemindedly pressed for woman's political rights.⁶⁷ When less sweeping proposals found their way into its pages, Auclert hastened to point out that piecemeal efforts would no longer be necessary once women had the vote. In contrast to the "Old School," which restricted its program to "le droit fractionné," Auclert conceived La Citoyenne as the voice of the "Young School," whose goal was "le droit intégral." In the past, feminists had waited for male legislators to grant their demands, she explained, but now the time had come for women to capture power

⁶⁶ Ibid., 4 December 1882 - 7 January 1883; 5 February - 4 March 1883; February 1884; March 1884; April 1884; November 1885.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 6 March 1881.

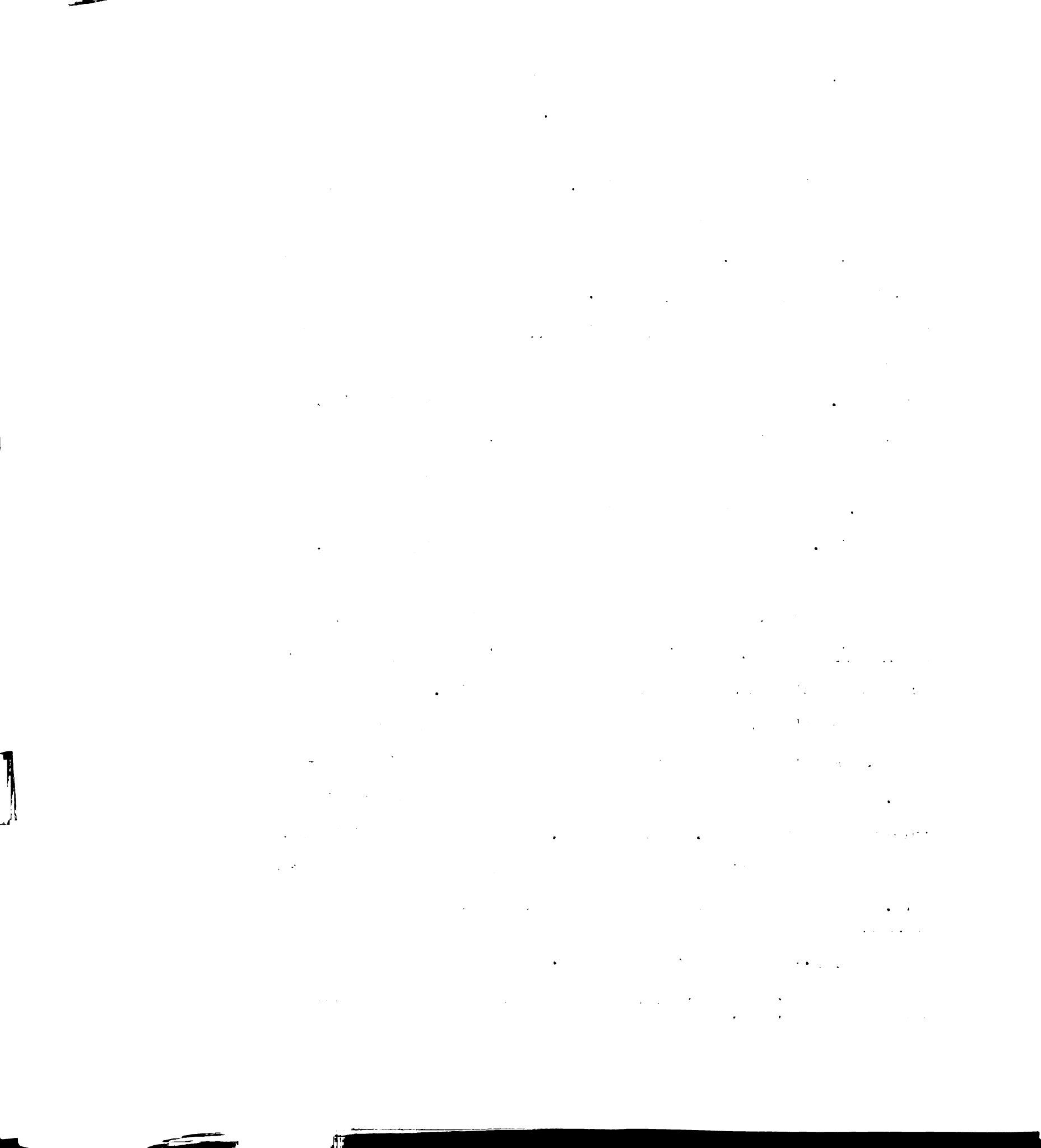
themselves. The age of beggars pleading for alms had given way to that of creditors claiming their legitimate due.⁶⁸

In pursuit of woman's "legitimate due," Auclert capitalized on one of France's most liberal press laws. Promulgated in July 1881, the new regulation permitted almost anyone to direct a newspaper -- Maria Deraismes, for example, took advantage of it to create a political journal, the Républicain de Seine-et-Oise. But more important to Auclert was the decriminalization of délits d'opinion, printed statements "inciting to hatred and contempt of the government or outrages against the government."⁶⁹ Thus freed to attack with impunity the constitution, laws, and beliefs that subordinated woman to man, Auclert proceeded to elaborate arguments that would serve three generations of French suffragists. Subsequent activists tended more than Auclert to accentuate the positive. They also abandoned much of La Citoyenne's virulence, partly because moderates eventually adopted suffrage as the primary feminist objective. But despite changes in emphasis and rhetoric, La Citoyenne's sweeping, assertive defense of woman's political rights reduced later suffrage advocates to the status of mimics.

Auclert's defense of woman suffrage drew on two interrelated themes, the welfare of society and the freedom of its individual members. The Republican ideal would forever remain an empty abstraction unless women shared power, she maintained. Sovereignty was indivisible; the strength of a nation depended on the total participation of all citizens. Until all adults possessed the right to vote, French democracy

⁶⁸ Ibid., 5 February - 4 March 1883.

⁶⁹ Roger L. Williams, Henri Rochefort: Prince of the Gutter Press (New York, 1966), 176.



would never function properly. The time had come to say fini to elections that were little more than "public comedies" in which "the feudal noblemen of the nineteenth century" chose "557 monarchs" to sit in the Chamber of Deputies. If France refused to jettison its male "royalty of sex," Auclert predicted, revolution would once again stalk the land.⁷⁰

Several aspects of French political life in the 1880's reinforced Auclert's case. She pounced on males who abstained from voting as an illustration of the demoralizing effect of a truncated electorate. Women naturally paid little attention to politics since they lacked the vote, she claimed, and as a result men refused to take elections seriously. Wives also wanted their husbands with them on Sundays, the traditional French election day, which further discouraged men from voting. Deputy Letellier of Algiers had proposed the obligatory vote, Auclert acknowledged, but that reform would not alone improve the Republic because suffrage, the machine of progress, required two motors: the male and the female. Therefore, the only certain cure for political apathy was to enfranchise women, which would eliminate abstentions by making politics a subject of family discussion. Woman suffrage was not, however, the only way of providing the family with a larger political role. In the fall of 1881 a retired chief engineer suggested that male heads of households should receive additional votes for their wives and children. Auclert objected to the idea, but conceded that, in contrast to the obligatory male vote, the so-called family vote at least recognized the non-representation of women.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Ibid., 20 February 1881; 6 May - 4 June 1881; 2 July - 6 August 1882; 6 August - 3 September 1882; 6 November - 5 December 1882; January 1885.

⁷¹ Ibid., 4 September 1881; 11-18 September 1881; February 1889.

Auclert also made use of the continuing controversy over the nature of electoral districts and the make-up of the legislature. Radical republicans, led by Léon Gambetta, hoped to replace single member constituencies, scrutins d'arrondissement, with larger districts, scrutins de liste, composed of several deputies. Auclert endorsed the reform on the grounds that it would subordinate personalities to issues and permit male feminists to protest against female disenfranchisement by writing in women's names for all available seats. She did not, however, expect it to repair the body politic; no amount of tinkering could compensate for the exclusion of half the population. When France tried the system in the election of 1885, Auclert noted that not only did the scrutin de liste cost women more -- an extra 303,008 francs for twenty-seven additional deputies -- but defenders of the Republic nearly lost their majority. Had reactionaries attracted another 337,000 votes, La Citoyenne charged, they would have killed democracy without the consent of half the nation.⁷²

Debate over constitutional reform served Auclert too; though, as with electoral reform, she held that no advance would result unless women participated. Suffrage restricted to males, not the limited electoral base of the Senate or the lack of Parisian autonomy, caused France's problems. In their present masculine form, Auclert explained, both Senate and Chamber violated the spirit of true republicanism. Order required either despotism or universal suffrage, and so long as only men voted there would always be "too many or not enough kings." Man's sense of superiority had raised him to such lofty heights, Auclert charged, that he had lost sight of the realities of life. An enfranchised

⁷² Ibid., 22 May 1881; April 1885; November 1885.

womanhood would restore honesty, hard work, and dignity to the nation. Woman suffrage would insure that fundamental decisions emanated from the sane atmosphere of the home, not from the alcoholic vapors of the cabaret.⁷³

While Auclert found it relatively easy to join the general chorus of complaint about French political life, it was quite another thing to convince anyone that woman suffrage would improve the situation. She could do little to convert the large minority who rejected the idea of mass suffrage regardless of its sex composition. This minority included most of the political right, as well as Madame Adam and Clémence Royer, who wished to see women in high office, but within the framework of an elitist system that clashed with Auclert's democratic beliefs. She therefore appealed primarily to republicans who had fought for and still believed in manhood suffrage, hoping that they would transfer to the cause of women the sense of injustice that had led them to demand the vote for men. From the outset, however, Auclert recognized that republicans fell into two camps. One adamantly refused to make the transfer; the other accepted it but urged delay.

Those who rejected Auclert's attempt to evoke an identification between man's previous political servitude and woman's contemporary condition usually subscribed to certain a priori notions about woman's nature. They were the men, according to Auclert, who wrote "equality" on the walls of Paris, but denied women the vote because of assumptions about sex roles. Duty imposed a variety of roles on people, Auclert

⁷³Ibid., 7 - 13 November 1881; 2 April - 6 May 1883; October 1884; December 1885; June 1886; December 1887. For a synopsis of these and the other arguments advanced by Auclert in support of woman suffrage, see her Le Vote des femmes and Les Femmes au Gouvernement.

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observed, but no duty implied the loss of inherent rights. To deny the vote to women for keeping house and raising children made no more sense than to disenfranchise bakers for kneading dough, cobblers for making shoes, or lawyers for pleading cases. Except for childbirth, all aptitudes existed independent of sex, and women had a taste for legislating just as men had a taste for cooking. Indeed, woman's acknowledged superiority in the home and the importance of home and family life to French society raised the possibility that women might become better politicians than men. Women and men frequently engaged in the same tasks, such as writing and farming, and when their jobs differed, society benefited from the resultant specialization. No one performed a duty so low as to jeopardize inherent rights. Nor would women become ugly if they exercised such rights. Happiness, not slavery, produced beauty, and with suffrage women could only become more attractive.⁷⁴

One of the chief "role" objections to woman suffrage centered on man's military obligation; because women did not fight they should not vote. To Auclert, this argument amounted to nothing less than making a civilized right dependent on barbarous conduct. No one could deny that men paid a blood tax, Auclert admitted, but what of woman's maternity tax? More women died in childbirth for creation than men on the battlefield for destruction. Reproduction had no seasons, and if wars were to cease, as Auclert confidently predicted, women would continue to run the risks of procreation. Women could fight, of course, as Jeanne d'Arc had demonstrated in the fifteenth century and the Fernay sisters during the revolution of 1789; but adding the blood tax to woman's already heavy burden would unnecessarily aggravate France's depopulation problem. No,

⁷⁴La Citoyenne, 8 May 1881; 19-25 February 1882; April 1884.

Auclert cried, women should no more have to fight in order to vote than men should have to give birth. Besides, many men displayed a marked reluctance to serve in the military. Prior to 1848, any male who could had bought his way out of the army. Later, so many students, teachers, clerics, and sickly escaped that fewer than half the annual recruits saw duty. In the Seine Department alone, she pointed out, exemptions let off sixty percent of the young men in 1883. Yet, regardless of whether they served or not, all men -- except for those on active duty -- enjoyed the right to vote. In the absence of woman suffrage, this practice could effect no other result than the perpetuation of domestic and international strife.⁷⁵

As with all La Citoyenne's propaganda, Auclert drew heavily on contemporary incidents to bolster her attack against the militarist objection to woman suffrage. Soon after publication began, France launched an invasion of Tunisia reminiscent of the "criminal chauvinism" that had brought war in 1870. Had women sat in the Chamber of Deputies, Auclert claimed, they would have prevented the invasion because, unlike men, their dreams do not rest on mountains of dead. African barbarians might benefit from Western ideals, but never through conquest -- which wasted lives for war-mongering financiers -- and not by France so long as it persisted in treating women in an uncivilized manner. Ongoing conflict in Algeria, Senegal, and Tunisia also provided Auclert with an opportunity to propose a national nursing corps, whose purpose was not so much humanitarian or patriotic as a device to force men to recognize woman's value. But a three-month campaign involving two letters (one hand delivered) to the War Ministry and a personal visit by Auclert brought

⁷⁵Ibid., 20 March 1881; 6 August - 2 September 1883.



only bureaucratic run around and outright rejection in December 1881. French intervention into Indochina three years later gave La Citoyenne another chance to attack man's criminal chauvinism. If women had political rights, Auclert asserted, they would apply to the imperialist premier Jules Ferry the policy of a former Chinese Empress who had stopped a war by ordering her generals into the front line.⁷⁶

After the Franco-German war scare of 1887, Auclert altered tack somewhat, urging France to prepare for the anticipated conflict by granting equal rights to women. She called on Frenchmen to show war-minded Germans that sex discrimination no longer disunited the nation. France must add women's names to voting lists alongside the "Schwartzs," expatriate Prussian males of dubious loyalty whose sex alone would qualify them for the French franchise. Woman suffrage would rekindle French patriotism, she declared, just as institutrices kept French culture alive in Alsace. It would also prevent repetitions of "immorality" such as the 1891 Paris performance of Wagner's Lohengrin, whose composer once spit in the face of vanquished France. Beyond its effect on the great issues of war and peace, the immorality of male militarism also provoked "incidents" on the domestic scene. Shortly after the new year 1882, for example, a suicide occurred near the garrison of Vosges. The victim, a seventeen-year-old girl, had taken her life after the officer who seduced her refused marriage. Seduction was always wrong in Auclert's eyes, and she assailed the military for limiting the officer's punishment to retirement for scandal. But the marriage refusal itself stemmed from the fact that the girl's parents were too poor to pay the

⁷⁶ Ibid., 17 April 1881; 8 May 1881; 19-25 September 1881; 12-18 December 1881; September 1884.

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dowry required by army regulations -- 28,000 francs in the case of a second lieutenant. Low salaries prevented officers from supporting penniless wives, Auclert admitted, but the solution to the problem was simple -- the military should enroll women to perform duties such as nursing, accounting, sewing, and cooking. Officers could then marry their auxiliaries in arms, who would continue to work in order to supplement their husbands' salaries. With the ranks open to women, recruitment would also become easier, military costs could be cut by eliminating middlemen, and above all army morality would improve through reducing recourse to seduction.⁷⁷

More frustrating to Auclert than the a priori objections to woman suffrage were the hesitations premised on considerations of timeliness. Some republicans agreed that women as a group constituted the latest oppressed constituency, acknowledging the justice of Auclert's demand. But in practice they maintained that the hour had not yet arrived to translate her proposal into law. They perceived woman as intellectually and politically backward, with neither the education nor the experience requisite for the franchise. They conceded that time would correct woman's deficiencies, but for the moment they refused to support a further expansion of the electorate. Rather than benefit French democracy, proponents of delay repeatedly stressed, immediate enactment of woman suffrage would bring about its downfall. Besides, they claimed, few women outside Auclert's small band displayed any great desire to vote in the first place.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 9-15 January 1882; 16-22 January 1882; December 1887; 1 November 1891.

Auclert responded to these objections by pointing out that not all males wanted the vote when manhood suffrage became law in 1848, nor were they well educated or politically experienced at that time. But once enacted, manhood suffrage acquired legitimacy through practice, just as woman suffrage would. Men made it difficult for woman to overcome her backwardness; girls' schools lacked funds and adult women could not legally attend political rallies. But all that was beside the point, Auclert stressed. Suffrage should be construed as the means, not the reward, for acquiring public knowledge.⁷⁸ Serious contact with administrative and legislative matters constituted the best political pedagogy. In short, "women must vote in order to be able to educate themselves."⁷⁹

In reaction to the oft-repeated accusation that woman suffrage would fortify the Church, Auclert blamed men for having turned France into a "vast monastery." Men always propped up their despotic institutions with religion, she charged, the better to enslave women. Men let priests vote and voted for priests; men also opened each legislative session with an obligatory prayer and appropriated funds for the Church. Men even sent ambassadors to the Pope. When the anti-clerical Jules Ferry visited Leo XIII in 1885, Auclert wrote that she could hear the Holy Pontiff excusing his errant parishoner for having married a Protestant in a lay ceremony:

I know, my son, that you have been badly counselled by your concubine; the devil haunts the spirit of this woman who lives with you without having gone before our holy altars; calm yourself, it is against this free thinker, who has badly advised you, that are directed the thunderbolts of the Church.⁸⁰

⁷⁸Ibid., 8 May 1881.

⁷⁹Ibid., 10 April 1881.

⁸⁰Ibid., May 1885.

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Men could practice religion and still vote, so why should women forfeit their political rights for worshipping? "All these illogisms are stupefying to human reason," Auclert snorted, especially when universal suffrage would cure woman's addiction to clericalism.⁸¹ Once enfranchised, Auclert predicted, women would involve themselves in public affairs and adopt scientific and rational ideas. Freed from their endless domestic routine, they would abandon religious escapism and devote themselves to civic duties. Armed with the vote, women would no longer resort to prayer.⁸²

Moreover, for every potential misfortune ascribed to woman suffrage, Auclert cited dozens of actual disasters attributable to its absence. Male negligence, for example, had caused the deaths of twenty people when a bullfight arena collapsed near Marseilles in 1881, and the loss of ten times that number in the 1887 fire at Paris' Opéra-Comique.⁸³ Detached from practical problems familiar to women, men had also permitted the Seine to become polluted, which caused an outbreak of typhoid fever in the late 1880's.⁸⁴ Prior to the divorce law of 1884, Auclert blamed "criminal senators" for murders and maimings born of marital passions and infidelities. And throughout La Citoyenne's decade, down to the paternity suit law of 1912, she held male lawgivers responsible for infanticides:

The culpable one is the legislator who, in order to keep his seductor's passport, much prefers to preserve infanticide,

⁸¹Ibid., 3 April 1881.

⁸²Ibid.

⁸³Ibid., 21 August 1881.

⁸⁴Ibid., July 1887.

rather than permit a paternity search. It is with justice that a philosopher has said that one must attribute daily, to each deputy, the death of a hundred new born or about-to-be-born infants.⁸⁵

Men possessed great expertise in applying principles selectively whenever it suited their ends, Auclert pointed out. They used woman's testimony to send criminals to the scaffold but refused to permit her to witness certificates of birth or marriage.⁸⁶ They prized woman's maternal instinct but reserved the administration of public assistance, welfare, and childcare to themselves. "If one were paid for bringing children into the world," Auclert wrote in 1883, "I truly believe that men would find the means to monopolize the job."⁸⁷ When the Municipal Council of Paris censured the Prefect of Police in 1881 for misuse of city money, it never considered the fact that women had no control over the taxes they paid. When five years later the government expelled a group of royalists for attempting to usurp power, it paid no heed at all to how all men had become usurpers in relationship to women. Men could even enlarge the electorate, as in 1889 when they re-enfranchised wine and food merchants previously convicted of fraud, but never see that women needed the vote as much as ex-criminals. Indeed, from Auclert's point of view, no man could style himself a democrat unless he stood for woman suffrage. He who opposed the rights of woman, Auclert pronounced, would sooner or later attack the rights of man.⁸⁸

⁸⁵Cited in Marie Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 18-19.

⁸⁶La Citoyenne, 12-18 March 1882.

⁸⁷Ibid., 7 May - 3 June 1883.

⁸⁸Ibid., 3 April 1881; 24-30 October 1881; July 1886; March 1889.

La Citoyenne employed several mottoes during its decade. The first, lifted from positivist Émile Littré, defined the woman citizen as a person who possessed "le droit de cité" in the state.⁸⁹ Another, taken from Dumas files, optimistically forecast that "before ten years women will be electors like men."⁹⁰ A third described the liberated woman as one "who enjoys the integrality of her rights and is irreproachable in the accomplishment of her duties."⁹¹ But the best expression of Auclert's objective relied more on visual effect. For years La Citoyenne ran a cartoon depicting two voters standing beside a ballot box. One, a man, held a vote marked "war." The other, a woman, held a ballot marked "peace." The caption stated what sight made obvious -- peace, social harmony, and humanity's well-being would exist only when women helped men make laws.⁹²

Expanding the Assault

From the outset, Auclert had no intention of confining l'assaut to words. Propaganda might heighten the determination of the faithful, but only action could attract new recruits and bring the plight of women to the public's attention. To this end Auclert employed La Citoyenne to inform her readers about books on the woman question, newspaper opinion, politicians' attitudes, and domestic and foreign feminist activities. And then, on the basis of this information, she urged sympathizers "to dare and to resist" -- dare to claim woman's rights and resist unjust

⁸⁹Ibid., 13 February 1881.

⁹⁰Ibid., 5-11 February 1881.

⁹¹Ibid., 7 January - 4 February 1883.

⁹²Ibid.

laws. Respecting legality, she explained, meant submission to the arbitrary whims of masculinisme. Except for violence, which man's superior physical strength rendered useless, all means were legitimate. With freedom at stake, slaves could not afford to observe traditional loyalties.⁹³

La Citoyenne regularly critiqued the latest in printed opinion on the woman question. Books that won its endorsement included Draigu's Le Roman de la femme chrétienne, with a preface by Auclert; Les Droits de la femme by Jean-Louis Vaisse, a politician from Toulouse; and Deputy Yves Guyot's La Prostitution, Études de physiologie sociale. Tracts that drew La Citoyenne's wrath included Doctor Icard's La Femme pendant la période menstruelle, which linked menstruation to pyromania and other female psychic disorders.⁹⁴

Analyses of the press loomed even larger in La Citoyenne's columns. Auclert and her collaborators cited over three dozen newspapers by name during the period 1881 to 1891. Some, like La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, Le Voltaire, and La Presse, displayed open hostility to woman's rights. Others proved more sympathetic, such as the Radical Dépêche de Toulouse and Prosper Lissagaray's socialist Bataille. Still others vacillated. The Petit National, for example, praised La Citoyenne

⁹³Ibid., 2-8 January 1882.

⁹⁴Ibid., (in order of appearance) 20 March 1881; 10 April 1881; 4 September - 1 October 1882; April 1890. La Citoyenne also endorsed F.-C.-P. d'Esterno's La Femme envisagée au point de vue naturaliste, spiritualiste, philosophique, providentiel, Angély Feutre's Contre le mariage actuel, tout en faveur des enfants (Paris, 1882), Bebel's La Femme dans le passé, le présent, et l'avenir, Louis Bridel's La Femme et le droit, and the chapter on women in Charles Secretan's Les Droits de l'humanité, see respectively: La Citoyenne, 6 November - 5 December 1882; April 1885; 1 June 1891; 1 March 1891.

as a model of journalism but abhorred its woman suffrage objective. Le Gaulois' Guy de Maupassant limited his support to La Citoyenne's critique of marriage. Le Figaro endorsed political rights for women on the grounds that expanding the electorate could hardly make things worse. Indeed, it said, the proposal had more merit than its principal proponent; single women in particular should vote, but Auclert's behavior could only jeopardize their enfranchisement. The poles of the press debate on woman's liberation found expression in Alphonse Laffitte's reiteration of Fourier's dictum about women's status and social progress in L'Opinion and Monsieur Delaunay's reverse contention in La Revue Scientifique. Regardless of the specific pros and cons, however, Auclert sensed a growing awareness of her campaign in the press, and, in addition to Alexandre Dumas fils, she could count on support from La Rappel's Auguste Vacquerie, La Paris' Albert Delpit,⁹⁵ Le National's Paul Foucher, Le XIXe Siècle's Henri Fouquier, and La Revue Philosophique's Charles Secretan, a Swiss correspondent of the Institut de France.⁹⁶

The relationship of opinion to power also prompted Auclert to explore the world of politics. Shortly after La Citoyenne's birth, Auclert sent a questionnaire on woman's rights to every deputy. Only two responded affirmatively, Joseph de Gasté and Alfred Talandier.⁹⁷

⁹⁵The faithful could waver, however, and in 1885 Delpit wrote in Le Figaro that citizenship had not been extended to women in ancient times and that to enact woman suffrage under contemporary conditions would produce a grotesque mixed legislature. For that, Auclert branded him "Delpit -- L'Apostat." La Citoyenne, March 188 .

⁹⁶La Citoyenne, (in order of appearance) September 1884; August 1885; May 1886; November 1884; 5-11 December 1881; 2 July - 6 August 1882; 12-18 March 1882; 26 September - 2 October 1881.

⁹⁷Ibid., 29 May 1881. Unlike the highly independent de Gasté, Talandier sat on the extreme left of the Chamber where Auclert often found supporters. Born at Limoges in 1822 into a family of magistrates and soldiers, Talandier obtained a law degree in 1844. Caught up in the

Shortly thereafter, the national elections of 1881 returned a third feminist, Clovis Hugues.⁹⁸ In addition to these three, whose terms in the Chamber did not completely coincide, Auclert could count on perhaps a dozen deputies at most. Among them were: Jean-Louis Vaisse, author of Les Droits de la femme; Sigismond Lacroix (1883-1889), a Pole who eventually abandoned politics to devote himself to French Revolutionary history; Severiano de Hérédia (1881-1889), a Cuban whose electoral success Auclert hoped would not result in "platonic feminism;" Paul Eugène Delattre (1881-1889), a horticulturist and a Radical; and Yves Guyot

revolutionary fervor of 1848, he suffered a two year imprisonment at Poitiers followed by eighteen years of exile in England. After the collapse of the Second Empire in September 1870, he returned to France where he continued to pursue a variety of causes. Disciple of Pierre Leroux and friend of Louis Blanc, Talandier played an active role in Freemasonry, the International, and the cooperative movement. His political career included a two year stint on the Paris Municipal Council, 1874-1876, and nine in the Chamber, 1876-1885. He shared Auclert's aversion to Opportunism as well as her interest in lay education and amnesty for the Communards. Perhaps his most notable service to Auclert's cause came in 1883, when he sought to bring her petition for woman's municipal suffrage to the floor of the Chamber. Jean Maitron, ed., Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement ouvrier français, IX, 170-71.

⁹⁸ In contrast to 48ers like Talandier and Louis Blanc, Hugues represented a new generation of socialists. Born in 1851 at Menerbes (Vaucluse), he grew up in Marseilles where his outspoken support for the Paris Commune earned him four years in prison. Six years after his release, with a narrow electoral defeat behind him, he began a career in the Chamber that, except for a brief retirement between 1889 and 1893, lasted until 1906. An independent, he helped organize the first socialist caucus in the Chamber in 1886. The caucus included at least two other feminists, Charles Laisant (Loire-Inférieure 1876-1885, Seine 1885-1893) and Michelin, who accepted honorary membership in Auclert's Cercle in January 1886. In addition to politics, Hugues wrote poems, novels, and plays, which brought him the patronage of Victor Hugo. Perhaps his chief service to feminism during La Citoyenne's decade came in the summer of 1882, when he drew the Chamber's attention to Auclert's thousand-signature petition for woman suffrage. Alexandre Zévaès, Ombres et silhouettes: Notes, Mémoires, et Souvenirs (Paris, 1928), 213-43. Jean Jolly, ed., Dictionnaire des parlementaires français (6 vols., Paris, 1970), VI, 1975.

(1885-1893), moderate Radical and ardent free-trader. Guyot, author of La Prostitution, particularly endeared himself to Auclert because he alone of Paris' Radical-Socialist candidates in 1881 included sex equality in his platform. He lost that year, as did several other "secret" advocates of woman's rights, but it seems unlikely that anti-feminists caused his defeat.⁹⁹ Indeed, on only one occasion during the 1880's did a candidate attribute his loss to a stand on sex rights. Auclert's companion Lévrier charged early in 1881 that the press refused to endorse his bid in the 6th arrondissement due to his support for La Citoyenne's program, and on election eve a virulent affiche attacked his views. However, as the nominee of the minor Parti de l'Autonomie Communale, Lévrier probably had no chance of success in any case.¹⁰⁰

The feminist contingent in the Senate was even smaller. In the upper house of the French legislature, only Victor Hugo, Alfred Naquet, Victor Schoelcher, Émile Deschanel, and Jean Macé evinced regular interest in woman's rights, and all five preferred the Deraismes-Richer line to that of Auclert. More promising than either national body were local councils. An original member of La Citoyenne's committee, Pierre Leroux's son-in-law Auguste Desmoulins, who had been proscribed in 1851 like Talandier, won a seat on Paris' Municipal Council in late 1881.¹⁰¹ By the end of the decade, nine incumbent councillors had endorsed woman's rights in their platforms.¹⁰² At the department level, the

⁹⁹ La Citoyenne, 17-23 October 1881. Digeon at Narbonne and Gambon at Nièvre were feminists who made it to ballotage but lost. Ibid., 28 August 1881.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 28 November - 4 December 1881; 19-25 December 1881.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 26 December 1881 - 1 January 1882.

¹⁰² Ibid., June 1887.

General Council of the Seine also included a relatively large number of feminists. In 1885 Auclert petitioned the Council for a resolution in favor of woman suffrage. Thirty-seven voted against the idea after its rapporteur, Georges Berry, vehemently attacked it, but eleven cast their ballots in favor.¹⁰³ More important than the outcome, however, was the fact that at last an elected group had brought the issue to a vote, something the Chamber and Senate had studiously avoided. As a result, although Auclert never gave up on the national legislature, she increasingly turned to local political bodies. Through them she hoped to pressure Senators and Deputies into taking suffrage seriously. In 1907, twenty-two years after her initial request, the General Council of the Seine reversed its 1885 decision and endorsed woman's municipal suffrage. After that the precedent gained ground, and in the years immediately preceding the First World War over two dozen councils at the department, municipal, and arrondissement level passed resolutions in favor of the reform.

Despite the eventual conversion of many politicians to woman suffrage, opponents continued to outnumber supporters. Auclert was more than willing to employ La Citoyenne on behalf of any feminist candidate, but avowed advocates of woman's rights were scarce. Much easier to identify were the outright opponents and, in some cases, the backsliders. The latter were few in number, but Auclert's warning to de Hérédia against "platonic feminism" illustrates the problem. Not until 1885, four years after La Citoyenne's founding, did the Chamber hold its first debate on woman suffrage. Its initiator, Deputy Pièye (Gard) performed a "brave act," but where, Auclert asked, had the other suffrage

¹⁰³Ibid., January 1886.

advocates been all these years?¹⁰⁴ Even Deputy Michelin, an honorary member of Auclert's Cercle, had betrayed the cause. He first failed to press for woman's right to vote in the conseils de prud'hommes, elected committees that oversaw labor disputes, and then, in 1888, he proposed constitutional revision without providing for woman's participation.¹⁰⁵

Among outright opponents cited by La Citoyenne in 1881, two had earlier shown sympathy for woman's plight. Eugène Pelletan, one of "the five" republicans under the Second Empire and a vice president of the Senate until his death in 1885, refused to take a stand on woman suffrage despite the liberal attitude of his essay on La Mère.¹⁰⁶ Jules Simon, whose Ouvrière had revealed the misery of working women, drew criticism for asserting the need for masculine dominance within the family.¹⁰⁷ Simon also exercised a decisive and deleterious influence on education reform. The wholly inadequate law creating girls' secondary schools bore the name of Camille Sée, Auclert pointed out, but Sée had entered the Chamber under Simon's protection and could hardly have ideas larger than his mentor's.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁴Ibid., April 1885.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., December 1888.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 26 June 1881. Despite Pelletan's refusal to promote woman's rights actively, La Citoyenne's obituary praised him for his republicanism and for his interest in revising the Code. La Citoyenne, January 1885.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., January 1885.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., 3 July 1881. Perhaps the worst of the political opponents of woman suffrage was Henri Brisson, a vice president of the Chamber, who wielded his influence on behalf of anti-divorce clericals. He apparently led an unblemished personal life, however, because Senator Camparau's opposition to divorce earned him La Citoyenne's exposure as an adulterer. La Citoyenne, April 1884. Nonetheless, Brisson's delay of Naquet's divorce bill led Lévrier to charge him with complicity

The Sée reform especially angered Auclert because it created a false impression of progress. To believe, Auclert charged, that this "sterile law" represented a new level of equality in France was a "profound error: before, as after the law's promulgation, the status quo continues for women." Women will obtain a useless "honorary diploma" upon graduation, which will stifle their aspirations to higher education and profitable careers. The worthless diploma will also alienate parents:

Those who are rich will prefer to give their daughters, through particular professors, the knowledge required by the University for a bachelor's degree. Those who are less fortunate will not bother to assume the sacrifice. . . . /Instead/ they will make sacrifices in order to provide a dowry for them.

Moreover, the new law placed a heavy financial burden on departments. If its sponsors had sincerely wished to improve women's education, they would have voted two billion francs immediately, or, preferably, opened boys' schools to girls. In a co-educational system, "the children, receiving the same substantial education from infancy, would have shared their mutual qualities: the rude nature of man would have taken on something of the soft character of woman, the woman would have acquired from man the energy that her nature lacks." Seated alongside each other, the two sexes would have become comrades, "respectful of each other and no longer the two enemies who they are today."¹⁰⁹

in every marital murder and to urge the voters of Saint-Denis and Saint-Martin to defeat him. La Citoyenne, 7 August 1881. In a similar political intervention, Auclert embarrassed a socialist's bid for the Chamber in 1881 by pointing out that, in addition to being "an enemy of women's rights," he had served as MacMahon's doctor during the seize mai crisis. La Citoyenne, 19-25 December 1881.

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Marie Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 35-40.

Of all the potential and actual office holders during La Citoyenne's decade, however, the most disappointing to Auclert's small band of suffragists was Léon Gambetta. Auclert credited Gambetta with saving France in 1870 and the Republic during the seize mai crisis. But once in power, he had done nothing to prevent the exclusion of half the citizenry from politics, thus "besmirching his system with sterility." He had failed to recognize, despite high-flown rhetoric to the contrary, that the French nation comprised both men and women. La Citoyenne had frequently supported him, Auclert recalled, but in return Gambetta had "opportunistically" betrayed women by blocking their demands in the Chamber and by dragging his feet on divorce. During his brief premiership, he had also rejected Auclert's advice to appoint women to the ministries of agriculture and beaux-arts. Instead of full human representation, all the more necessary because women represented a numerical majority, he turned the Republic over to a masculine coterie, which made politics a game and retarded the day of social well-being. Only in death, which struck prematurely in 1883, did he lend support to Auclert's cause. Ignorant men had long reinforced their sexist prejudices with false criteria, La Citoyenne noted, but an autopsy revealed that Gambetta, whose intelligence was universally acknowledged, possessed a brain no larger than a woman's.¹¹⁰

Outside literary and governmental circles, there existed additional barometers of feminist sentiment: parties and organizations. As early as 1868, the second Congrès de la Ligue pour la Paix et la Liberté

¹¹⁰ La Citoyenne, 7 January - 4 February 1883; 22 May 1881; 7 August 1881; 21 August 1881; 21-27 November 1881; 5-11 February 1882; 5 February - 4 March 1883.

had endorsed sex equality.¹¹¹ Over the next two decades a wide spectrum of groups officially committed themselves to similar stands: the Congrès Anticlerical of 1881, which chose Deraismes and Royer as vice presidents; the Republican Reunion of 1881, which praised women for courageous opposition to Louis Napoleon; and the Ligue du Bien Public in 1882. Women also won brief admission into Masonry, through Deraismes' short-lived induction at Pecq in 1882, and more permanent representation in the Cercle Républicain Progressiste of Normandy, one of several Paris-based organizations that promoted provincial interests in the capital. Organized free-thinkers dragged their feet at first, but in 1883 Auclert announced their conversion to woman suffrage in an article entitled "L'Ostacle Supprimé."¹¹²

More problematical was the attitude of "organized" socialists. In the immediate aftermath of the 1879 Marseilles Congress, Auclert played an instrumental role in founding a Paris section of the Party, and one of her Société's lieutenants, Citoyenne Keva, became its treasurer. Keva then helped organize the second national Socialist Congress, held at Havre in 1880, but during its proceedings she inexplicably sided with the mutualists (reformist Proudhonians) in opposition to the dominant Guesdists. As a result, the Paris Union Fédérative du Centre expelled Auclert's Société, isolating its eighteen dues-paying members from further direct participation in the workers' movement. Auclert managed to maintain her ties with several prominent socialist feminists,

¹¹¹Tixerant, "Le Mouvement féministe sous le second Empire," 3.

¹¹²La Citoyenne, 22 May 1881; 7 August 1881; 21 August 1881; 21-27 November 1881; 5-11 February 1882; 5 February - 4 March 1883; 7 January - 4 February 1883.

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particularly Léonie Rouzade and Eugénie Pierre (later Eugénie Potonié-Pierre after her marriage to Edmond Potonié), but the gulf proved unbridgeable. Auclert or her followers occasionally attended subsequent regional or national socialist congresses as delegates of La Citoyenne, but the profound difference in orientation between socialists and feminists, as well as internecine rivalries, prevented anything but momentary cooperation. The stand adopted at Marseilles remained unique: "The socialists never again produced a bill of women's rights to equal this in its breadth and profundity."¹¹³ In its place, they substituted a workers-first, women-second resolution adopted at the Paris' Regional Congress of July 1880: "The Congress, While proclaiming the equality of the sexes, Declare: 'That the question of women's rights will be resolved and will only be resolved with that of labor, by the collective appropriation of all instruments of production.' . . ."¹¹⁴ Yet, despite the relative deemphasis of woman's liberation by socialists, the exclusionary policy of Freemasons, and the clerical fears of many republicans, Auclert and other feminists could at least count on verbal support from a growing number of free-thinking, democratic, and collectivist groups.

While attempting to keep abreast of the forces at work in the larger social setting, Auclert sought to strengthen the suffrage wing of the French feminist movement. In January 1883 she tried to expand her following by creating a Société Nationale du Suffrage des Femmes with its own monthly journal, Franco.¹¹⁵ When that failed, she founded the

¹¹³ Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 12.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 22.

¹¹⁵ La Citoyenne, 5 February - 4 March 1883.

the same time, the fact that the same person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. For example, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship. In this case, the person is both the one who is friends with someone and the one who is friended by someone. This is not a contradiction because the relation of friendship is a reciprocal relation. In other words, if A is friends with B, then B is friended by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship.

Similarly, a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation of love. For example, a person can love someone and be loved by someone. This is not a contradiction because the relation of love is a reciprocal relation. In other words, if A loves B, then B is loved by A. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of love.

However, it is not possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-love. This is because the relation of self-love is a reflexive relation. In other words, if A loves A, then A is loved by A. This is why it is not possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of self-love.

Therefore, the fact that a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation is not a contradiction. It is only a contradiction if the relation is a reflexive relation. In other words, if a person can be both a subject and an object of a relation, then the relation must be a reciprocal relation. This is why it is possible for a person to be both a subject and an object of a relation of friendship or love, but not a relation of self-love.

Cercle le Suffrage des Femmes, which survived without appreciably enlarging suffragist ranks. Consequently, Auclert's cadre remained small. Her total following throughout the 1880's, combining the staff of La Citoyenne with the membership of the Société and the Cercle, barely exceeded a hundred, with many fewer than that available at any particular moment. Deraismes' l'Amélioration and Richer's 1882 Ligue were only slightly larger if counted separately, but taken together they outnumbered Auclert's supporters by more than three to one. As a result, strength became more a matter of doctrine than numbers, which led Auclert to devote increasing attention to maintaining orthodoxy within her own ranks, avoiding too close an identification with more radical women, and pointing out feminist opponents of woman suffrage.

The problem of orthodoxy came to a head in August 1881 when the Société expelled two members, Commandant Claude-Célestin Épailly and Marie-Jeanne Drouin, a writer who employed the pseudonym Louise de Lasserre. Épailly was the chief culprit. He edited Le Libérateur, organ of the two-hundred member Société des Amis du Divorce, whose fourth issue had lightheartedly ridiculed Auclert's Bastille Day demonstration of the previous month. Such ridicule had no place within a movement whose outside detractors too often resorted to playful sarcasm, and Épailly's less than serious reportage represented the public reason for his and Drouin's expulsion. The other reason involved a complex disagreement between Épailly, Auclert, and Lévrier over who should run against divorce opponent Henri Brisson in the 1881 elections. Épailly suggested Auclert's candidacy or his own. Auclert declined the honor, but Lévrier, who also wanted to run, objected to Épailly's candidacy. Épailly discounted the objection, ran, and lost. The purge occurred

the day after the balloting, 22 August 1881, and provoked a series of suits and counter-suits, each side accusing the other of character defamation. Nothing came of the legal actions with one exception: Lévrier received a ten franc fine for calling Drouin an entremetteuse.¹¹⁶ Thereafter, within Auclert's group at least, the "correct line" went unchallenged.

More troublesome than internal dissent was the possibility that radical non-feminists would tarnish Auclert's image. Shortly after La Citoyenne's founding, for example, Auclert felt compelled to defend herself against the charge that she advocated free love. Marriage constituted woman's "supreme desire," she countered, but new laws were necessary to insure family sanctity. Neither traditional matrimony nor mariages parisiens met woman's need for security and independence, because men exploited both situations. Therefore, she concluded, to criticize marriage in its contemporary form implied no approval of union libre.¹¹⁷

Another problem arose when the Communards finally received amnesty. Auclert had urged that step throughout the 1870's, petitioning the President of the Republic on their behalf and organizing a committee to aid their return. But once back in France, they included within their ranks the indomitable personality of Louise Michel. Michel and Auclert had much in common. Both felt a devotion to the oppressed, regardless of sex, and both opposed the prevailing Opportunism of the 1880's.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 10-16 October 1881; 31 October - 6 November 1881. Le Libérateur, 23 July 1881; 20 August 1881. The expulsion vote was 29 to 2, although neither Épailly nor Drouin attended the dismissal meeting. For a roster of Auclert's followers, see APPENDIX F.

¹¹⁷ La Citoyenne, 26 December 1881 - 1 January 1882.

Auclert frequently linked woman's plight to that of the working class, while Michel, a convinced anarchist, displayed a decided interest in feminism. Michel exhibited that interest upon her return by founding La Ligue des Femmes to enlist women of all nations in the struggle against war and prostitution. She also demanded equal pay for equal work, though ultimately she felt women should abandon exterior labor and confine themselves to attributions naturelles.¹¹⁸ Auclert disagreed with the latter goal, hoping instead to create a society where home and work would not be in conflict, but their greatest point of difference was over means. Woman suffrage struck Michel as stupid. Each must choose her own weapon, Michel responded in rejecting a symbolic candidacy in 1885, "but the ballot is less than ever mine." "I believe," she explained, "that women in the Chamber would not prevent the absurdly low pay of women's work, and that the prison and the pavement would continue no less to vomit, one onto the other, legions of unfortunates."¹¹⁹

More threatening to Auclert than Michel's rejection of woman suffrage was her advocacy of violence. Auclert's sympathy for the Communards never included their destructive conduct, and, except for the breaking of a ballot box towards the end of her career, she eschewed force absolutely. In contrast, Michel persisted upon her return in the behavior that had earned her a decade of deportation, and three times during La Citoyenne's life she suffered imprisonment. Such conduct caused French suffragists to fear for their public image. In the spring of 1883, Auclert accused the press of confusing Michel's violent acts

¹¹⁸Thomas, Louise Michel, 219-20.

¹¹⁹Ibid., 280-1. Richer printed Michel's rejection of the symbolic candidacy in his Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.

with the peaceful transformation of society envisaged by feminists.¹²⁰ She also reprinted a letter, originally published in Le Soir, in which Lévrier inveighed against anarchism and excused his presence alongside Michel at a demonstration as purely accidental.¹²¹ As for the notorious woman herself, La Citoyenne took an indulgent tact; During Michel's trial in 1883, one of Auclert's collaborators described her as old and devoid of new ideas, an extreme representative of an unrepresented sex. Fault lay not with the person, however, but with a society which forbade legislative careers to women. Denied a seat in the Chamber, where reality would have mellowed her theories, Michel had rejected the Republic as it had rejected her. Regardless of her ideas, society must bear the blame for having deprived her of legitimate means of expression.¹²²

Auclert hoped that women like Michel and Séverine, a well-known socialist journalist who stood aloof from the movement until 1913, would one day rally to woman suffrage. But until that day there was still much to do, particularly within the feminist movement itself. "Old School" civil rightists, advocates of le droit fractionné, subscribed to a strategy of stagnation in Auclert's opinion, while far too many women outside the movement rejected feminism, expecting others to pull their chestnuts out of the fire.¹²³ "Young School" proponents of le droit intégral had, therefore, to combat the platonic, wasteful

¹²⁰ La Citoyenne, 5 February - 4 March 1883.

¹²¹ Ibid., 2 April - 6 March 1883.

¹²² Ibid., 2 July - 5 August 1883.

¹²³ Ibid., 5 February - 4 March 1883; 1 October - 5 November 1882.

- The first step in the process of identifying a problem is to recognize that a problem exists. This is often done by comparing current performance with a desired state or goal. Once a problem is identified, the next step is to define the problem more precisely. This involves determining the scope of the problem, the resources available, and the constraints that may be affecting the problem.
- The second step in the process is to analyze the problem. This involves identifying the causes of the problem and determining the relationships between the causes and the effects. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as flowcharts, fishbone diagrams, and Pareto charts. Once the causes of the problem have been identified, the next step is to develop a plan to address the problem. This involves determining the actions that need to be taken to solve the problem and the resources that will be required to implement the plan.
- The third step in the process is to implement the plan. This involves putting the plan into action and monitoring the progress of the implementation. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as Gantt charts, PERT charts, and control charts. Once the plan has been implemented, the next step is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the plan. If the plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan and implement it again.
- The fourth step in the process is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the plan. If the plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan and implement it again.
- The fifth step in the process is to revise the plan. This involves identifying the areas of the plan that need to be revised and determining the actions that need to be taken to revise the plan. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as flowcharts, fishbone diagrams, and Pareto charts. Once the plan has been revised, the next step is to implement the revised plan and monitor the progress of the implementation.
- The sixth step in the process is to implement the revised plan. This involves putting the revised plan into action and monitoring the progress of the implementation. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as Gantt charts, PERT charts, and control charts. Once the revised plan has been implemented, the next step is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the revised plan. If the revised plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan again and implement it again.
- The seventh step in the process is to evaluate the results of the revised plan. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the revised plan. If the revised plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan again and implement it again.
- The eighth step in the process is to revise the plan again. This involves identifying the areas of the plan that need to be revised and determining the actions that need to be taken to revise the plan. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as flowcharts, fishbone diagrams, and Pareto charts. Once the plan has been revised again, the next step is to implement the revised plan and monitor the progress of the implementation.
- The ninth step in the process is to implement the revised plan again. This involves putting the revised plan into action and monitoring the progress of the implementation. This is often done using a variety of tools, such as Gantt charts, PERT charts, and control charts. Once the revised plan has been implemented again, the next step is to evaluate the results. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the revised plan. If the revised plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan again and implement it again.
- The tenth step in the process is to evaluate the results of the revised plan again. This involves comparing the actual results with the desired results and determining the effectiveness of the revised plan. If the revised plan is not effective, the next step is to revise the plan again and implement it again.

dreams of féministes opportunistes and point them down the more practical path of woman's political rights, the "clef de voute de tous les autres droits."¹²⁴

In pursuit of this goal Auclert reevaluated the careers of old and new feminists alike. When Eugénie Niboyet died at the age of eighty-five in 1883, for example, La Citoyenne recounted her lengthy career, particularly her role in the woman's rights movement of 1848, and concluded that she had been only a weak feminist. She had once declined the presidency of a woman's club and had persistently avoided the issue of divorce. But above all, La Citoyenne charged, she had opposed woman suffrage.¹²⁵ Even Isabelle Bogelot received equivocal praise when in 1888, as the representative of l'Oeuvre des Libérées de Saint-Lazarre, she became the first Frenchwoman to attend an American feminist congress. "Let us render thanks to Madame Bogelot," La Citoyenne wrote of her trip to Washington, D.C., "who has not feared to carry out a long journey to represent her sisters; although she is not, properly speaking, one of us and she limits herself to works of rehabilitation and charity, we are united by a community of pity for numerous unfortunates."¹²⁶ But in Auclert's eyes, Niboyet's and Bogelot's mistaken orientation paled in comparison to that of the decade's two most prominent feminists, Deraismes and Richer.

¹²⁴Ibid., 5 February - 4 March 1883.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶Ibid., June 1888.

1. What is the purpose of the study?
2. What are the research questions?
3. What is the significance of the study?
4. What are the limitations of the study?
5. What are the conclusions of the study?
6. What are the implications of the study?
7. What are the future research directions?
8. What are the ethical considerations?
9. What are the funding sources?
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Shortly after La Citoyenne's birth, Auclert's Société passed a resolution condemning Deraismes for rejecting a symbolic candidacy in the 1881 election.¹²⁷ "One ought to know how to do one's duty," remarked tax-strike participant Leprou; "she [Deraismes] has not done it."¹²⁸ But a year later, after Deraismes had delivered a speech in favor of suffrage, Auclert commented on how far l'Amélioration's president had come since the Congress of 1878. And in 1885 Deraismes actually stood for office, though in Auclert's opinion she refused to invest sufficient time and money. Instead of campaigning, Auclert lamented, Deraismes had waited at home for Prince Charming the elector to call. When he did not, the fault lay first of all with masculine prejudice, but secondly with Deraismes' attitude. Between 1881 and 1885, while she edited the Républicain de Seine-et-Oise, Deraismes had made and unmade deputies, but refused to exert her full influence on behalf of woman suffrage. She had also spread herself too thin. La Citoyenne frequently carried Amélioration's various appeals as a gesture of solidarity, but the commerçante vote and peace through arbitration would come sooner, Auclert felt, if women possessed political rights. Deraismes' campaign against vivisection was especially tangential. Male dominated society had already deprived women of heart and reason, Auclert exclaimed, and would continue to do so until they had the power to prevent their own vivisection.¹²⁹

Although insufficient in Auclert's eyes, Deraismes' hesitant support of suffrage contrasted sharply with Richer's persistent opposition.

¹²⁷ Ibid., 12 June 1881.

¹²⁸ Ibid., 19 June 1881.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 1 October - 5 November 1882; October 1885; May 1885; 8 October - 4 November 1883.

Richer accorded an absolute priority to civil rights, arguing that any other orientation would delay woman's enfranchisement and endanger the Republic. In turn, Auclert and her followers accused him of legalism, opportunism, and bad faith. He acknowledged Auclert's "good intentions," but castigated her for playing into the hands of royalists and clericals: "Given at this time the general state of women's mentality in France, their upbringing, their tendencies, if tomorrow women voted, the day after tomorrow monarchy would be reestablished."¹³⁰ Richer accused Auclert of alienating thousands of excellent republicans with her haughty manner, thus detaching "from the cause of women most of those who were prepared to sustain it." "You compromise coldly, wittingly the goal, the just cause you pretend to defend," Richer fumed; "I wash my hands of your imprudences and your faults."¹³¹

Richer looked with particular disfavor on a scheme developed by Auclert's favorite deputy. In 1890 de Gasté proposed a revision of the constitution that not only called for woman suffrage, but for equal representation of the sexes as well. Professing his ultimate belief in woman's political rights, but at the proper moment, Richer asked if the Deputy from Finistère were really serious. If so, de Gasté had chosen a disastrous route. Men and women had conflicting interests, Richer admitted, but there was also "an opposition of interests between employer and employee, between capitalist and worker; to resolve social questions it would be necessary therefore to demand election of as many rich as poor, as many employees as employers."¹³² More serious yet was

¹³⁰ Le Droit des Femmes, 17 May 1885.

¹³¹ Ibid., 15 March 1885.

¹³² Ibid., 15 June 1890.

the timing of the "freakish deputy:"

We are on the eve of seeing discussed in the Senate a law [the commercante vote] conceding to women the exercise of civil rights, a law already received with favor by the preceding Chamber of Deputies, and is this the moment when a member of parliament, who calls himself a partisan of woman's emancipation, should trouble minds? . . . Had Monsieur de Gasté wished to defeat our law he could not have conducted himself otherwise.¹³³

Richer also attempted to dissuade Auclert from appealing to foreign experiments. "The situation in France is not at all the same as in the United Kingdom," he alleged:

I have often explained this. In England the right to vote is not attached to the person; it is inherent in property. It is not individuals who vote and are represented; it is the soil. From that, ballots can as well be cast by woman as by man. Is it the same thing with us? Who would dare to pretend it? . . . Above all, let us think of the Republic against which are leagued: on the one hand, the Bonapartists, allied to the royalists; on the other, the opportunists, sustained by the clericals.¹³⁴

In spite of Richer's warning, Auclert tried to align French feminism with the international movement. Foreign activists acknowledged the French Revolution as a pivotal event for woman's liberation, despite its strong misogynist overtones. Since 1851, when American feminists had delegated Lucretia Mott to correspond with Pauline Roland and Jeanne Deroin, imprisoned in Saint-Lazare for their socialist-feminist activities, there had been at least minimal contact between the United States and France. Auclert had hoped to expand the contact through her still-born Société Nationale le Suffrage des Femmes. But even without the Société nationale, American feminists recognized Auclert as "the head of the agitation in favor of woman's political rights" in

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid., 20 September 1885.

France.¹³⁵ In 1884 she became a corresponding secretary in the American-based National Woman Suffrage Association, founded by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony in 1869.¹³⁶

Auclert also recognized the propaganda value of foreign developments. By the time La Citoyenne appeared, women had acquired local suffrage, usually dependent on property qualifications and sometimes subject to proxy regulations, in parts of Germany (first enacted in Westphalis in 1856), Austria-Hungary (1862), Sweden (1862), Australis (1862), Finland (1862), and England (1869). Even Russian women voted in municipal elections, although men had to drop their ballots into the voting urn. By 1891, the year La Citoyenne folded, women had received the local franchise in Scotland (1881), Canada (1882), Iceland (1882), Madras (1885), and New Zealand (1886). Within the United States, only Kansas (1887) had followed suit, but the territories of Wyoming and Utah had given full political rights to women in 1869 and 1870 respectively. Outside North America, with the exception of unique places like Pitcairn Island, only the Isle of Man had enfranchised women on an equal basis with men.¹³⁷ Compared to France, however, where the only women who could vote for anything were school teachers, the rest of the western world seemed far ahead.

France had not completely lost its prominent position in the struggle for progress, Auclert felt, but signs of slippage were more than

¹³⁵Stanton et. al., History of Woman Suffrage, III, 899.

¹³⁶Ibid., IV, 27.

¹³⁷Ibid., I-IV. Seven hundred women out of a total population of 42,000 received the full franchise on the Isle of Man in 1881. After the assassination of Alexander II in 1881, Auclert reported that the mayor of St. Petersburg, Baranoff, permitted women to drop their own ballots into the urn. La Citoyenne, 31 October - 6 November 1881.



abundant. The British Parliament abolished official regulation of prostitution in 1883 -- a demand of long standing in France -- and narrowly defeated a bill to enfranchise single women. Britain also permitted municipal woman suffrage in Canada -- French at heart, according to Auclert -- giving the lie to anti-feminist claims that woman's emancipation would violage Latin traditions. What the French government failed to see, Auclert maintained, was that Britain had not only supplanted France in North America, but ruled it more justly. Furthermore, if Britain could enact wise legislation, so could other countries. Would Germany, she asked, also surpass France? Utah and Wyoming had already begun to reap the benefits of woman suffrage, Auclert claimed in 1881. Women there had abandoned "the futilities of coquetry," and wifely virtues had increased "to a surprising degree." "In France, woman's vote will have the same moralizing influence."¹³⁸ Without it, she predicted, the French would surely fall behind their Angle-Saxon neighbors.

The reasons for the slippage were as clear to Auclert as the slippage itself. Paralyzed by fear of ridicule, the vast majority of Frenchwomen exhibited "a sheep-like docility that surprises even the shepherds."¹³⁹ Only Jewish women, "veritable modern Judiths," supported feminism en masse. Accustomed to persecution, Auclert explained, they alone saw that sex equality entailed human equality without distinctions of race or cult. Outside France, in contrast, feminism attracted leading women. President Cleveland's sister zealously pursued

¹³⁸ La Citoyenne, 6 March 1881; 4 December 1882 - 7 January 1883; 4 June - 1 July 1883; 6 August - 2 September 1883.

¹³⁹ Auclert, Le Vote des Femmes, 207.

woman's rights, and in Britain over a thousand women belonged to the Somerville Club, named after a female member of the Royal Society. Quality and quantity had come together with impressive results. It took months to obtain a thousand signatures on a French suffrage petition in 1881-82, for instance, but British feminists submitted 36,748 names on 686 petitions to Parliament in one year alone (1884). Above all, Auclert reflected, French women lacked unity, the key to the success of foreign feminists as well as the instrument of masculine tyranny. We must unite in order to free ourselves: "Let us do as the men do."¹⁴⁰

Aware that Paris had no center where women could meet, Auclert attempted to establish a Cercle George Sand in 1882, modeled along the lines of London's Somerville Club.¹⁴¹ But like her Société Nationale of the following year, the enterprise never got beyond the suggestion stage. On the eve of her marriage six years later, she elaborated an even more ambitious scheme. In a letter to Susan B. Anthony, who had invited her to attend the 1888 Washington Congress, Auclert observed that "the women's movement of all countries is presently too platonic." The theoretical phase had lasted too long; the time had come to put ideas into practice. Specifically, she called for the creation of female shadow legislatures, which would demonstrate women's capacities and give feminists everywhere the standing and activity they needed. Each women's parliament would follow the calendar of its male counterpart and use the national agenda to avoid wandering. These parliaments would have no legal authority, but their moral influence would be

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great -- much like that of Paris' conférence des avocats -- and feminists of both sexes could signal their devotion to the cause by footing the bill. Irrespective of details, Auclert concluded, fortune would favor the audacious.¹⁴² Nothing came of the proposal, however. Forty years later French feminists organized several Women's Estates General along similar lines, but in La Citoyenne's decade large scale efforts proved impossible. Auclert never commented on Anthony's reaction to the idea, if indeed the American suffragist had one, and the project silently joined her other failures.

Yet there was much that a small band of determined activists could do. Final victory might depend on better organization, but that in turn required more recruits and constant agitation. Perhaps the third volume of History of Woman Suffrage, published in 1886, best expressed the function of Auclert's movement:

The most logical beginning for a sketch of the woman movement on the continent, and indeed of any step in advance, is of course France, where ideas, not facts, stand out the more prominently; for, in questions of reform, the abstract must always precede the concrete, -- public opinion must be convinced before it will accept an innovation. This has been the role of France in Europe ever since the great revolution; it is her role to-day. She is the agitator of the old world, and agitation is the lever of reform.¹⁴³

French law permitted feminists little scope for legal agitation. Except for small street demonstrations and letters, their only constitutional means of protest was the petition, which involved two difficulties. Despite Auclert's promise to protect the identity of signers, few women had the courage (or the inclination) to commit their names to so public a

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document.¹⁴⁴ La Citoyenne's headquarters at 12 rue Cail reserved Tuesdays from 12:00 to 5:00 p.m. for petition signing, but it took more than a year to collect a thousand signatures in support of woman suffrage. "Never has a more important manifestation been produced in France in favor of women's political rights," Auclert wrote at the time, but never again in the decade did so many women participate.¹⁴⁵ Most of Auclert's petitions carried only her own name and those of her chief lieutenants. The second difficulty related to the fate of the petitions. Parliamentary rules required them to pass through a petitions committee which consistently blocked action. Individual legislators could circumvent the committee by carrying feminist claims to the floor, but few were willing to do so. Even Clovis Hugues, who submitted the thousand signatures in 1882, refused to challenge the petition committee's rejection by a direct appeal to the Chamber.

Nevertheless, Auclert drew up numerous petitions -- more than a dozen in the 1880's alone -- and though their fate was certain, they provoked considerable publicity. La Citoyenne cited eight newspapers by name and alluded to "a great many others" that supported Auclert's 1884 plan for an extraparlimentary watchdog commission, composed of both sexes, to oversee government spending.¹⁴⁶ Almost as many endorsed her demand to include women in the constitutional revision process -- an issue that came to a head in the same year.¹⁴⁷ The response to

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The petition rejected by Lévis-Mirepoix had a second significance. It called for extending the franchise only to single women. An identical request made in 1884 spent a year in committee, and then sparked the Chamber's first debate on woman suffrage when Deputy Pièye (one of Auclert's monarchist "friends" according to Richer) put the issue on the order of the day. The origin of the demand dated back to La Citoyenne's birth. In its thirteenth issue, Auclert asserted that if only fifty women sat in the Chamber their sex solidarity would protect the interests of all women. Limited woman suffrage violated her avowed integralism, she admitted, but some power would be better than none. In defense of the célibataire vote, she argued that single women lacked the indirect representation afforded to wives by husbands -- a central claim of the anti-suffragists. After Pièye's initiative failed, she whittled her demand even more. On the assumption that inequality in liberty was preferable to equality in servitude, she proposed enfranchising women

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who could pass an examination or had actively claimed the vote for more than one year. But when the Chamber greeted the idea with indifference, she reverted to the célibataire plan. As in war and games, she explained, one must devise a strategy to win. Lévis-Mirepoix agreed, warning that the célibataire vote would open the door to broader woman suffrage and lead to demands for eligibility. Men alone should sit in the legislature, he countered; women, the guardians of morality, should stay at home.¹⁵⁰

Letters and manifestos constituted another form of protest for French suffragists. Some went directly to individuals or groups, others appeared as editorials, and taken together they covered a wider range of issues than the petitions. In 1882 Auclert urged the Interior Ministry to establish centers for unemployed women, financed by a national lottery. These would give refuge to destitute females, and permit the identification of hard-core prostitutes, who could then be deported to the colonies. Two weeks later, she condemned the Municipal Council of Paris for excluding women from the banquet inaugurating the newly rebuilt Hôtel de Ville. Women's taxes had helped finance the edifice, she wrote; if women were unworthy to eat there, they should not have had to pay for it. Five months before La Citoyenne folded, Auclert informed Pope Leo XIII that she was an ardent believer in justice, as well as a free thinker, and implored him to consecrate his reign to the equality of men and women. Editorials carried demands for public halls where women, especially institutrices, could instruct men in civic virtue; equal pay for women teachers, who should also instruct girls to support woman suffrage; the posting of a Declaration of Women's Rights in girls

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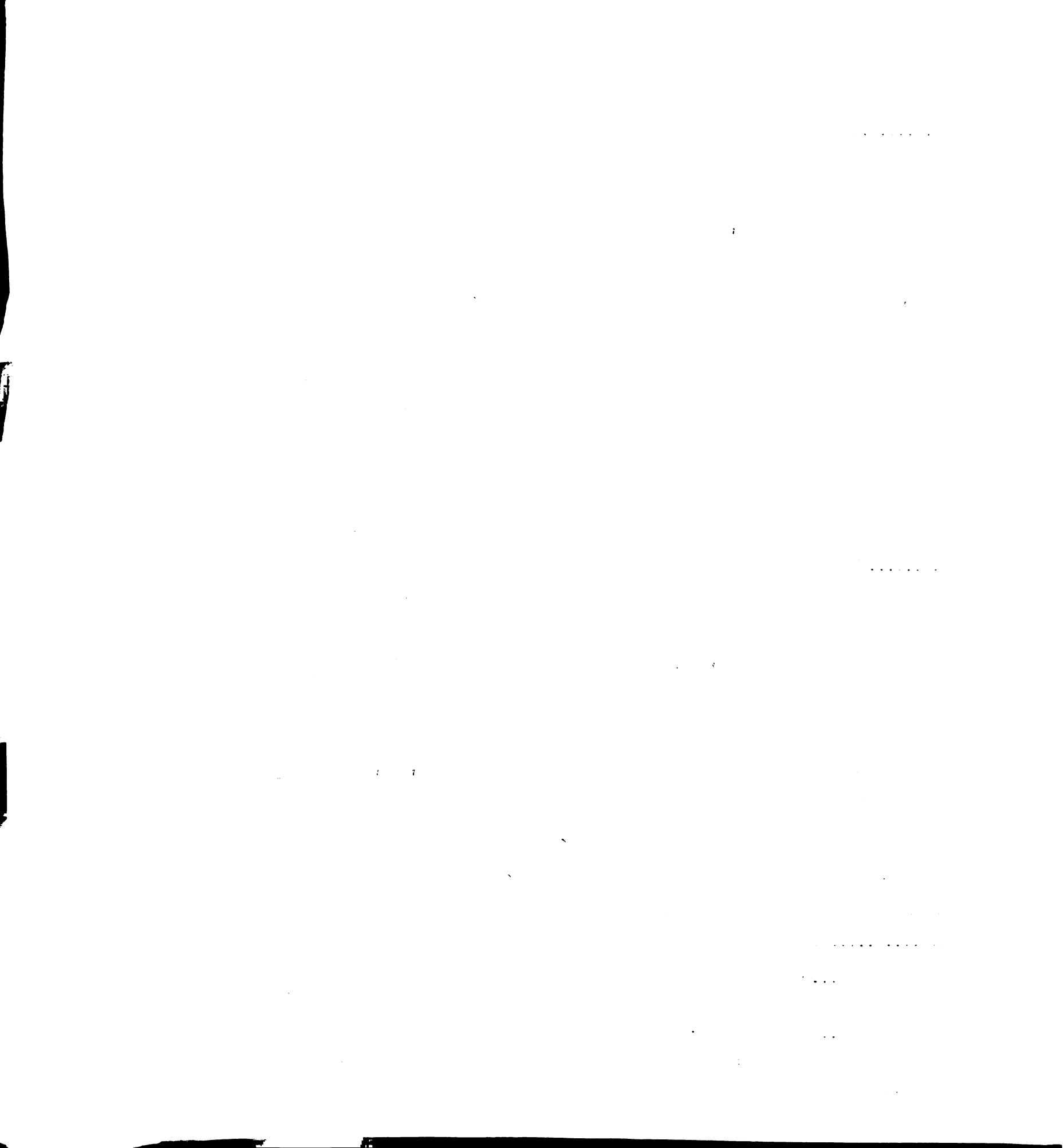
schools; and a tax of one hundred francs per year on the men, dubbed Hommes-Filles by Auclert, who took female jobs.¹⁵¹

In addition to written protests, whose publicity value far outweighed their practical effect, Auclert employed direct action to bring her ideas to the public's attention. She and her followers, carrying a rose and blue suffrage banner, joined the million mourners who bore Victor Hugo's casket from the Arc-de-Triomphe to the Panthéon in 1885.¹⁵² Furious protests greeted every Bastille Day, which became for feminists the "Day of Dupes," the forerunner of the paper Bastille known as the Code. "July 14 is not a national festival," Auclert pronounced, "it is the apotheosis of masculinity." Auclert and a handful of supporters staged a typical counter-demonstration in 1881. Under a banner wreathed in the black of mourning, they marched the two and one-half miles from La Citoyenne's headquarters to the Place de la Bastille, where, amid taunts and jeers, Auclert and Lara Marcel denounced the Revolution. Rather than the 14th of July, Auclert asserted, France should celebrate the 30th of May, the date of Jeanne d'Arc's death. She had once saved the nation, and her female descendants, if enfranchised, would likewise save the Republic. To dramatize her stand, Auclert led her Cercle to the Place des Pyramides in 1885, where she laid a wreath on Jeanne d'Arc's monument. However, successive governments rejected both the date change and a related demand to enshrine her in the Panthéon, and after the Dreyfus Affair Catholic women largely co-opted the Maid of Orléans as the symbol of their own conservative movement.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹Ibid., 7 August 1881; 10-16 October 1881; 6 May-4 June 1882; 2 July-6 August 1882; 6 August-3 September 1882; March 1885; 1 June 1891.

¹⁵²Ibid., June 1885.

¹⁵³For Auclert's attitude toward Bastille Day and Jeanne d'Arc, see ibid., 10 July 1881; 17 July 1881; 23 July 1881; 2 July-5 August



More controversial than street demonstrations was Auclert's campaign against the census.¹⁵⁴ Shortly after the Conseil d'État thwarted her tax strike, the legislature discarded the scrutin d'arrondissement in favor of a departmental scrutin de liste. Under the reform, political parties ran slates of candidates, each of whom represented an equal number of citizens. Auclert supported the change in principle, but demanded that only males should figure in the apportionment process. This would reduce the size of the Chamber by fifty-five seats, she reasoned, thus lessening woman's tax burden. When the legislature rejected the demand, Auclert and twenty-four others signed an appeal urging all French women to boycott the census. Married women should report only male members of their households, and single women should withhold their name, age, civil status, religion, and profession. Do not fear reprisals, Auclert counselled; the state would never call out the military against women as it had in 1838 when residents of Toulouse resisted a door and window census. No arrests resulted, due undoubtedly to the small number of boycotters. But Richer, who ridiculed so many of Auclert's actions, found the census tactic especially objectionable. "Deputies are not only the representatives of those who name them," he responded, "they are the prerepresentatives of all [the people]. Voilà le principe:"

Eh! bien, what have the women who obey Mlle. Auclert done? They have pronounced against the republican principle, against the democratic base They are sacrificing, without doubt, the Republic to their rancor.¹⁵⁵

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¹⁵⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 5 April 1885.

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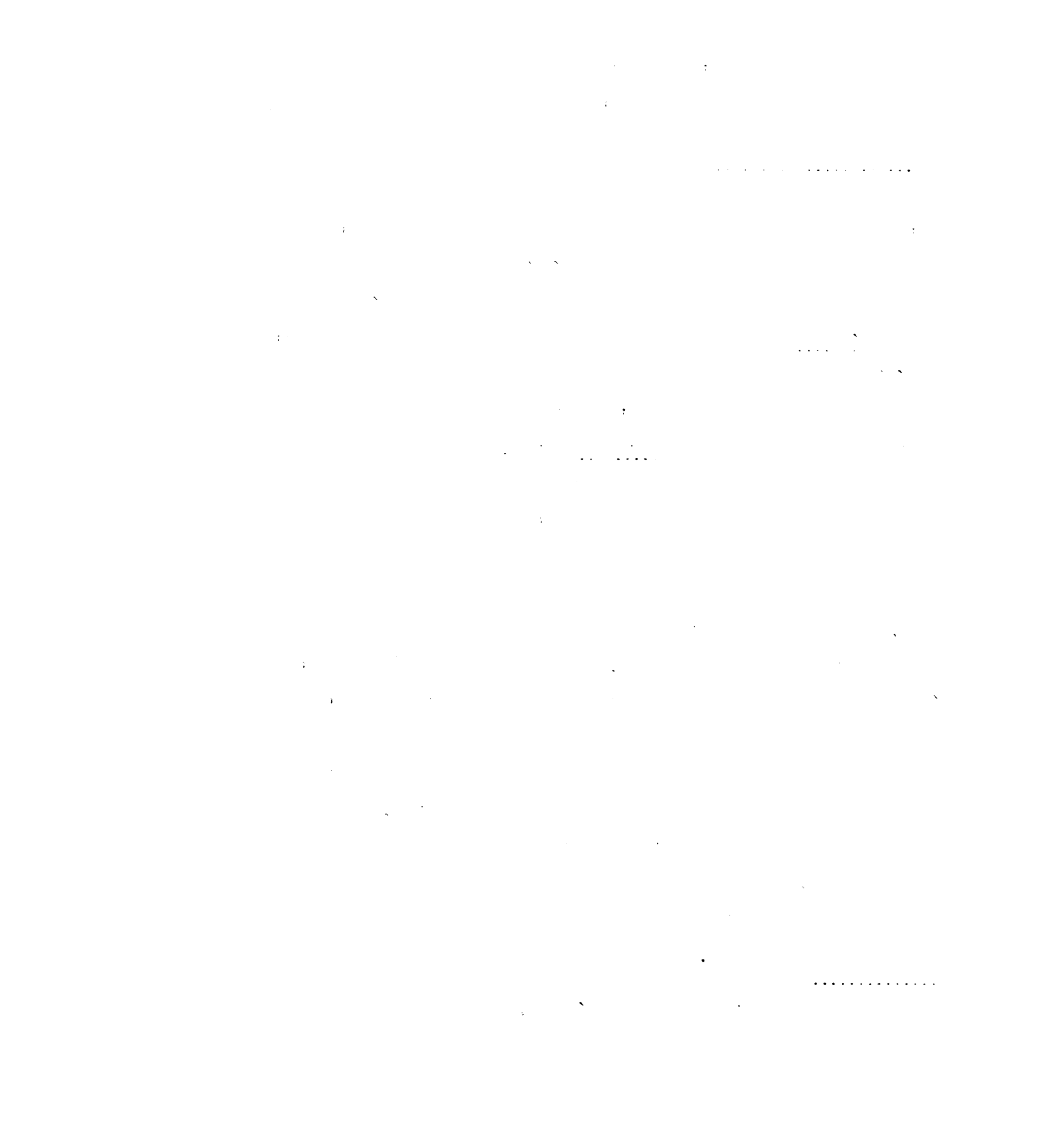
Unfortunately, from Richer's standpoint, there was nothing he or anyone else could do to curb the suffragists' chief tactic — the shadow campaign.

The Shadow Campaign of 1885

Shadow campaigns reflected frustrations born of the Third Republic's first decade. In 1871, when the nature of the Second Empire's successor was still very much in doubt, Amélie Bosquit unsuccessfully petitioned the National Assembly for woman suffrage, and Daubié pressed for the célibataire vote until her death in 1874. The founding of Auclert's Société le Droit des Femmes in 1876 provided woman suffrage with a permanent organization, but even Auclert's passionate devotion to the cause had to await the outcome of the seize mai crisis. Only at the end of the decade could anything more than lip-service be paid to the issue, and even that proved too much for the 1878 Woman's Rights Congress. Abandoned by most of her former colleagues, Auclert used the registration drive of 1880 to first test the administrative resistance to woman suffrage. When that effort failed, Auclert next employed the tax strike to force a ruling on the legal question. On 31 March 1881, the Conseil d'État (called the "tribunal of injustice" by Auclert) affirmed woman's exclusion from the electorate. Thereafter, although Auclert and others continued to raise the issue before administrative and judicial bodies, the struggle for woman suffrage became increasingly political. Unless legislators could be pressured into enacting reform, women would never obtain the vote.¹⁵⁶

As a tactic designed to exert such pressure, shadow campaigns offered several advantages. Elections occurred regularly and frequently,

¹⁵⁶See the ruling by Judge Carré below.



like Bastille Days. Chamber renewals took place every four years with partial Senate and local balloting in between. Electoral procedures also provided staged opportunities for agitation. Male voters had to meet citizenship, age, and residency requirements, and register in advance of actual balloting. Town halls reserved specific times for this, and Auclert, on the pretext that sex was not one of the requirements, repeatedly urged women to register despite the adverse rulings of 1880 and 1881.¹⁵⁷ When the Court of Cassation at Nîmes ruled in 1882 that electors could restore their names to the voting lists at any time if they had not received notification of removal, Auclert argued that, inasmuch as women had never received the requisite notification, they could likewise demand registration whenever they pleased.¹⁵⁸ Subsequent to the registration stage came the campaigns proper, which afforded women opportunities to press their demands on politicians as well as illegally attend party rallies. Women could also offer themselves as candidates, the most active phase of shadow campaigns. Finally, once the balloting ended, suffragists could file protests against officials who refused to count the votes cast for women.

The greatest advantage was numerical. Unlike the tax-strike and census boycott, which needed widespread support to succeed, shadow campaigns required only a handful of determined women. "It would take too long to recall here," Auclert wrote of the small registration drive of 1880, "the notice that the inscription demand of women on the electoral lists made in the major Parisian newspapers."¹⁵⁹ In 1881, enthused by

¹⁵⁷ La Citoyenne, 23-28 January 1882.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 5-11 March 1882.

¹⁵⁹ Auclert, Historique, 25.

the previous year's success, Auclert and thirteen others repeated the drive.¹⁶⁰ Shadow campaigns also attracted individuals outside the capital. In 1881, while Léonie Rouzade polled fifty-seven votes in Paris' 12th arrondissement, three women received five votes at Thorey (Meurthe-et-Moselle), Madame Jules Lefebvre garnered a few at Grandpre (Ardennes), and Madame Augustine Debouis nearly won a seat on the municipal council of Nièvre. Three years later, women polled majorities in local elections at Houquetot (Seine-Inférieure) and Vornay (Cher), though their victories were immediately annulled. Nevertheless, Auclert viewed the totals as symptomatic of better times. She cited Le Figaro's endorsement of female municipal councillors and stressed the prospects of acquiring eligibility, if not the vote. With legislative elections only one year away, she proclaimed in 1884, women must rally for an all-out effort.¹⁶¹

The shadow campaign of 1885 marked a turning point for France's embryonic suffrage movement. Final victory lay several generations into the future, but the advance of suffrage as the number one feminist issue acquired irreversible momentum. Twelve years after the event, *l'Amélioration's Bulletin* recorded that the campaign of 1885 had produced "such a reverberation that one can say that since that time the feminist movement, which before had lain dormant, has openly taken a new upward direction."¹⁶²

Although Auclert inspired the year-long effort and issued the initial call for the campaign, she held herself somewhat above the battle.

¹⁶⁰La Citoyenne, 13 February 1881.

¹⁶¹The results of these women's candidacies appeared in La Citoyenne, 19-25 December 1881; 20 February 1881; 10 April 1881; June 1884; and July 1884. The name of the woman elected at Vornay was Madame Gressin. Auclert's call for an all-out effort in 1885 came in La Citoyenne, July 1884.

¹⁶²Amélioration, Bulletin Bimestriel, June-July 1897.

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abundant. The British Parliament abolished official regulation of prostitution in 1883 -- a demand of long standing in France -- and narrowly defeated a bill to enfranchise single women. Britain also permitted municipal woman suffrage in Canada -- French at heart, according to Auclert -- giving the lie to anti-feminist claims that woman's emancipation would violate Latin traditions. What the French government failed to see, Auclert maintained, was that Britain had not only supplanted France in North America, but ruled it more justly. Furthermore, if Britain could enact wise legislation, so could other countries. Would Germany, she asked, also surpass France? Utah and Wyoming had already begun to reap the benefits of woman suffrage, Auclert claimed in 1881. Women there had abandoned "the futilities of coquetry," and wifely virtues had increased "to a surprising degree." "In France, woman's vote will have the same moralizing influence."¹³⁸ Without it, she predicted, the French would surely fall behind their Anglo-Saxon neighbors.

The reasons for the slippage were as clear to Auclert as the slippage itself. Paralyzed by fear of ridicule, the vast majority of Frenchwomen exhibited "a sheep-like docility that surprises even the shepherds."¹³⁹ Only Jewish women, "veritable modern Judiths," supported feminism en masse. Accustomed to persecution, Auclert explained, they alone saw that sex equality entailed human equality without distinctions of race or cult. Outside France, in contrast, feminism attracted leading women. President Cleveland's sister zealously pursued

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woman's rights, and in Britain over a thousand women belonged to the Somerville Club, named after a female member of the Royal Society. Quality and quantity had come together with impressive results. It took months to obtain a thousand signatures on a French suffrage petition in 1881-82, for instance, but British feminists submitted 36,748 names on 686 petitions to Parliament in one year alone (1884). Above all, Auclert reflected, French women lacked unity, the key to the success of foreign feminists as well as the instrument of masculine tyranny. We must unite in order to free ourselves: "Let us do as the men do."¹⁴⁰

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Unfortunately, from Richer's standpoint, there was nothing he or anyone else could do to curb the suffragists' chief tactic — the shadow campaign.

The Shadow Campaign of 1885

Shadow campaigns reflected frustrations born of the Third Republic's first decade. In 1871, when the nature of the Second Empire's successor was still very much in doubt, Amélie Bosquit unsuccessfully petitioned the National Assembly for woman suffrage, and Daubié pressed for the célibataire vote until her death in 1874. The founding of Auclert's Société le Droit des Femmes in 1876 provided woman suffrage with a permanent organization, but even Auclert's passionate devotion to the cause had to await the outcome of the seize mai crisis. Only at the end of the decade could anything more than lip-service be paid to the issue, and even that proved too much for the 1878 Woman's Rights Congress. Abandoned by most of her former colleagues, Auclert used the registration drive of 1880 to first test the administrative resistance to woman suffrage. When that effort failed, Auclert next employed the tax strike to force a ruling on the legal question. On 31 March 1881, the Conseil d'État (called the "tribunal of injustice" by Auclert) affirmed woman's exclusion from the electorate. Thereafter, although Auclert and others continued to raise the issue before administrative and judicial bodies, the struggle for woman suffrage became increasingly political. Unless legislators could be pressured into enacting reform, women would never obtain the vote.¹⁵⁶

As a tactic designed to exert such pressure, shadow campaigns offered several advantages. Elections occurred regularly and frequently,

¹⁵⁶See the ruling by Judge Carré below.



like Bastille Days. Chamber renewals took place every four years with partial Senate and local balloting in between. Electoral procedures also provided staged opportunities for agitation. Male voters had to meet citizenship, age, and residency requirements, and register in advance of actual balloting. Town halls reserved specific times for this, and Auclert, on the pretext that sex was not one of the requirements, repeatedly urged women to register despite the adverse rulings of 1880 and 1881.¹⁵⁷ When the Court of Cassation at Nîmes ruled in 1882 that electors could restore their names to the voting lists at any time if they had not received notification of removal, Auclert argued that, inasmuch as women had never received the requisite notification, they could likewise demand registration whenever they pleased.¹⁵⁸ Subsequent to the registration stage came the campaigns proper, which afforded women opportunities to press their demands on politicians as well as illegally attend party rallies. Women could also offer themselves as candidates, the most active phase of shadow campaigns. Finally, once the balloting ended, suffragists could file protests against officials who refused to count the votes cast for women.

The greatest advantage was numerical. Unlike the tax-strike and census boycott, which needed widespread support to succeed, shadow campaigns required only a handful of determined women. "It would take too long to recall here," Auclert wrote of the small registration drive of 1880, "the notice that the inscription demand of women on the electoral lists made in the major Parisian newspapers."¹⁵⁹ In 1881, enthused by

¹⁵⁷ La Citoyenne, 23-28 January 1882.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 5-11 March 1882.

¹⁵⁹ Auclert, Historique, 25.



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the previous year's success, Auclert and thirteen others repeated the drive.¹⁶⁰ Shadow campaigns also attracted individuals outside the capital. In 1881, while Léonie Rouzade polled fifty-seven votes in Paris' 12th arrondissement, three women received five votes at Thorey (Meurthe-et-Moselle), Madame Jules Lefebvre garnered a few at Grandpre (Ardennes), and Madame Augustine Debouis nearly won a seat on the municipal council of Nièvre. Three years later, women polled majorities in local elections at Houquetot (Seine-Inférieure) and Vornay (Cher), though their victories were immediately annulled. Nevertheless, Auclert viewed the totals as symptomatic of better times. She cited Le Figaro's endorsement of female municipal councillors and stressed the prospects of acquiring eligibility, if not the vote. With legislative elections only one year away, she proclaimed in 1884, women must rally for an all-out effort.¹⁶¹

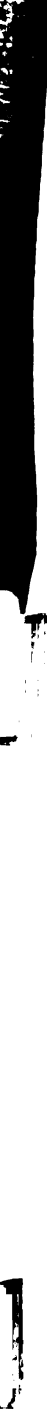
The shadow campaign of 1885 marked a turning point for France's embryonic suffrage movement. Final victory lay several generations into the future, but the advance of suffrage as the number one feminist issue acquired irreversible momentum. Twelve years after the event, l'Amélioration's Bulletin recorded that the campaign of 1885 had produced "such a reverberation that one can say that since that time the feminist movement, which before had lain dormant, has openly taken a new upward direction."¹⁶²

Although Auclert inspired the year-long effort and issued the initial call for the campaign, she held herself somewhat above the battle.

¹⁶⁰ La Citoyenne, 13 February 1881.

¹⁶¹ The results of these women's candidacies appeared in La Citoyenne, 19-25 December 1881; 20 February 1881; 10 April 1881; June 1884; and July 1884. The name of the woman elected at Vornay was Madame Gressin. Auclert's call for an all-out effort in 1885 came in La Citoyenne, July 1884.

¹⁶² Amélioration, Bulletin Bimestriel, June-July 1897.



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She participated in the registration phase in both the 9th and 11th arrondissements and later protested against the refusal of officials to tally votes cast for women. She also drew up petitions to exclude women from the electoral census and to obtain the célibataire vote. But during the most important part of the campaign, she refused to play an active role. When asked to become a candidate, she declined. "I am profoundly touched by the honor you do me and I thank you ever so much," Auclert explained:

But you understand that having these last ten years put so much determination into resuscitating the question of woman's political rights; that having, for seven or eight [years] especially, seized all occasions to protest against masculine autocracy and to demand that taxpaying and responsible women participate in the government of the country, it would be completely out of place for me to claim for myself the benefits of my campaign.¹⁶³

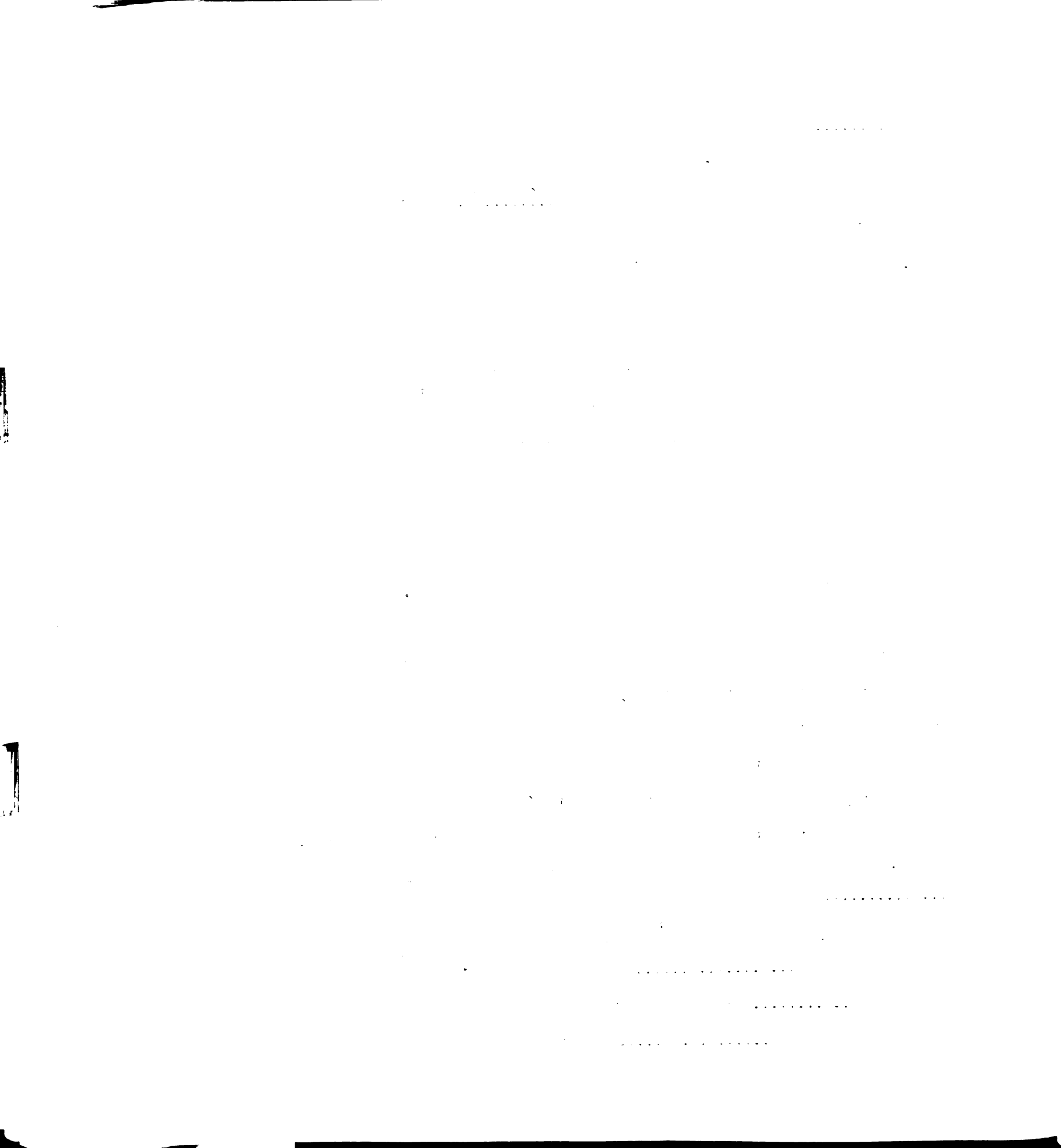
Selflessness aside, Auclert also opposed the scope of the tactic, warning that too many candidates would dilute the suffrage vote and provide authorities with an excuse for discounting favorable ballots.¹⁶⁴

The original impetus for a shadow campaign in 1885 came from Auclert's Cercle and initially focused on running a single candidate, the rich and influential Maria Deraismes. But others in the Cercle also wished to run, with the result that organization and direction quickly passed out of Auclert's hands and into those of Louise Barberousse and Jules Allix.¹⁶⁵ Both had close ties with l'Amélioration, which accounts perhaps for Deraismes' tepid and reluctant participation in the campaign. Mademoiselle Barberousse (1836-1900) was a life-long teacher. An ardent

¹⁶³ Richer mocked Auclert's refusal to run, pointing out that "a brave officer is not content to push his soldiers into battle, he marches at their head." Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.

¹⁶⁴ La Citoyenne, October 1885.

¹⁶⁵ Auclert, Le Vote des Femmes, 111.



free thinker and devotee of science, she entered the profession at Nièvre, the place of her birth, and, after a sojourn in Britain, arrived in Paris in time for the seige of 1870-71. It was proably then, while serving as a nurse, that she met Allix, who founded a Comité des Femmes in the 5th arrondissement and displayed a passionate interest in education reform. In 1883 she resigned the directorship of the Free School of the rue Jean-Lantier in order to join him in a new venture, the rue Saint-Honoré's school for girls. In December of the following year, Barberousse and Allix founded the Ligue de Protection des Femmes, through which they attempted to implement Auclert's call for electoral action.¹⁶⁶ White-haired and bespectacled in 1885, intelligent and adept at assimilating ideas, Barberousse had incurred Auclert's enmity. Barberousse lacked originality compared to Deraismes and Rouzade, wrote Auclert.¹⁶⁷ The Ligue to which she belonged represented a group of "noisy non-entities, of adventuresses lacking merit and intelligence." It might have a hundred members, but "not one single serious woman."¹⁶⁸

In the career of Jules Allix (1818-1897) the Ligue represented only one in a series of fantastic enterprises. Sixty-six years old at the time, he had spent a third of his adult life in forced exile, prison, and insane asylums. Born at Fontenay-le-Comte (Vendée) of bourgeois parents (his brother once served as Victor Hugo's personal physician),

¹⁶⁶ Amélioration, Bulletin, January-April 1900. La Citoyenne, October 1885.

¹⁶⁷ La Citoyenne, October 1885.

¹⁶⁸ Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 46. According to Sowerwine, Auclert's distaste for Barberousse became public knowledge when Le Figaro published a private letter by Auclert denouncing Barberousse and her handling of the campaign.



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he became a licencié en droit but preferred the titles of professeur de gymnastique and professeur des sciences. His militant, mystical socialism and cooperativism brought him seven years of banishment under the Second Empire and eight years incarceration at the beginning of the Third Republic. During the siege and Commune, he held several important positions and won notoriety for two unique ideas. To protect Frenchwomen from Prussian rapists, he proposed the doigt prussique, a finger-shaped rubber tube designed to discharge acid on impact. And to improve communications, he suggested escargots sympathiques, telepathic snails. Freed by the amnesty of 1879, Allix turned increasingly to feminism and education as means of social and moral improvement. In addition to belonging to Auclert's Cercle, he founded a short-lived Comité des Femmes in 1880 and served as l'Amélioration's secretary for over a decade. In 1881, he and Barberousse represented the Comité des Femmes at the Congrès Universel de la Libre Pensée.¹⁶⁹ In education he rejected rote memorization and mechanical exercises. With new methods, he claimed, students could master reading in fifteen hours and definitive French in six months.¹⁷⁰ These goals underlay the Saint-Monore girls school, which also served as the Ligue's headquarters.

The opening phase of the 1885 campaign focused once again on registration. Under the auspices of the Ligue de Protection des Femmes,

¹⁶⁹Ibid., 45.

¹⁷⁰Maitron, ed., Dictionnaire biographique, IV, 108-09. The snail proposal, which Allix repeatedly advanced, involved raising two snails together from birth. The two snails would then develop a bond of empathy which would permit them to communicate with each other as adults. At that point they could be separated and employed as transmitters and receivers. The sender of a message had only to move his snail to a spot on a lettered board, which would cause the "paired" snail to do likewise some distance away.

Barberousse, Marie Picot, the widow Jeannot, and Auclert demanded inscription on the voting lists. Immediately repulsed at the administrative level, all except Auclert appealed to the courts. Barberousse's case drew the most attention. On 6 February 1885, Léon Giraud, one of La Citoyenne's co-founders, and Jules Allix presented her plea before Justice of the Peace Carré in the 1st arrondissement. Giraud spoke first:

Whence do women derive the right that they demand? From the very texts of the law which have never made a distinction between the sexes. What a strange pretension it is, in fact, on the part of men to attribute sovereignty and political power to themselves alone, and is this not a veritable criminal outrage on the part of one group of citizens against another? If they persist in maintaining the exclusion of which women have been the object until now, they will create thereby a sort of caste, similar to that of India's pariahs, and they will render legitimate certain opposition to the law that they have witnessed in times past.¹⁷¹

Allix then asked, after a brief historical review, "by what right is the legislator the legislator if woman does not vote? By what right is the law the law?"¹⁷²

In response, Carré cited numerous constitutional and legislative texts, dating back to 1791, which omitted specific mention of woman's political rights. He then summarized the law of 7 July 1874, which required voters to possess full civil and political rights. Enumerating the areas in which women lacked these rights, including the Chamber's rejection of the commercante vote in 1883, Carré concluded "that if women, repudiating the privileges of their sex and inspired by certain modern theories, believe the hour has come for them to break the tutelar bonds with which traditions, mores, and the law have encompassed them, it is not before the courts, but before the legislative power, that they should carry their demands." Thus, he ruled, "there is no reason to register

¹⁷¹Le Droit des Femmes, 1 March 1885.

¹⁷²Ibid.

démoiselle Barberousse on the electoral lists." Carré's lengthy ruling also applied to Madame Picot, Barberousse's co-plaintiff. The widow Jeannot's appeal, pusued in the Faubourg-Montmartre quarter of Paris (9th arrondissement), elicited a much shorter but equally negative reply.¹⁷³

Denied administrative and judicial redress — a second appeal failed before the Cour de cassation in March — Barberousse and Allix turned to the upcoming national elections.¹⁷⁴ Over Auclert's objections, they resolved to run a full slate of shadow candidates. The political vehicle they chose was the Fédération Républicaine Socialiste, created in the fall of 1884 and to which Auclert also belonged. One of the many new parties that hoped to take advantage of the scrutin de liste, the Fédération shared the Ligue's headquarters at the girls school. It wrote political equality for women into its platform in October 1884, and, after several months of in-fighting, the Fédération agreed in February 1885 to add women to its candidate list. Those who opposed that step quit the party, leaving "Allix, Barberousse and Co." in command of "the wreckage of the old Fédération."¹⁷⁵

Altogether the Fédération Républicaine Socialiste invited twenty-seven women to become candidates. Fifteen accepted, ten refused, and two were dropped, actress Sarah Bernhardt and Mademoiselle Rousseil, "notoriously known for her clericalism and her faith at Sacre-Coeur."¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³Ibid.

¹⁷⁴Louis Frank de Bruxelles, Essai sur le condition politique de la femme (Paris, 1892).

¹⁷⁵La Bataille, 13 September 1885. Cited in Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 45, 66.

¹⁷⁶Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.



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Those who refused included Magdeleine Godard, concert violinist; Caroline de Barrau, director of l'Oeuvre des Libérées de Saint-Lazare; and Eugénie Pierre, one of Richer's collaborators who, like Auclert, objected to the excessive number of candidates. Three women on the left also balked, primarily for ideological reasons. Communard Paule Mink wrote from Algeria that illness compelled her to retire from public life; in any case her candidacy was out of the question "because I do not believe that women will have their situation ameliorated by the conquest of their political rights, but only by the social transformation of our old world." Séverine, director of the socialist Le Cri de Peuple, declined because she felt too feminine, objected to joining any group, and preferred the "social struggle."¹⁷⁷ And anarchist Louise Michel, whose attitude was already well known, persisted in her conviction that woman suffrage represented a mirage "that we shall be offered because it means nothing It is in the struggle for progress, for universal peace, that we must take our place."¹⁷⁸

Less expected, judging from Auclert's vehement reaction, were the refusals of two staunch republicans, Céleste Hardouin and Madame Adam. Hardouin, an institutrice who had led a petition drive to secure amnesty for Louise Michel in 1879, at first figured on the acceptance list.¹⁷⁹ But in August 1885 she corrected the error:

To Monsieur Jules Allix, who came to make me a rather ridiculous proposition a week ago, I responded that I had enough occasions to prove my devotion to the cause of the people in giving to the girls who are confided to me an education conforming

¹⁷⁷La Citoyenne, September 1885.

¹⁷⁸Thomas, Louise Michel, 322.

¹⁷⁹Ibid., 181.

to the esprit républicain, without searching elsewhere for another outlet for my activity.¹⁸⁰

Madame Adam, director of the chauvinist Nouvelle Revue had helped launch the feminist movement a generation earlier. By 1885, however, she had acquired a rather dim view of French womanhood:

If I were English or American, I could accept a candidacy, because in England and America most men admit that one can, without danger, make a place for women in the administration of public affairs. Also the women of these two countries work with the laudable goal of being, when the time comes, worthy of sharing [responsibility].

It seems to me that, here in France, ambition comes to women before the search for merit. My principle of reform is that it is necessary first to require of those who one emancipates the proof that demands for their rights rest on knowledge of their capacity, that is to say, their duties.¹⁸¹

Hardouin's description of the proffered candidacy as a "rather ridiculous proposition" especially piqued Auclert, who asked if her love of liberty was no greater than that of the Negroes who abandoned John Brown. As for Madame Adam, Auclert questioned her avowed patriotism. Citing the law that deprived Frenchwomen of their citizenship when they married foreigners, Auclert pointed out that the first duty of a patriot is to put one's own nation in the forefront of progress. Rather than denigrate Frenchwomen, Auclert concluded, Madame Adam should battle for woman's rights, the surest means of safeguarding French integrity.¹⁸²

The tenth refusal represented a unique case, an outgrowth of the affaire Morin.¹⁸³ In 1883 Dame Lenormand, who had a reputation for beauty under the Second Empire, sought grounds for separation from her second husband. Convinced that Monsieur Lenormand had a mistress, she

¹⁸⁰Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.

¹⁸¹Ibid. Thomas incorrectly identifies Madame Adam as one of the organizers of the 1885 shadow campaign. See: Thomas, Louise Michel, 280.

¹⁸²La Citoyenne, September 1885.

¹⁸³Zévaès, Ombres et silhouettes, 234-43.



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hired a private detective, Monsieur Morin, to uncover the correspondent. Unfortunately, he fingered the wrong woman, the wife of Deputy Clovis Hugues. Hugues and his wife immediately sued for defamation of character, and Morin lost. Faced with 2,500 francs in fines and two years in prison, Morin launched a series of appeals in the courts and a flurry of poison-pen letters at Madame Hugues. In November 1884, nearly a year after the original verdict and five minutes after Morin won another stay, Madame Hugues did what Richer thought any honest woman might.¹⁸⁴ She emptied six shots into Morin, killing him instantly in the middle of the Palais de Justice. Tried for murder, she secured an acquittal in January 1885, though a civil trial awarded 2,000 francs in damages to Morin's father.¹⁸⁵ Shortly thereafter came a bid from the Fédération Républicaine Socialiste, which, despite her husband's feminist sympathies, Madame Hugues rejected. "I regret to announce to you," she informed Jules Allix, "that it is impossible for me to accept this candidacy, which I hardly expected in the first place, because I have never accomplished any political act which would call me to the attention of my fellow citizens."¹⁸⁶

Of the fifteen who undertook to run, Maria Deraismes equivocated most. She abandoned Le Républicain de Seine-et-Oise and agreed to fulfill the duties of office if elected, but declined to do more than lend her name to the campaign. "I do not refuse," she indicated to Barberousse, "but I do not propose."¹⁸⁷ Frenchwomen were as ready to vote in 1885 as

¹⁸⁴ Richer asked what honest woman would have the courage to cast the first stone at Mme. Hugues, and concluded by saying that she "has avenged her outraged honor, her sullied daughter, and her tarnished home." Le Droit des Femmes, 1 December 1884.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 1 February 1885.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 6 September 1885.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 20 September 1885.

were men in 1848, she believed, but the electorate must decide. She also felt that if women could obtain suffrage without soliciting it, their cause would be strengthened. According to Richer's report, "Mademoiselle Deraismes made known that she would take no part in the electoral battle, that she would attend no public meetings, that she would put up no posters, distribute no leaflets, in a word that she would abstain from all initiative."¹⁸⁸

Seven of the other candidates, though perhaps less passive than Deraismes, were suffragists of mediocre stature. In Auclert's and Richer's extensive coverage of the campaign, they appear only as names: Augustine Bouhin, Louise Martane, Marie Schacre, Angèle Charrier, Améline Olivier, Clara Rougier, and Madame Esquiron.¹⁸⁹ Better known were Barberousse and the remaining six candidates, one of whom had run for office before. In 1881 Léonie Rouzade received fifty-seven votes from Paris' 12th arrondissement. Grand-daughter of a deputy to the Third Estate in 1789, disciple of Cabet and Fourier, Rouzade was born at Paris in 1839. Raised by a brother after her parents' death, she worked as an embroiderer until her marriage to Auguste Rouzade at the age of twenty-two. Forty-one years of happiness followed, due, according to Auclert, to Auguste's immunity to "the stupid pride of sex."¹⁹⁰ Encouraged by her husband, Rouzade wrote several books on social questions — Le Voyage de Théodose à l'île de l'Utopie, Le Roi Johanne, Le Monde renversé — and stumped France on behalf of socialism and feminism. "I am a socialist without revolutionary or other adjective," she informed Jules Allix, "because

¹⁸⁸Ibid.

¹⁸⁹La Citoyenne, September 1885.

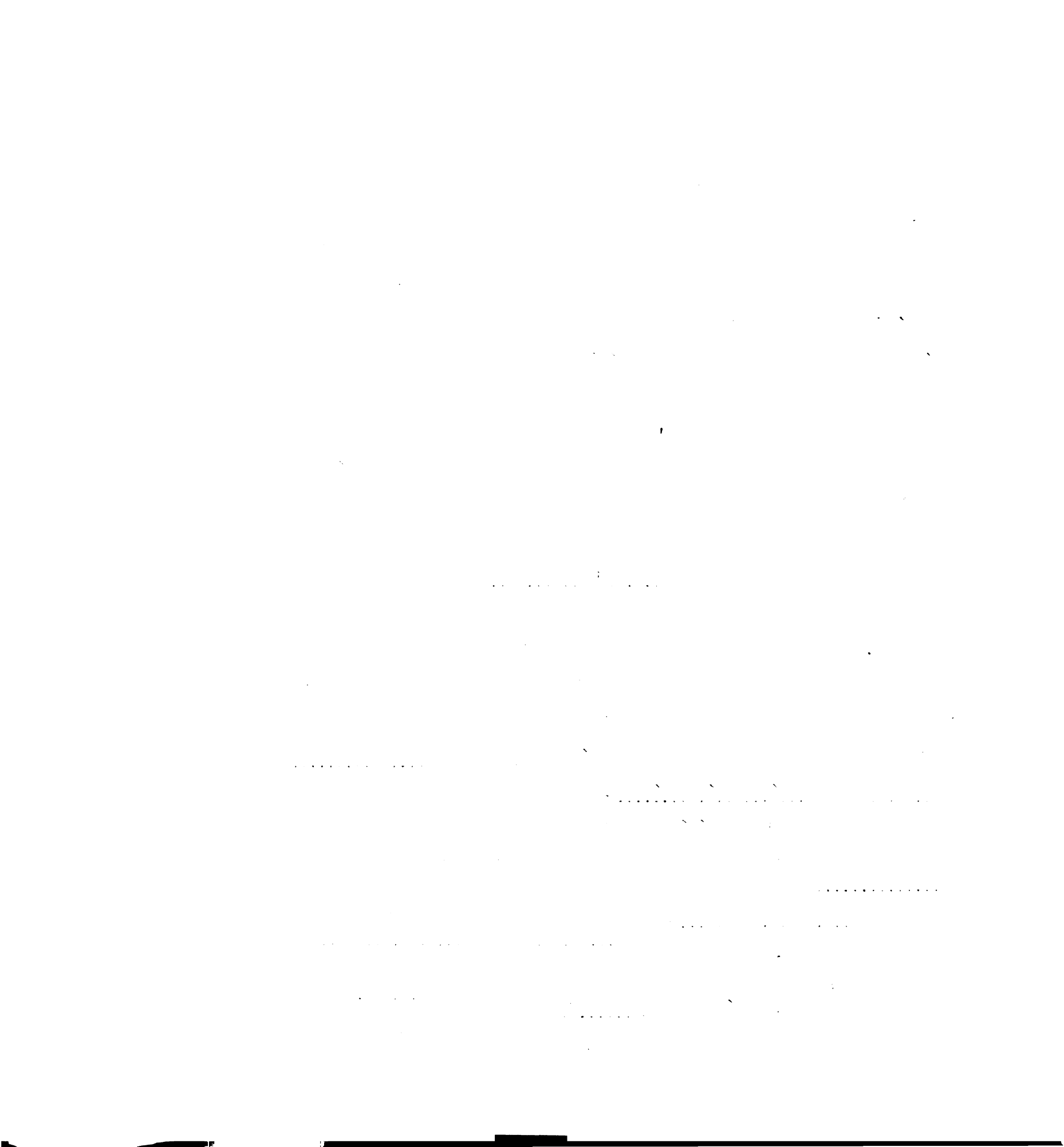
¹⁹⁰Ibid., October 1885.

the means to arrive at the goal are necessarily variable according to events, circumstances, whereas the goal is not; I am content therefore to march there with all my strength, without preoccupying myself with what manner one will arrive. That is all there is to say; I am with you."¹⁹¹

Five years younger than Rouzade, candidate Madame Vincent (née Eliska Girard) ranked as one of the founders of French feminism. Born at Mézières (Eure-et-Loir), she arrived in Paris in time to help André Léo and Deraismes establish the Société pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme in 1868. Her role in the 1885 campaign represented one of many actions on behalf of woman's rights, the most important of which were yet to come.¹⁹² Both Rouzade and Vincent were neophytes next to Léonie Manière. Described by Auclert as an "old battler" and "well-known," Manière was born at Marey-sur-Tille (Côte-d'Or) in 1826. Widowed and left with a large family, she secured a brevet d'institutrice at the age of forty. She sympathized with the Paris Commune of 1871 and openly criticized the Republic. Nevertheless, with the help of a friend at the Banque de France, she had secured a public subsidy by the time she joined the Fédération's ticket in 1885. Youngest of the candidates was Lara Marcel, whose poetry, written under the male pseudonym of René Marcil, included Les Satires marciliennes and La Féodalité littéraire. Marcel, like several of the others, belonged to Auclert's Société. Newest of the candidates was the widow Jeannot, whose feminist career began with her registration bid in the

¹⁹¹Le Droit des Femmes, 20 September 1885. For an interesting sketch of Rouzade, see: Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 12-18, 30-44.

¹⁹²L'Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, Bulletin, January-March 1914. Amélioration, Bulletin, September-October 1903. In 1911, Mme. Vincent became the president of the Union Française pour le Suffrage des Femmes, founded in 1909.



9th arrondissement earlier that same year. In contrast to Rouzade's marriage, Jeannot's had failed. Her husband, a notary, had squandered her dowry before his death. Forced to work, she was a seamstress in 1885.¹⁹³

Rounding out the Fédération's slate was Émilie Saint-Hilaire, whose birth at Naillat (Creuse) in 1818 made her sixty-seven at the time of the election. Prior to the Commune of 1871 she had apparently lived the quiet life of a Parisian boarding house keeper and wine seller. Once the insurrection began, however, she embraced the revolution with ardor. Her son, who served in a Communard artillery unit, died during the fighting, and Émilie herself was subsequently deported, like Louise Michel, to New Caledonia.¹⁹⁴ Amnestied in 1879, she returned to Paris and immediately joined Auclert. She also took up writing under the pseudonym Madame Godot. When offered a candidacy in 1885, she remarked pluckily, "I want my share of the ridicule."¹⁹⁵ That she got, As the October election approached, the Fédération's list aroused a storm of vituperative comment. Later feminists interpreted the decline of ridicule as an indication of growing public sympathy, but in 1885, with ridicule coming from all sides, Auclert drew a different conclusion. Citing hostile articles in Gil Blas, Le National, and Le Figaro (which ran favorable notices as well), she claimed that men had begun to panic. Male cynicism, sarcasm, and boycott of feminist news, she felt, was a sure sign of progress — and perhaps it was, at least compared to apathy.¹⁹⁶ Whatever its meaning, however, abuse showered the candidates, particularly Saint-Hilaire.

¹⁹³La Citoyenne, October 1885.

¹⁹⁴Maitron, ed., Dictionnaire biographique, IX, 77.

¹⁹⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 6 September 1885.

¹⁹⁶La Citoyenne, September 1885.



1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It also highlights the need for regular audits and the importance of transparency in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of internal controls to prevent fraud and ensure the accuracy of financial data. It outlines the key components of a robust internal control system, including segregation of duties, authorization procedures, and regular monitoring and evaluation.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges faced by organizations in managing their financial resources effectively. It discusses the importance of budgeting, forecasting, and financial analysis in making informed decisions and optimizing resource allocation.

4. The fourth part of the document explores the role of technology in modern accounting and finance. It highlights the benefits of using accounting software and digital tools to streamline processes, improve accuracy, and enhance data security.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of ethical considerations in financial reporting and the role of the accounting profession in upholding high standards of integrity and transparency.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a summary of the key findings and recommendations from the study. It emphasizes the need for continuous improvement in financial management practices and the importance of staying up-to-date with the latest industry trends and regulations.

Voltaire's "Dame Voilée," for example, announced that "definitely the feminine candidates are very sick:"

After successive refusals by all women having some intelligence, some good sense and some celebrity, the famous committee presided over by the sympathetic friend of snails, Monsieur Jules Allix, has had to show little discrimination in its choices and to take at random, to help itself, to the first women who came by

There is one especially, much ignored by the public, but well known in the offices of newspapers and the bureaux of publishers that she besieges, and whose comic physiognomy will carry the last blow to Mademoiselle Barberousse's attempt and kill it under ridicule

She is Madame Saint-Hilaire, her true name Madame Godot [sic].

Oh! she is a type, a curious type, amusing as possible.

You must have often seen, descending in small steps from the heights of Montmartre to the rue du Croissant, a small wizened old lady carrying under her arm a packet wrapped in newspaper — those are her works — and followed by a hideous dog, always horribly dirty, a kind of seeing-eye dog belonging to no known species

One would spontaneously take her, thanks to her get-up and gait, for one of the quadrupeds of the Corvi circus

Absolutely illiterate and of an ignorance that exceeds all limits, she has dreamed for ten years of living by her pen and she rails against Monsieur Zola, Monsieur Daudet and the others who congest the paths of celebrity; against editors and journalists who do not understand her or who envy the originality of her talent

She will ask you seriously if you have heard of someone named Mirabeau

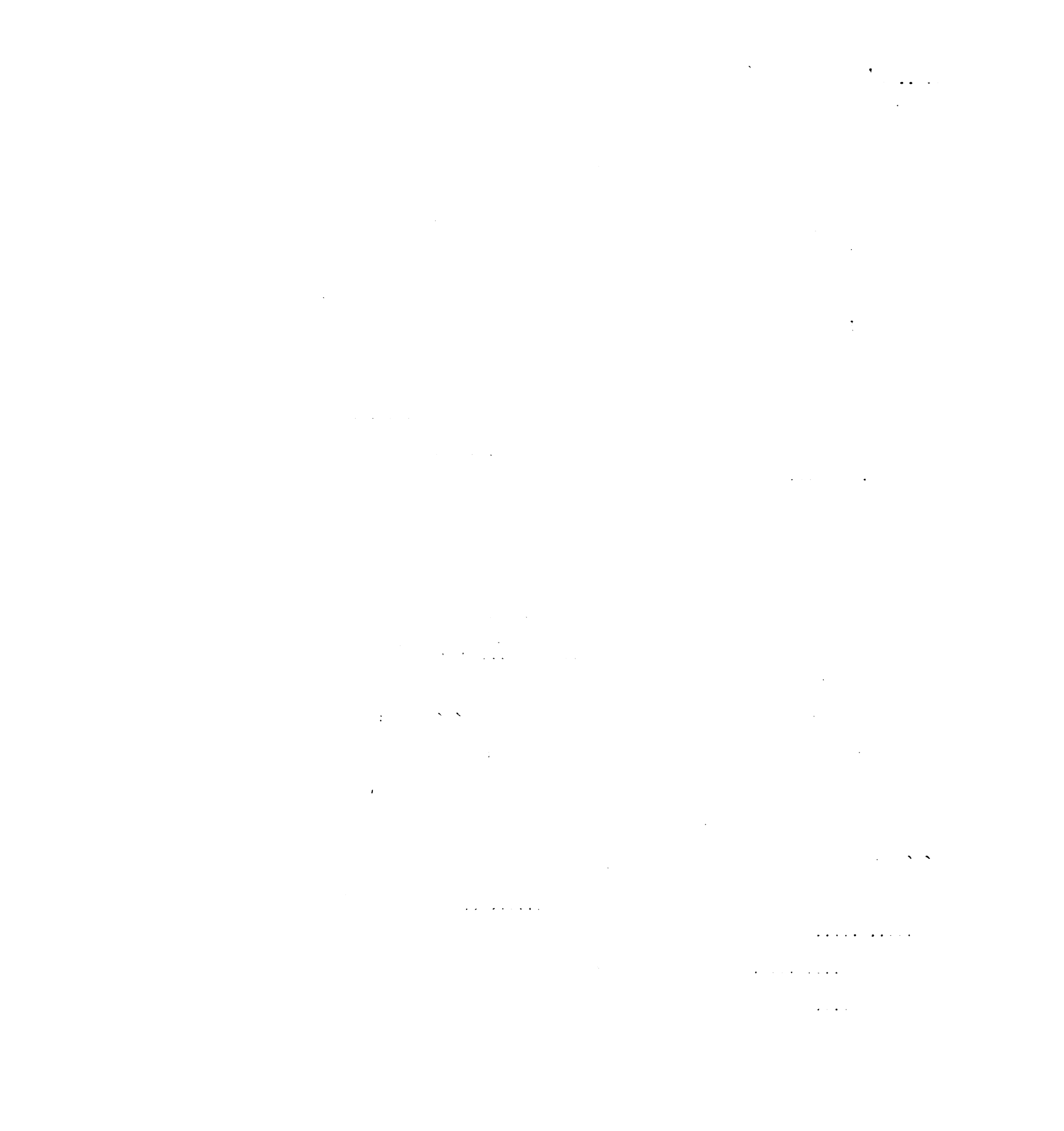
She believes that Raphael is a nineteenth century painter, takes Rembrandt for one of our contemporaries

Nearly twenty years ago she was thrown in with Victor Hugo at Guernesey; she calls him with pride mon confrère¹⁹⁷

The campaign left little concrete evidence of its impact. Henri Rochefort, "prince of the gutter press," headed the Fédération's ticket in the Seine, where about one-third of Barberousse's cohorts presented themselves.¹⁹⁸ Nearly five hundred candidates sought the Seine's thirty-eight seats, and when no list secured a majority on the first turn the Fédération withdrew from the campaign. Rochefort, who seemed primarily concerned with drumming up support for his Intransigent, accepted the

¹⁹⁷Le Voltaire, 24 August 1885.

¹⁹⁸Ibid.



thirty-eighth spot on a Guesdist-Blanquist list for the ballotage.¹⁹⁹ The Fédération's other candidates apparently ran outside the Seine, perhaps as part of the nine-woman contingent presented by Les Femmes indépendantes de Versailles. Election officials refused to count votes cast for women, however, so the magnitude of the defeat remained unknown. Equally unclear was the effect of La Citoyenne's call to support pro-feminist males on the second ballot.²⁰⁰ Only the village of Saint-Sever (Landes) produced a feminist statistic. Two women voted there on 4 October, bringing its mayor, Monsieur de Dubedout, a 200 franc fine.²⁰¹

The election results provided suffragists and their opponents with propaganda. Republicans fared badly at the first turn, but recovered in the ballotage. With fifty-six percent of the vote, they secured 367 seats in the new Chamber of Deputies, compared to the Right's 202.²⁰² In Auclert's eyes, the outcome simply sanctioned the most scandalous of royalties, that of sex. Rightist gains also revealed that, despite having possessed the ballot for years, men lacked political education. Only woman suffrage, Auclert exclaimed, could correct that fault and make men conscious of their duty.²⁰³ Richer, in contrast, accused the Fédération of siphoning off Republican votes and alienating feminism's natural

¹⁹⁹Roger L. Williams, Henri Rochefort: Prince of the Gutter Press, 195.

²⁰⁰La Citoyenne, October 1885. Sowerwine cites the vote totals for the Fédération's list, which included several prominent advocates of women's rights: Allix, Lissagaray, Lockroy, Michelin, Élinée Réclus, Tony Reveillon, and Vaillant. Only three of the Fédération candidates received fewer votes than Allix's 171. Lockroy, an incumbent, received the most, 272,650. Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 50-1.

²⁰¹La Citoyenne, January 1886.

²⁰²Gagnon, France since 1789, 242.

²⁰³La Citoyenne, October 1885.

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supporters. "I have no intention," he claimed after the election, "of dwelling anew on the disastrous consequences of the electoral campaign so maladroitly provoked by Mlles. Barberousse and Hubertine Auclert [but] the cause that we have to defend meets enough hostility already and includes enough adversaries that we must have the prudence not to divide ourselves." Many people misunderstand our demands, Richer continued, so we must "unite our efforts, o femmes! in order that it can no longer be said that you are your own worst enemies:"²⁰⁴

Within the suffrage camp, Auclert and others persisted in their criticism of the inordinate number of candidates, which accounted for why "the most determined suffragists abstained from taking part in the demonstration."²⁰⁵ Unfortunately, Auclert implied, some women had put personal ambition ahead of women's rights. If fewer women had run, she charged, their votes would have been counted like Rouzade's in 1881.

The Fédération had also blundered in neglecting to send a delegate to the parti ouvrier, which had sponsored Rouzade's earlier bid.²⁰⁶ Nevertheless, subsequent activists looked back on the campaign as a turning point for woman suffrage. Prior to the outbreak of the First World War at least four doctoral dissertations in law gave close and favorable scrutiny to Barberousse's registration claim.²⁰⁷ And before the year was out, the shadow campaign of 1885 helped provoke the General Council of the Seine to record the first vote by an elected assembly on woman's political rights.

²⁰⁴Le Droit des Femmes, 1 November 1885.

²⁰⁵Auclert, Le Vote des Femmes, 111.

²⁰⁶La Citoyenne, October 1885.

²⁰⁷Vital Gougeon, Du Vote des Femmes; Antoine Martin, De la situation politique des femmes (Law thesis, University of Paris; Paris, 1902); Jean le Couteulx du Molay, Les Droits politiques de la femme (Law thesis, University of Paris; Paris, 1913); Paul de Poulpiquet, Le Suffrage de la femme en France (Law thesis, University of Caen; Paris, 1912).

Une Vie Isolée: Auclert's Diary 1883-1886

As an advocate of a minority point of view within a movement that had little else to draw on except enthusiasm, Auclert frequently despaired. In the first of twenty-five diary entries covering the period from June 1883 to March 1886, she wrote:

I work harder than a mercenary but I am not rewarded like one -- The mercenary finds instant satisfaction in the results of his labor, and, after a hard day of toil, the supreme relaxation: affection! love!

As for me! Nothing! but . . . suspicion, envy, ridicule, hate!

All along the line negative results. I stand alone against the prejudiced and when I sense the goal close at hand, having overcome the greatest difficulties, I am hurled back to the starting point. What I do would seem sublime if I were rich /but/ being poor it is only ridiculous.

I fight exclusively for women. I exert myself to liberate them, to exalt their qualities, to conceal their faults, and these vile slaves would repay me for defending them so ardently by spitting in my face if they could.

Those who understand me have no faith in me. People like me reject a place in the world and wish to make the most extensive changes that have yet occurred in the social order.

However much I may seem reckless to all, I am sensitive and small. Rather than make excuses for my audacity, I would better disarm my enemies perhaps if I knew how to make the most of myself.

However hopeless the struggle may seem and as I have been created equal, I have an unquenchable faith. One of ²⁰⁸this Christian belief must toil hard and long to quell the beasts.

The themes in this first entry reoccur throughout the diary. Auclert perceived her cause as unquestionably just, but its advocacy left her isolated. Mockery and disappointment were her constant companions. Enemies despised her; friends had no confidence in her. Every anticipated success vanished, forcing her to wage the same battles over and over again. She lacked the credibility that wealth might confer, and she refused to disarm her opponents by adopting a typically feminine stance. Even women would have spit in her face if given a

²⁰⁸Hubertine Auclert, "Diary," MSS (Provisional Code 4248) at Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris, entry for June 1883.

chance. Pitted against a society of beasts, she vacillated between the easy optimism of a martyr possessed of the truth and the pessimism born of an awareness of the personal price her faith exacted.

The diary also offers an unusual insight into the problems that plagued the daily operations of groups like Auclert's. In an entry on the difficulties of finding vendors for La Citoyenne, she noted a day spent going "up and down the exterior boulevard in front of benches filled with human brutes, dandies, bums, etc." Finally, she discovered "a figure slightly less repulsive than the others," whom she approached "timidly and with a suppliant's air" amid "jeers and dirty jokes." He agreed to the work, which meant showing up the next day at Auclert's apartment. Others also agreed, but out of more than a hundred "hooligans" who tramped to her door to pick up their newspapers not one returned with the proceeds. "So much time, so much pain, so much suffering uselessly wasted," Auclert reflected after the "sale."²⁰⁹ Occasionally her vendors came back, Auclert wrote a few months later, which required her "to wait sometimes until ten o'clock." And then, they returned "reeling, insolent," and, instead of turning over the proceeds, they demanded additional "bottle money." Refused, they left "cursing all the while as they descended the stairs," while the "building reverberated from the vulgar insults."²¹⁰

Auclert's friends worried for her safety in dealing with so many street people, but she discounted the danger.²¹¹ More bothersome were the constant interruptions. A typical day found her finalizing

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Ibid., 2 March 1884.

²¹¹ Ibid., June 1883.

La Citoyenne's copy for the printers and receiving a request from Le Matin for an article that had to be in by midnight. Then a vendor stopped in and, after a few minutes of chit-chat, left without his newspapers. Tired and hungry, Auclert quickly threw a cutlet on the grill. Three more vendors came by, asking about prices, and the cutlet burned while Auclert answered their questions. One bite later, a subscriber rang, and, fearful of making a bad impression, Auclert left her meal for yet another conversation. When at last she returned to her table, the meal was cold, and she was so hungry that she could not eat.²¹²

Auclert's difficulties stemmed in part from a lack of able assistants. "Jesus in the Garden of Olives had faithful apostles," she bitterly complained; "as for me I feel that I have truly no one with me; the end of each meeting, seeing that it has been useless, is my Calvary, my Garden of Olives."²¹³ "I am always at the same point," she repeated on another occasion, "much hated and little heard. These brave imbeciles after whom I chase to help me rely on me to do everything and believe themselves destined to play the role of critic."²¹⁴ Difficulties also grew out of crossed signals and unanticipated developments. A week's preparation for a meeting at the salle des Capucines went for naught, for example, when Auclert found out at the last minute that the hall had mistakenly been let to another party. "These things only happen to me," she recorded. "My life is a continuity of wasted efforts."²¹⁵ Two months earlier, in April 1884, a similar problem arose

²¹² Ibid., 2 March 1884.

²¹³ Ibid., 24 September 1883.

²¹⁴ Ibid., 24 April 1885.

²¹⁵ Ibid., 14 June 1884.

when, with a hall secured, the principal speaker attempted to bow out.

"In truth I am a singular imbecile," Auclert wrote disparagingly, and then despairingly: "What is the best thing in life? It is death!"²¹⁶

Auclert lived in terror of having to speak before large audiences. She lacked confidence in her ability to reach listeners, and she feared the cutting remarks that her words so often provoked. A brief entry on one of her forays during the 1885 shadow campaign reflected both concerns:

At an electoral meeting at the salle Molière for the feminine candidates, I was forced to mount the rostrum. Certainly the listeners were much deceived in seeing me so ineloquent; much applause and I finished with a blunder in proposing a collection for posters and for these women. Not a hand went up in support of my proposal.

As I climbed down from the rostrum to leave the hall, I heard three women say: 'That Hubertine Auclert, what gall she has to mount the rostrum to pick men's pockets.'²¹⁷

The principal speaker who attempted to avoid the meeting of April 1884 was Doctor Eugène Verrier, a phalanstérien who published a pamphlet the following month on La Femme devant la science.²¹⁸ His reluctance to attend, however, fell far short of the searing disappointment that others induced in Auclert. These others included Paule Minck and Louise Barberousse. In 1883 a frightful English woman had insulted Auclert; in 1884 the insults had come from Barberousse. "Why?" asked Auclert, "Because as small as I make myself I still annoy the ambitious."²¹⁹ Most disappointing of all was Victor Hugo, who, like Dumas fils, declined to assume a position in Auclert's groups. In light of his

²¹⁶Ibid., 18 April 1884.

²¹⁷Ibid., 12 September 1885.

²¹⁸Eugène Verrier, La Femme devant la science, considérée au point de vue du système cérébral (conference at the salle Rivot on 28 May 1883), Paris, 1883.

²¹⁹Auclert, "Diary," 31 October 1884.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Treasury to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

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6. The sixth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Agriculture to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

7. The seventh part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Commerce to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

8. The eighth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Education to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

9. The ninth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Marine to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

10. The tenth part of the document is a letter from the Secretary of the Air to the Congress, dated January 3, 1862. It is a very long letter, and it contains a great deal of information about the state of the country at that time. It is a very important document, and it is one of the most interesting documents in the collection.

subsequent actions, his failure to do so led Auclert to speculate about his motives:

Victor Hugo, who refused the honorary presidency of the Société du Suffrage has just accepted the presidency of the Société contre la Vivisection. Why this difference? Because those who asked him to join the suffrage society of progress were poor, while those who urged him to join the anti-scientific anti-vivisection society were rich.²²⁰

Yet Auclert mourned Hugo's death in 1885 with characteristic fatalism:

"Ah, why stupid death did you not take me, the lonely, the sad, the hopeless, in place of this god of the earth so loved and adored?"²²¹

She and other members of her Cercle also marched in Hugo's magnificent funeral cortege, where, despite ten hours without anything to eat or drink and placement by reactionaries at the rear of the procession, their suffrage banner elicited numerous tippings of hats and wavings of handkerchiefs.²²²

The individual who engendered the most profound ambivalence in Auclert was Antonin Lévrier, the man she married in 1888. Their working relationship covered at least the previous decade, and one of the earliest entries in Auclert's diary reveals a personal attachment of long standing. In August 1883, after a separation of nine months, Auclert traveled to the coast to meet him. Strangeness born of absence provoked a coolness between them at first, and they talked of "indifferent things" until they rediscovered each other over dinner.²²³ However, separation continued to plague their relationship. In March 1885, Auclert wrote:

²²⁰ Ibid., 7 February 1884.

²²¹ Ibid., 22 May 1885.

²²² Ibid., 1 June 1885.

²²³ Ibid., 11 August 1883.

How my character has changed! I now experience more than anyone else the anxiety of love. I am indifferent to life and death, but not yet indifferent to politics. I passionately attend the meetings of the Fédération Républicaine Socialiste.

I think that Antonin will not return to Paris. What effect time has on the liveliest of emotions. We write letters as strangers, which is funny as well as sad.²²⁴

Auclert prefaced these observations with a typical lament:

Life would be good if I were alone by myself! But I am alone everywhere, alone in public life as in private life! Alone at home, alone at the Société le Suffrage, alone at the journal, always alone, everywhere alone.²²⁵

A year later, the tension between the cause she loved and the man she loved reached a peak. On 12 March 1885, Auclert noted the dilemma:

I sensed a feeling of well-being, I was happy for several days. Then this morning I received a letter from Antonin that turned my joy to tears; it announced that he was about to be sent to Tahiti to replace the imperial procurator at a salary of 4,500 francs. I cried, cried, cried, rummaged through an atlas. Marie tried to comfort me, but everything has become bleak for me. This will pass and if I went with Antonin to the end of the world, I would never forgive myself for having sacrificed Marie, my liberty, the cause, my quasi-well-being to a man who has always brought me more pain than joy. Love was always thus, so fragile, so easily broken! How much I have sacrificed as I have loved to be loved so little. Beautiful women have the joys and triumphs of love. Ugly me has had only its sorrows and sacrifices. Is nature so cruel as to put into the bodies least made for love the hearts most avid for love?²²⁶

By month's end, Lévrier confirmed Auclert's worst fears. "Despite all my prayers and supplications Antonin is leaving. He told me coldly without hesitation: 'I have no choice but to stab you to the heart.'"²²⁷

²²⁴ Ibid., 6 March 1885.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Ibid., 12 March 1886.

²²⁷ Ibid., 29 March 1886.

[illegible]

Conclusion

Three years after the shadow campaign of 1885 and two years after the Tahiti crisis, Auclert married Lévrier. They immediately embarked for Algeria, settling at Fren Dah where Lévrier had accepted an appointment as justice of the peace. How much Auclert felt the distance would affect her cause by then is unclear. Nor is it clear how long she intended to remain in North Africa. She designated Maria Martin, whose name first appeared on La Citoyenne's masthead in June 1888, as the journal's new director. From across the Mediterranean she kept in touch with metropolitan events and continued to write for La Citoyenne. She also drew on the North African situation to develop new charges against the système masculiniste, like the complicity of Frenchmen in permitting polygamy to thrive among their Muslim subjects.²²⁸ As the months passed, however, Auclert's influence declined. The new director gradually assumed complete control of the journal, and by the time Lévrier died and Auclert returned to Paris in 1892, La Citoyenne had disappeared. Its last issue, number 187, bore the date 15 November 1891. Back in the capital, Auclert took an apartment at 151 rue de la Roquette, near Lévrier's tomb at Père Lachaise.²²⁹

Under Maria Martin's direction, La Citoyenne reappeared as Le Journal des Femmes, which survived from December 1891 until Martin's death in January 1911. The Journal's program differed from its predecessor's in only one respect: it slightly deemphasized woman suffrage in favor of other feminist objectives. Bitterness from the take-over lingered on, however, and even after a lapse of seventeen years Auclert

²²⁸La Citoyenne, 1 August 1891.

²²⁹Marie Chaumont, "Hubertine Auclert," 44-45.

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could do no better than refer to her former colleague as "that woman." The "indelicate proceedings" provoked a single satisfaction: Deputy de Gasté completely dissociated himself from the new venture and withdrew his subsidies.²³⁰ Auclert never attempted to found another newspaper. She regrouped her Société as best she could -- Martin had also created a new group called Solidarité -- but confined her writings to selected journals, pamphlets, and books. Between 1896 and 1909, she contributed at least fifty-four articles to Le Radical, as well as others to Le Matin, La Libre Parole, and the feminist daily La Fronde (1897-1905).²³¹ In addition to her 1878 Le Droit politique de la femme and her posthumous Les femmes au gouvernail (1926), she published Les femmes arabes en Algérie (1900), Le vote des femmes (1908), and three pamphlets, L'Égalité sociale et politique de l'homme et de la femme (1879), L'Argent de la femme (1904), and Le Nom de la femme (1905).²³²

The milieu that confronted Auclert upon her return from Algeria was singularly hostile to woman suffrage. In her absence, Deraismes and Richer had staged a second Woman's Rights Congress during the 1889 Revolutionary centennial, which, like the Congress of 1878, banned the discussion of woman's political rights. A third major congress in 1900 followed suit, and it was not until 1908 that feminists accorded woman suffrage an official airing. Nevertheless, Auclert persisted in her attempt to convert both feminists and the public at large. Petitions continued to flow from her pen. She induced Clovis Hugues to submit

²³⁰ Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 111.

²³¹ BMD, Dossier Auclert.

²³² Hubertine Auclert, Les Femmes arabes en Algérie (Paris, 1900); L'Égalité sociale et politique de l'homme et de la femme (Marseille, 1879); L'Argent de la femme (Paris, 1904); Le Nom de la femme (Paris, 1905).

3,000 signatures to the Chamber on behalf of the célibataire vote in 1901,²³³ and in 1904 she urged Premier Emile Combes simply to decree suffrage in order to enlist republican women, his "best auxiliaries," in the struggle to separate church and state.²³⁴ Demonstrations also proliferated. In 1904 Auclert and several supporters protested against the centenary of the Code by ripping a copy to shreds at the base of the Vendôme column.²³⁵ Four years later she invaded a polling booth in the 4th arrondissement and smashed a collection urn.²³⁶ A few months after that she led a band of twenty suffragists into the Chamber, button-holed Deputy Charles Benoist and flung suffrage billets onto the floor from the gallery.²³⁷ She also introduced two new forms of protest. In 1901 her Société issued suffrage stamps designed to appear alongside regular letter postage -- a technique that American feminists and the French Radical-Socialist Party later adopted. And a short time afterward, she devised a series of pro-vote postcards.²³⁸

The net effect of Auclert's persistence brought her little personal support. During the first decade of the twentieth century, large segments of the feminist movement rallied to woman suffrage, but Auclert offended many of the converts. They chose to concentrate on the municipal vote, whereas Auclert, who had often advanced restricted proposals in the past, pressed increasingly for full political suffrage. Most new

²³³ Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 178.

²³⁴ Gougeon, Du Vote des femmes, 41.

²³⁵ Le Journal des Femmes, December 1904.

²³⁶ Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 120.

²³⁷ BMD, Dossier 398 VOT.

²³⁸ Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 120.

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suffragists also subscribed to le suffragisme réformiste, which attempted to adapt the tactic of le brèche to the new priority. Auclert, in contrast, represented le suffragisme révolutionnaire, which stood for repeated frontal assaults on all male bastions.²³⁹ Their differences came to a head in 1908. The Woman's Rights Congress of that year finally placed suffrage on its agenda, but Auclert felt that the time for talk had passed: "After having employed all legal means to obtain their political rights, feminists are forced to resort to revolutionary means."²⁴⁰ Few feminists agreed, however, and two years later Auclert lashed back. She accused newcomers of self-seeking, and protested against their attempts to stifle the initiators of the movement. Thanks to them, she spat, "the discord of suffrage claimants, more than the indifference of women, retards feminine emancipation."²⁴¹

Auclert's opponents within the movement identified her with the violent tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union, founded in Britain by Emmeline Pankhurst in 1903. They made a distinction between peaceful, law-abiding "suffragists" and disruptive "suffragettes" like Auclert, "whose temperament was that of English or American militants and who was a suffragette before the word [came into existence]. . . ."²⁴² They also chastised her for imitating the feminist radicals of the French Revolution, for "not taking into consideration that the recollection of the uproarious proceedings of those women was perhaps uppermost in the minds of the men who re-elaborated the laws which will -- until

²³⁹ Molay, Les Droits politiques de la femme, 261.

²⁴⁰ Auclert, Le Vote des femmes, 121.

²⁴¹ Le Matin, 23 March 1910.

²⁴² Abensour, Histoire générale, 275.

they are abolished -- prove an insurmountable obstacle to the admission of women to the franchise."²⁴³ Consequently, Auclert found it very difficult to play a part in the expanding suffrage movement. She refused to represent the National Council of French Women, founded in 1901, at an international suffrage conference in 1906.²⁴⁴ Shortly after, she accepted the chairmanship of the Council's suffrage section, but resigned a few months later. When Jeanne Schmahl, one of her most persistent critics, helped create the French Union for Women's Suffrage in 1909, Auclert declined to participate.²⁴⁵

Despite the criticism, provoked in part by her own uncompromising attitude, Auclert inspired several advances. Municipal and national suffrage eluded her, but working women secured the vote for conseils de prud'hommes in 1907 and eligibility in 1908. Auclert also played an instrumental role in the "seat law" of 1900, which required employers to provide chairs for salesgirls. More important, however, was her service to the movement. Through a protest published in Le Temps in the early 1880's, she introduced the word "feminism" to the French public. So broad was her defense of woman suffrage that the case for the vote remained essentially unchanged, and so sweeping were her protest tactics that most subsequent feminists became her imitators. Her testing of the administrative and judicial channels clarified woman's subordinate position, and awakened reformers to the need for legislative action. Her devotion to the cause provided a model of determination that even her severest critics could not deny. On 13 March 1914 she presided over a

²⁴³Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 83-84.

²⁴⁴Le Journal des Femmes, June 1906.

²⁴⁵Grinberg, Historique du mouvement suffragiste, 91.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all financial dealings.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It highlights the importance of using a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

3. The third part of the document describes the results of the research, including the findings from the data analysis. It discusses the implications of the findings for the organization and provides recommendations for future research and action.

4. The fourth part of the document concludes the report and summarizes the key points. It reiterates the importance of accurate record-keeping and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a list of references and sources used in the research. It includes books, articles, and other relevant materials that have informed the study.

6. The sixth part of the document contains a list of appendices, including the survey questionnaire, interview schedule, and other supporting documents. These appendices provide additional information and detail for the reader.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of figures and tables, which are used to present the data in a clear and concise manner. These visual aids help to illustrate the findings and make the report more accessible to the reader.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of footnotes, which provide additional information and clarification for the reader. These footnotes are used to explain any discrepancies or provide further context for the data presented.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of acknowledgments, which thank the individuals and organizations that have supported the research. This section is an important part of the report, as it recognizes the contributions of others to the study.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of references, which provide a list of the sources used in the research. This list is an essential part of the report, as it allows the reader to verify the information and find additional resources on the topic.

suffrage meeting in the 11th arrondissement. Twenty-two days later, at the age of sixty-six, the doyenne of the French suffragists died.

CHAPTER V
COUNTERATTACK: THE LIGUE FRANÇAISE POUR LE DROIT
DES FEMMES AND THE CONGRESS OF 1889

The activities of Auclert's small band of suffragists provoked consternation within the movement in the 1880's. No advocate of women's liberation objected to suffrage in theory, and a few like Deraismes tried to straddle the issue, perhaps out of a desire to preserve feminist unity. But most considered it premature. They feared that Auclert's attempt to substitute l'assaut for la brèche would undermine the movement by alienating potential supporters or destroy the republic by delivering millions of female votes into the hands of clericals and monarchists. Consequently those whom Auclert dubbed the "Old School" rallied in opposition to the new strategy. They turned to Léon Richer, who responded in 1882 by founding the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes. Almost overnight the Ligue became the largest of the feminist groups in France, and, although it suffered alarming membership losses in the last half of the decade, it successfully met the suffragist challenge. In 1889, with Auclert off to Algeria, Richer and Deraismes co-hosted the second French Congress for Women's Rights, which once again forbade discussion of the vote issue. Poor health forced Richer to retire the following year, and Deraismes died in 1894, but by then "moderate feminism had acquired such standing that the agitation of the very small Société [le Suffrage des Femmes] . . . appeared as scarcely more than puerile gestures in the face of the measured and methodical campaigns conducted

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the author to the editor, dated 10/10/1910. The letter is written in a very formal and polite style, typical of the early 20th century. It begins with "Dear Sir," and ends with "Yours faithfully, [Signature]". The letter is addressed to the editor of the "Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine".

2. The second part of the document is a letter from the editor to the author, dated 10/10/1910. It is written in a similar formal style and begins with "Dear Sir,". The editor's letter is a response to the author's letter and discusses the author's proposed article.

3. The third part of the document is a letter from the author to the editor, dated 10/10/1910. It is a response to the editor's letter and discusses the author's proposed article. The letter is written in a very formal and polite style, typical of the early 20th century. It begins with "Dear Sir," and ends with "Yours faithfully, [Signature]".

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by the other side for all women's rights, including the right of suffrage."¹

La Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes

Richer had little desire to create a new group. He preferred the role of propagandist to that of organizer, and soon after the 1878 Congress he resigned the presidency of Deraismes' l'Amélioration. For the next few years he devoted full attention to his monthly Le Droit des Femmes and later became editor-in-chief of the daily République radicale. His program of civil reforms remained intact but largely unaccomplished. A law permitting divorce seemed close at hand, but only in education had significant breakthroughs occurred. Yet, as a convinced proponent of la brèche, Richer viewed the two developments as portents of better times. Cautious, patient determination during the 1870's had sown the seeds of reform, and barring major mishaps the new decade would produce a rich harvest.

Auclert's aggressive campaign threatened Richer's easy optimism. In short order, she denounced the 1878 Women's Rights Congress, appealed successfully to the 1879 Socialist Congress, and caused waves of newspaper ink to flow in reaction to her registration drive, tax-strike, and census boycott. Two years after Richer stepped down as l'Amélioration's president, Auclert created La Citoyenne and through it enlisted the support of several prominent journalists and politicians, particularly de Gasté. The next year, in October 1882, Auclert applauded a speech by Deraismes in favor of woman suffrage and approvingly noted how far l'Amélioration's leader had come since the 1878 Congress.²

¹Misme, "La Vie et la mort de féminisme," 38.

²La Citoyenne, 1 October - 2 November 1882.

Richer reacted quickly. Within weeks of Deraismes' speech, he announced the founding of the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes. The names of its initial sixty-six members appeared in the December 1882 issue of Le Droit des Femmes, and the Ligue held its first general assembly the following month. For a moment the new organization and its rival had nearly identical titles, but Auclert relinquished the word "droit" to Richer when she renamed her group the Société le Suffrage des Femmes.

Shortly after the Ligue's birth, Richer published Le Code des Femmes (1883), a handbook spelling out "the most urgent reforms" and "the easiest to realize immediately."³ Designed as a legislative guide, Le Code des Femmes demanded revision or elimination of sixty-five provisions in the Civil Code and Article 339 of the Penal Code.⁴ As in his 1873 Le Divorce, Richer supplemented his critique with model laws, hoping to find others like Alfred Naquet, the "father of divorce," who would press within parliament for woman's civil rights. Consistent with la brèche, Richer excluded woman suffrage from his program. He also eschewed tactics of confrontation, so clearly identified with Auclert's campaign. Even legal confrontation might alienate potential allies, whereas Richer intended to respond "to the preoccupations of those — a large number I am sure — who do not much believe in the efficacy of petitions addressed to the chambers. We shall therefore proceed less by way of petition than by the introduction of laws. Will they say now that we are not

³Richer's emphasis. Le Droit des Femmes, December 1882.

⁴Richer, Le Code des Femmes, 374-400. Article 339 of the Penal Code sanctioned the double standard for adultery. Richer's Civil Code proposals touched on woman's condition in respect to witness rights, choice of residence, adultery, maternal power, second marriages, separation, illegitimate children, paternity, paternal power, nationality, and guardianship. For the Ligue's principles and program, see APPENDIX G.

practical people?"⁵

Richer initially perceived the Ligue as the spearhead of a mass movement. He took as his organizational model the Ligue de l'Enseignement, founded in 1866 by Jean Macé. It "had done so much so well" to promote free, lay, obligatory education, noted Richer, and during its first four years it had acquired fifty-nine circles comprising seventeen thousand members.⁶ Richer may also have hoped to duplicate the feat of Léo Taxil, a brother Freemason like Macé, who federated another seventeen thousand men and women into an Anti-Clerical League in the early 1880's.⁷ In any case size held the key to success. Auclert's premature campaign might require only a small band of hardcore activists, wrote Richer in November 1882, "but for a Société that wants to be reformist, it is certain that a large number of adherents means success."⁸ The Ligue's more influential members had so far come from the "most advanced groups" in parliament, he admitted the next month, but recruitment should not stop there:

For my part I am going to force myself — and I intend to succeed — to recruit members from among the diverse nuances of the republican majority; our legal projects will then have defenders on all benches.⁹

Furthermore, the Ligue had a distinct advantage over Macé's venture:

We can do so much better because to achieve the program of the Ligue de l'Enseignement the State had to spend millions; — whereas to give us satisfaction neither the State, nor the departments, nor the communes will have to disburse a sou I do not say that this the elimination of woman's civil

⁵Le Droit des Femmes, December 1882.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Headings, French Freemasonry under the Third Republic, 99.

⁸Le Droit des Femmes, November 1882.

⁹Ibid., December 1882.

disabilities⁷ can be done in a day, but we shall succeed with perseverance — and time. Be patient, and success, I predict, will crown our efforts.¹⁰

Richer designated 31 December 1882 as the cut-off date for founding members, but granted a month's extension to accomodate latecomers.¹¹ In the end one hundred forty-two enrolled under that appellation, and an additional fifty-two joined by the end of 1883. Males comprised nearly half the total, ninety-six of one hundred ninety-four, and included twenty-one politicians: two senators, thirteen deputies, three Paris municipal councillors, two general councillors, and a mayor, Charles Riveau of Grenouille (Charente-Inférieure), who also served as the local délégué cantonal pour la surveillance des écoles. Fifteen men, including several of the politicians, lived by the pen as journalists, authors, or hommes de lettres. Education contributed three professors (mathematics, physics, and music), an instituteur, and two students, one in law and the other in pharmacy. Two lawyers, an architect, and a doctor represented the professions; two merchants, a broker (agent de change), and a distiller, business. From the ranks of white collar workers the Ligue drew a lithographer, a bookseller, a practicing accountant, a retired accountant, an inspector of weights and measures, and six clerks. Skilled labor sent two tailors, a sculptor (statuaire), a barber, and a mechanic. The military contributed two retired officers. Only one male engaged in a lower class occupation, cab driver (cocher) Jules Poisson from Nantes.

Of the ninety-eight women only fourteen worked. Eight, including a Swiss professor, were educators: two institutrices, one institutrice-adjointe, a director of a girls school, and three other professors (piano,

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Le Droit des Femmes, December 1882 through December 1883. For the roster of the Ligue's membership in 1882-1883, see APPENDIX H.

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the President's policy for the new year. The President states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a good position to meet the challenges of the future. He also mentions the recent election of Abraham Lincoln as President, and expresses his confidence in the new administration.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861. It provides a detailed account of the financial state of the country at the beginning of the year. The report states that the country is in a sound financial position, with a strong and stable currency. It also mentions the recent increase in the national debt, and expresses the Secretary's confidence that the country will be able to manage the debt effectively.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861. It provides a detailed account of the state of the country's natural resources, including land, minerals, and water. The report states that the country is rich in natural resources, and that the government is committed to managing these resources in a sustainable and responsible manner. It also mentions the recent discovery of gold in California, and expresses the Secretary's confidence that the country will continue to prosper through the development of its natural resources.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861. It provides a detailed account of the state of the country's naval forces, including the number of ships, the crew, and the equipment. The report states that the country's naval forces are strong and well-equipped, and that the government is committed to maintaining a powerful navy. It also mentions the recent acquisition of the USS Monitor, and expresses the Secretary's confidence that the country's naval forces will continue to be a source of pride and strength.

5. The fifth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861. It provides a detailed account of the state of the country's military forces, including the number of soldiers, the equipment, and the readiness. The report states that the country's military forces are strong and well-trained, and that the government is committed to maintaining a powerful army. It also mentions the recent acquisition of the USS Monitor, and expresses the Secretary's confidence that the country's military forces will continue to be a source of pride and strength.

singing, and German). Two considered themselves femmes de lettres, two more engaged in peintre danoise, and another performed as an artiste lyrique et dramatique. Only one professional woman joined, Doctor Guénot of Paris. Three others simply managed their wealth, one as a rentière and two as propriétaires. None worked in commerce or industry, according to Richer's list. More than two-thirds had married, of whom at least four were widows. One of the latter, Madame Marie Moret, lived at the Familistère de Guise and married its founder, J.-B.-A. Godin, in 1886. Three women and four men refused to permit Richer to publish their full names.

Fifteen of the Ligue's members lived outside France, four in Switzerland, one each in Belgium and Italy, and nine in England. The British contingent included the Second Republic's expatriate feminist Jeanne Deroin and her daughter Cécile; Helen Blackburn, who in 1902 published A Record of the Women's Suffrage Movement in the British Isles; and three officials of the Bristol Woman Suffrage Society. The most important foreigner resided in Switzerland, Mademoiselle Mary Vincent of Vernox-Montreux. She had followed the French movement for over a dozen years, and Richer described her as "the true founder of the Ligue Française," possibly because she donated eleven hundred francs to the fledgling organization.¹²

Within France the Ligue drew members from twenty-five of the nation's eighty-eight departments. But fifteen of the twenty-five contributed only a single adherent, and another six just two each. Eleven members, including six deputies, came from seven departments forming a rough triangle between Lyons, Marseilles, and Nice. About a dozen adherents

¹²Le Droit des Femmes, March 1883.

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spread equally thinly, lived in departments dotted across France from the Swiss border (Doubs) to the channel (Seine-Inférieure and the Somme). With the exception of Loire-Inférieure where the Ligue established a branch at Nantes, Charente-Inférieure's five members gave it the highest total of any department outside the Seine. Elsewhere within metropolitan France only Lot-et-Garonne contributed a member, Ernest Cabrol of Agen. Three joined from Algeria.

Outside the capital, Richer's greatest success was in Nantes, whose sixty-odd members represented nearly a third of the Ligue's total. Led by a retired infantry captain, Pierre-Louis Goron, the groupe nantaise held its first meeting in February 1883. A month later a second meeting chose Charles Laisant, a deputy, as honorary president. As with the Ligue as a whole, almost half the Nantes group's members were male and two-thirds of the females had married. Richer hoped that other towns would follow Nantes' example, but in April 1883 he admitted its unique status: "After Paris it is the only city in France where we count enough adherents to form a local group."¹³ Yet, considering the predominantly Parisian make-up of Deraismes' and Auclert's organizations, the Ligue's branch at Nantes represented a significant achievement. For the first time in France a feminist association with headquarters in Paris had established a solid following in one of the provinces.

Nevertheless the Ligue's real strength lay in its Parisian cadre, which reflected the moderate and influential clientele Richer hoped to recruit. Fewer than half of the Ligue's members came from the capital, but many of these held positions within "the diverse nuances of the republican majority" that Richer prized so highly. Fifty were men, among

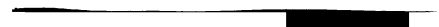
¹³Ibid., April 1883.



them the two senators and thirteen deputies as well as the majority of professional and literary figures. Over half the employed women, including the doctor and the three professors, also lived in Paris. Several of the other women, who numbered thirty-three in all, belonged to charitable and philanthropic organizations. The Ligue's eleven member executive committee, elected by the first general assembly on 21 January 1883, was entirely Parisian. Its six women included Amélie Germance, the artiste lyrique et dramatique, and the wives of Georges Martin, physics professor, and Lucien-Victor Meunier, homme de lettres. In addition to Richer, its five males included two writers, Paul Bonnetain and Charles Gérard, and two deputies, Laisant and Guillot. The first general assembly also elected two honorary vice-presidents, Maria Deraismes and Auguste Vacquerie, editor-in-chief of Rappel. Victor Hugo served as honorary president. Richer drew on Hugo's acceptance conditions to emphasize the Ligue's moderation. "You yourself promise me not to throw in exaggerations, to maintain your program intact?," the illustrious poet and senator asked, "then I accept. I have known you for a long time. Moreover it is you who directs [the Ligue], is it not?" "Parfaitment," responded Richer. "Then use my name," Hugo concluded with a cordial handshake.¹⁴

The size of the Ligue fell far short of Richer's expectations. Its nearly two-hundred recruits initially surpassed the combined membership of Deraismes' l'Amélioration and Auclert's Suffrage des Femmes, and among feminist groups only the Ligue had a provincial branch. But Richer had anticipated more. The Ligue de l'Enseignement had grown spectacularly after its first year, whereas the Ligue never exceeded its original total. Alexandre Dumas fils eventually joined, as did Jean Macé, and its delegation

¹⁴Ibid., February 1883.



in the Senate increased from two to five. But its representation in the Chamber, despite the addition of four new deputies, decreased from thirteen to six, mirroring the overall decline in membership. A decade after its creation the Ligue numbered only ninety-five individuals, fifty-five of whom resided in or around Paris. Of those who joined the first year only forty remained in 1892.¹⁵

Among potential recruits, subscribers to Le Droit des Femmes proved the most disappointing to Richer. Senators, deputies, and municipal councillors had joined the Ligue, Richer wrote in December 1882, "but it is especially to our subscribers that we address ourselves."¹⁶ If dues stand in the way, he said, "once again we repeat that this point is secondary:"

Without doubt in such an affair money is not to be scorned; we need much of it — a great deal even — especially if we wish to act effectively on public opinion, to expand our propaganda, to organize conferences, meetings, to hold numerous gatherings in Paris as well as in the departments; — but we need numbers above all.

Therefore let dues stop no one.

We have received contributions of 25 francs, 15 francs, 10 francs. But we have also received those of 50 centimes, 25 centimes, — and even less.

Consequently one would be wrong to permit oneself to lag due to this detail.¹⁷

The lag never slackened. After 128 founding members had enrolled, Richer admitted the prospect of defeat: "I am the first to recognize that the largest number of male and female subscribers to our journal still have not responded to the appeal."¹⁸

¹⁵For the Ligue's 1892 roster, see APPENDIX I.

¹⁶Le Droit des Femmes, December 1882.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., January 1883.

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The response of Richer's fellow Freemasons also caused disappointment. Both the Ligue de l'Enseignement and Taxil's Anti-Clerical League drew heavily on Masonic support. In its first two years, for example, Macé's organization attracted fifteen entire lodges, a large number of individual Masons, and the endorsement of the 1868 International Masonic Congress.¹⁹ Richer drew heavily on individual Masons, two of the five men on the Ligue's first executive committee belonged as did the husband of one of its female members, Madame Jeanne-Victor Meunier, and in 1892 at least a third of Richer's truncated male following held Masonic rank. But whereas lay education and anti-clericalism received over-whelming support from the various lodges, the struggle against the système masculiniste left Masons divided. They continued to exclude women, as the Deraismes episode at Pecq illustrated, and no entire lodge ever adhered to a feminist group. As a result, "the few societies concerned with women's rights, such as the League for the Protection of Women and The Right of Women, although encouraged by individual Masons, were not supported by Masonry as a whole."²⁰

Lacking a steady influx of new recruits from groups like Le Droit des Femmes' subscribers and the Masons, the Ligue began to shrink. Deaths, including Victor Hugo's in 1885, took a small toll. Two other names vanished from the roster when Richer stopped listing his pseudonyms, Georges Bath and Jeanne Mercoeur, as separate members. Others simply quit, some out of defeatism, a few out of optimism. In 1887, Richer assessed the situation in an address to the Ligue's general assembly:

¹⁹Headings, French Freemasonry under the Third Republic, 95-6.

²⁰Ibid., 98. A comparison of the Ligue's 1892 roster with the Masons mentioned by Headings indicates that eleven of its thirty-three men had once been Masons; Vacquerie, Barodet, Deschanel, Guyot, de Hérédia, Laisant, Macé, Martin, Richer, Thulié, and Viviani.

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A certain number of adherents have retired giving the pretext of business stagnation, and for the determining motive, for the same reason, that we are attaining nothing. They no longer want to accept useless sacrifices. Others, — and the fact needs to be stressed — write that the goal sought being obtained, there is no longer any reason to maintain the Ligue.²¹

Members must judge for themselves "these two contradictory allegations," Richer concluded, but "the truth is that the spirit wanes and that devotion grows weary."²²

The decline also reflected an inability to achieve internal harmony within the Ligue. Throughout the 1880's, expulsions and angry defections sapped its strength. One of the first individuals to go was Paul Bonnetain (1858-1899), a prominent homme de lettres, who had helped edit Le Droit des Femmes and served as the Ligue's secretary. His "crime," committed within months of the Ligue's creation, consisted of publishing a book on women that conflicted with the Ligue's program.²³ With him when he left went his wife and parents, all of whom had enrolled as founding members.²⁴ A second major expulsion came three years later when Deputy Maurice Vergoin (Seine-et-Oise), a member of the Ligue's executive committee, turned up as one of the principals in the de Sombreuil affaire. The messy business, which involved the shuttling of Mademoiselle

²¹Le Droit des Femmes, 15 May 1887.

²²Ibid.

²³Ibid., June 1883. The book in question was Charlot s'amuse (2nd ed.; Brussels, 1883). According to the entry by P. Leguay in the Dictionnaire de biographie française (Paris, 1954), VI, 1028-29), Paul Bonnetain published his first work at Brussels in 1882, Le tour du monde d'un troupier: "He truly made his debut the following year, and by a work of scandal, Charlot s'amuse, a case study in pathology, filled with all the extreme naturalistic details in vogue at the time. Charlot brought its author, in December 1884, before the cour d'assises of Paris." Bonnetain was acquitted, "but the author seemed drawn to rowdy literature."

²⁴A quarter of the Ligue's initial strength came from couples and family groups; fifty members bore one or another of twenty-one surnames. Le Droit des Femmes, December 1882; January 1883.

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Schneider de Sombreuil in and out of Paris and ended in Vergoin's divorce, threatened the Ligue's public image. Richer eventually had misgivings about the Deputy's "guilt," but at the time the scandal broke (April 1886) he executed the Ligue's unanimous verdict to demand Vergoin's resignation.²⁵

Most crippling of all was the defection of the Nantes group, which announced its withdrawal from the Ligue in September 1885. Richer conceded that it had every right to become autonomous, but the group's hostility left him puzzled. "The rupture is today complete," he informed the 1886 general assembly, but the origins of the split "remain and will truly always remain an enigma for us." On at least five occasions, according to Richer's reports, the ex-branch had censured the parent organization. It had first accused Richer of "financial operations" and failure to publish the Ligue's accounts. Richer denied the charge and referred "the defamatory group" to several specific issues of Le Droit des Femmes. He also pointed out that the Ligue had barely enough income to meet fixed expenses let alone engage in speculation. Then the Nantes group had shifted its attack, accusing the Ligue of spending too little. "That is the highest comedy," Richer countered, citing the Ligue's meagre 1,514 franc reserve. Indeed, pronounced an exasperated Richer, "the proof of the inanity of the reasons invoked to justify this strange attitude stems from the contradictory resolutions voted by the groupe nantaise." But unable to prevent the defection, he could do no more than urge his followers to look beyond it: "Let us not attach, Mesdames and Messieurs, to this incident, however regrettable it may be, more importance than it warrants."²⁶

²⁵Ibid., April 1886, May 1886, August 1886, November 1886. Vergoin accused Richer of obtaining his information from the conservative press. Richer denied the charge.

²⁶Ibid., 6 September 1885, 1 November 1885, 2 May 1886.

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Perhaps the growing dependence of Le Droit des Femmes on Ligue subsidies angered the Nantes group. Like other feminist newspapers, Richer's constantly flirted with bankruptcy. Expenses always outran subscription income, despite attempts to improve circulation through reduced rates for extra copies, free oil portraits painted from photographs, and complimentary issues of the Journal du Magnétisme, monthly organ of the French Hypnosis Society. Richer repeatedly pleaded with subscribers to pay on time and urged recipients of free copies to subscribe, for at ten francs per year "the sacrifice is not of a nature to burden a budget very heavily." In February 1885 he attempted to boost revenues by shifting from monthly to fortnightly publication. To attract more purchasers he lowered the price from eighty to forty centimes, and to cut costs he reduced the pages from sixteen to twelve. The maneuver failed, leaving Le Droit des Femmes dependent on gifts and subsidies. The Deraismes sisters donated several hundred francs each year and others gave smaller amounts, but the crucial difference came from the Ligue's coffers. Beginning with an initial gift of 400 francs in 1885, its annual general assemblies regularly appropriated six-hundred francs to the enterprise. That amount represented nearly fifty percent of the Ligue's limited receipts. Richer claimed that the Nantes group contributed only fifty francs in dues to the yearly budget, for which it received the newspaper free of charge. But whatever the amount forwarded by the branch, the subsidy may have prompted the split.²⁷

Richer tried to take the sting out of the Nantes group's defection by attributing it to natural law. All new organizations suffer losses, he asserted, as time winnows those lacking in enthusiasm and

²⁷For information on Le Droit des Femmes' financial problems, see the following issues: February 1882, 4 January 1885, 1 February 1885, 15 February 1885, 3 May 1885, 6 September 1885, 15 November 1885, 3 January 1886, 6 May 1888, 21 December 1890, 2 August 1891.

conviction. New recruits would take their place. In the past year, he informed the Ligue's 1886 general assembly, another deputy had joined, Michelin, as well as the president of Paris' municipal council, Abel-Alexandre Hovelacque; the general secretary of the Ligue pour le Relèvement de la Moralité Publique, Tommy Fallot; and Doctor Henri Thulié, author of the "beautiful book entitled La Femme."²⁸ A new branch had also come into existence, the Gironde group, which centered on Bordeaux and took the title Cercle Louis-Blanc. But the Gironde group had too few members to offset the net effect of deaths, expulsions, and defections.²⁹ As a result, Richer gradually abandoned his original emphasis on size and began to adopt a stance worthy of his rival Auclert. "Besides," he exclaimed in 1886, "these losses are for us so much less sensitive as indifferent [participants] in a Ligue such as ours are a cause of weakness rather than a real source of strength."³⁰ By the following year, he had completely discarded the stress on numbers:

Indifference has invaded hearts. And I maintain that it manifests itself everywhere, even in politics.

However, a faithful nucleus remains with us, and these I hope will not weaken, will not abandon us. I estimate our number at one hundred. That is few. But above the quantity of numbers, I place firmness of convictions. . . . The best are still with us. . . . Perseverance is strength; let us persevere.³¹

Richer blamed much of the Ligue's decline on women. He contrasted his dwindling cadre to that of the expanding feminist groups in the United States and Britain. Even in France, he pointed out, Madame Koechlin-Schwartz's Union des Femmes de France, the national Red Cross

²⁸Ibid., 2 May 1886.

²⁹Ibid., 1 March 1885. The Gironde group had twenty-nine members.

³⁰Ibid., 2 May 1886.

³¹Ibid., 15 May 1887.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all financial dealings.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data, including surveys, interviews, and focus groups. It highlights the importance of using a mix of qualitative and quantitative techniques to gain a comprehensive understanding of the research topic.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the research, showing a clear trend towards increased customer satisfaction and loyalty. This is attributed to the implementation of the new service standards and the ongoing training of the staff.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the challenges faced during the research process, such as limited access to certain data sources and the need for additional resources. It also provides suggestions for how these challenges can be overcome in future research.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes the research by summarizing the key findings and their implications for the organization. It stresses the importance of continued monitoring and evaluation to ensure the long-term success of the implemented changes.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a detailed breakdown of the costs associated with the research, including personnel, materials, and travel. It also includes a comparison of these costs to the budget, showing that the research was completed within the allocated funds.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the ethical considerations of the research, ensuring that all participants were informed of their rights and that their data was handled in a secure and confidential manner.

8. The eighth part of the document provides a list of references to the various sources used in the research, including academic journals, books, and online resources. This allows readers to verify the information and explore the topic further.

9. The ninth part of the document includes a glossary of terms used throughout the document, ensuring that all readers have a clear understanding of the terminology.

10. The tenth part of the document provides a list of appendices, including the survey questionnaire, interview transcripts, and other supporting documents. These are available for review and can be used as a reference for future research.

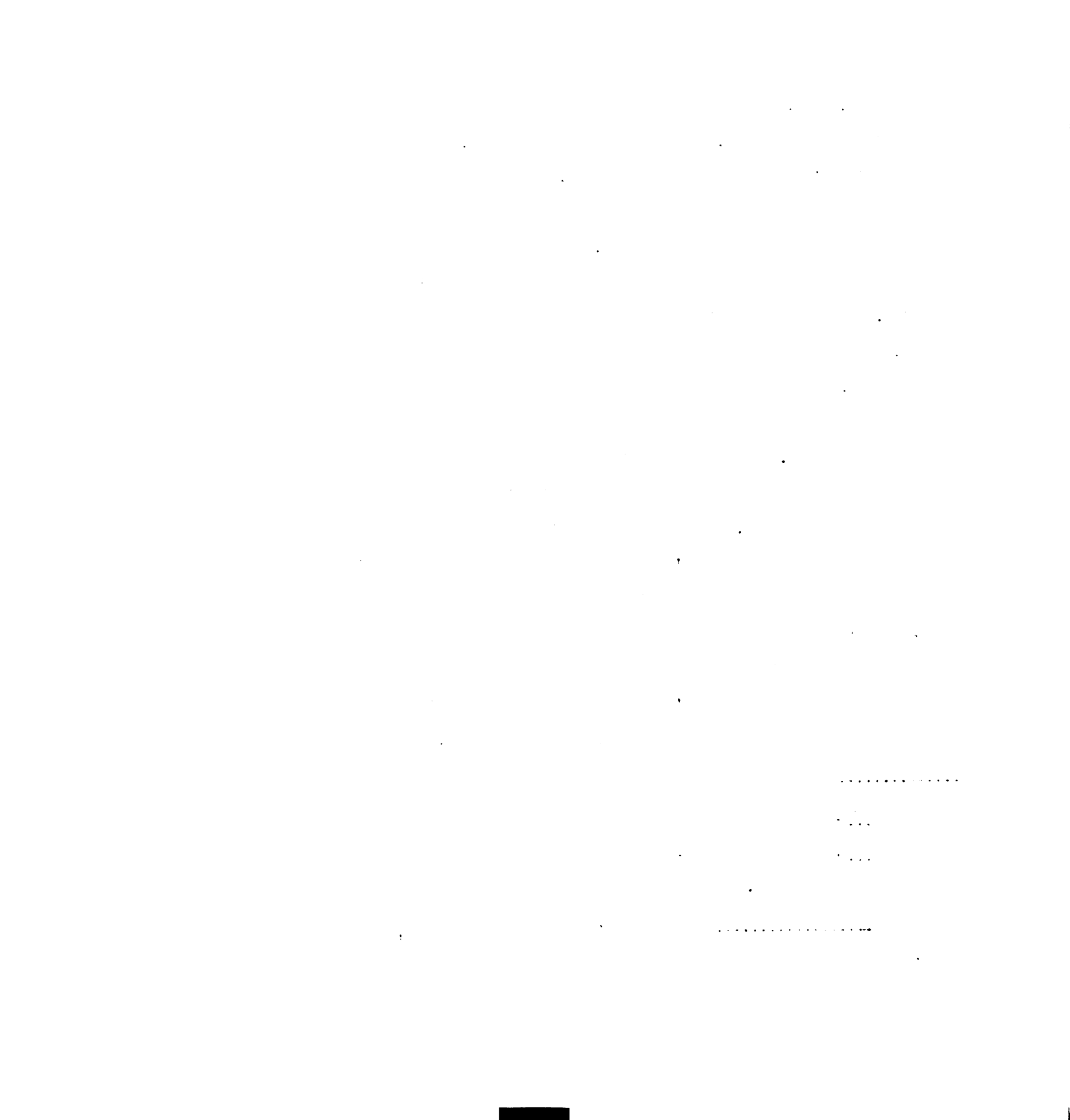
affiliate, had doubled its size to twelve thousand members in the course of a single year, 1887.³² In 1888, he asserted that men outnumbered women in his organization two to one.³³ In at least two respects, however, the thrust of Richer's charge is open to question. For one thing, it seems unlikely that men formed so large a majority within the Ligue in 1888. No membership list appeared for that year, but the 1892 roster named sixty-two women and thirty-three men — the reverse of Richer's earlier assertion.³⁴ For another thing, once the Ligue failed to generate mass support, its relative smallness had little effect on its daily operations. Without doubt, more women would have helped, just as more members of either sex would have boosted morale, increased income, and enhanced the prospects of success. A larger following would also have lent greater weight to petitions and street demonstrations, if Richer had approved of such Auclert-like tactics. But the Ligue publicly turned out in force on only one occasion, to grace Hugo's 1885 funeral cortege with "a magnificent wreath of natural flowers" costing one hundred fifty francs.³⁵ Hence, although thousands of additional recruits might have transformed the Ligue into a popular movement, a few dozen more could not have made much difference. Despite Richer's criticism, the Ligue remained at the end of the decade what it had always been, a pressure group.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., 1 February 1888.

³⁴See APPENDIX I.

³⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 2 May 1886. Victor Schoelcher replaced Hugo as honorary president of the Ligue upon the latter's death.



The Politics of La Brèche

As a small pressure group attached to the strategy of la brèche, the Ligue relied almost exclusively on its male contingent. Women represented nearly seventy percent of new recruits between 1882 and 1892, but the presidency remained in Richer's hands and the activities of its men dominated the pages of Le Droit des Femmes. Richer complained in June 1891 that Ligue women had refused to have their names published, but when an up-dated roster appeared the following year a footnote indicated that "the preceding list contains the names of:"

Two members of the Institute: M. Alexandre Dumas, member of the Académie Française, and M. Frédéric Passy, member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres;

Two former ministers: MM. Yves Guyot and de Hérédia;

Five senators: MM. Frédéric Petit, H. Couturier, Émile Deschanel, Jean Macé, and Victor Schoelcher;

Six deputies: MM. Barodet, Ch. Boudeville, Yves Guyot, Hovelacque, Laisant, and Victor Poupin.

"One sees by this simple enumeration," the note concluded, "that men and women who come to us are in good company."³⁶ The good company that Richer emphasized was entirely male.

Richer's reliance on the Ligue's male contingent stemmed from tactical and political considerations rather than from reservations about women's rights. In theory he not only espoused the integralist theme of complete equality of the sexes but also demanded reforms, such as the abolition of restrictions on incest and the legal sanction of "free love" marriages, that placed him in advance of many of his feminist colleagues. In practice, however, he recognized that women had few opportunities for effective action. They could lend financial and propaganda assistance to the Ligue, but necessity dictated a subordinate

³⁶Ibid., 7 June 1891, 22 May 1892.

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role to them. So long as the système masculiniste permitted men to dominate French institutions, no program of reform could succeed without male support. Yet, in Richer's view, no amount of male support could improve woman's lot if the Republic succumbed to monarchical and clerical reaction. Richer thus found himself in an unenviable and somewhat contradictory position. Woman's liberation depended on rights that men alone could grant, and in order for men to do so they had to have access to a democratic political process. In numbers, however, less than three percent of France's national legislators endorsed women's rights in the 1880's, whereas many, many more looked upon the Republic with disdain. Precisely how many is unimportant because, in a psycho-political sense, Richer perceived the Republic as always on the brink of disaster. Sincere male feminists, from whose ranks Richer excluded all men of the Right, had therefore to band together with anti-feminist republicans to protect the institutions of reform. The result was predictable, in retrospect at least; the institutions of reform remained in the hands of men who consistently opposed women's liberation.

In the circumstances as he perceived them, Richer could see no viable alternative to la brèche. Reforms would come slowly or not at all. The campaign to reestablish divorce took years, he noted, and resulted in a "very bad" law when the Senate forbade suits based on mutual consent. But the 1884 bill also represented a "brilliant victory" inasmuch as it broke with the ultra-clerical tradition of the Restoration.³⁷ "In all things," Richer adjured the partisans of l'assaut in 1885, "order and method are necessary:"

³⁷Ibid., 6 July 1884.

All progress is measured, linked, coordinated. Never would it occur to an architect to begin construction of a house with the roof; he would commence with the foundation. This is elementary How often have I cried out to the impatient: 'For pity's sake! in your own interest do not put the cart before the horse.'³⁸

In other words, when conflicts arose between the political question and the woman question, feminists should give priority to the former.

Richer's sense of priorities also reflected his personal "connections." Other feminists devoted equal attention to the political question, particularly Deraismes, and most, like Auclert, had at least one or two "friends" in the legislature. Indeed, Richer and Auclert frequently relied on the same feminist politicians to advance their respective proposals, and, as a source of model legislation, Deraismes' influence on the 1894 commercante vote resembled that of Richer on Naquet's divorce bill. But as a man in possession of his full civil rights with untrammelled access to political rallies, the Chamber's press gallery, etc., Richer was in a position to achieve a much greater degree of intimacy with the political establishment than female feminists.

While partisans of l'assaut waged their shadow campaign in 1885, for example, Richer participated on an extra-parliamentary committee that drew up a legislative proposal to grant full civil rights to unmarried women. Richer had hoped to extend the same rights to wives, but the politicians on the committee feared that too broad a bill would invite defeat. In the event, even the restricted version failed, but Richer was elated because the committee had at last moved "the question of women's rights from the domain of pure theory into the domain of parliamentary discussions and public discussions."³⁹ At the end of the year,

³⁸Ibid., 15 March 1885.

³⁹Ibid., 2 May 1886.

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on 6 December 1885, the Ligue sponsored a banquet for its parliamentary delegation at the Grand Hotel. The guests of honor included Senators Victor Schoelcher and Alfred Naquet and Deputies Ernest Lefevre and Yves Guyot, all of whom had worked on the committee with Richer. At twelve francs per head the cost of the celebration came to nearly two-hundred francs, about one-sixth of the year's expenditures. In response perhaps to criticism of the expense, Richer informed the next general assembly:

If in organizing the banquet we have burdened the Ligue with an exceptional and relatively heavy expense given the meagreness of our resources, you will recognize that it was a productive expense. Let me repeat, mesdames and messieurs, were we to obtain only this result [parliamentary discussion of the civil rights proposal] we would lose neither our money nor our labor.⁴⁰

Experiences like his 1885 committee assignment provided Richer with an insider's perspective and a sense of progress shared by few outside the Ligue. Not until 1904, when Avril de Saint-Croix served on an extra-parliamentary committee to study vice laws, did a woman duplicate the feat. Richer recognized that much remained unaccomplished, but rather than disparage the past he viewed it with measured satisfaction. Before the same general assembly that listened to his banquet explanation, he recalled some of the reforms that had won approval since the founding of Le Droit des Femmes seventeen years earlier: "the admission of women to the baccalauréats, their admission to lycées and collèges féminins as well as écoles d'enseignement supérieur, the reestablishment of divorce, etc. . . ."⁴¹ He also predicted passage of the committee's civil rights

⁴⁰Ibid. In a thirteen month period spanning 1885 and 1886 the Ligue spent 1,283.55 francs: 195.80 on stationary and other operating expenses, 400 on the subsidy for Le Droit des Femmes, 150 on flowers for Hugo's funeral, 345 on circulars explaining the Ligue's program, and 192.75 on the banquet.

⁴¹Ibid.

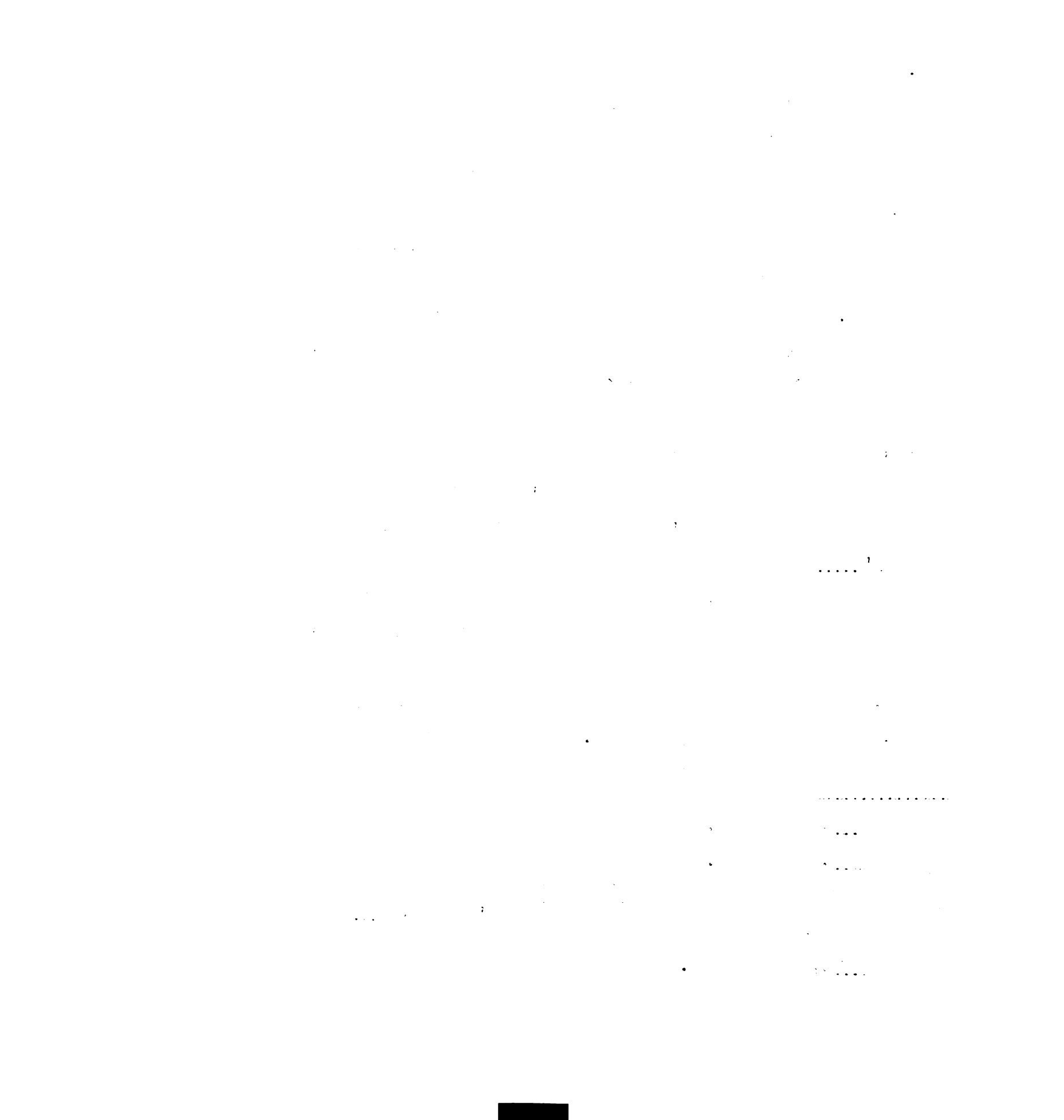
bill. When things went wrong, he tended to pin the blame on structural defects in the political system itself. In 1883, for example, he made constitutional revision "the first article of our program," throwing the Ligue into the struggle to suppress or at least to modify the conservative Senate. "It is beyond doubt," he wrote at the time, "that revision of the constitution alone can lead to the emancipation of woman" ⁴² But when the amendment campaign failed, Richer continued to emphasize the positive. The Ligue had partly offset its losses, he informed the members in 1886, by entering into an informal alliance with Tommy Fallot's Ligue pour le Relèvement de la Moralité Publique, and, in the area of substantive reform, Ligue member Camille de Chancel had opened the Crédit Foncier's bureau of central administration to women employees. ⁴³

The assumptions that dictated the Ligue's moderate reformism also provided the grounds for Richer's opposition to radical feminism. Partisans of l'assaut stood for an "absolutely irrefutable" position in theory, he repeated again and again, but in practice they "gravely compromise the cause that they claim to defend." "No one is more in favor of woman's right to vote than I," Richer exclaimed at the time of the 1885 shadow campaign. "Since the year 1869, well before Mlle. Barberousse, Mme. Picot and Mme. Jeannot dreamed of it, when Mlle. Hubertine Auclert was still in a convent, I proclaimed this right." ⁴⁴

⁴²Ibid., April 1883.

⁴³Ibid., 2 May 1886. At the end of 1886, Richer announced with evident pride that Senators Schoelcher, Naquet, Couturier, and Georges Martin had joined with Deputies Passy, Lefevre, Laisant, Guyot, and Victor Poupin to form a parliamentary caucus on women's rights. Ibid., 19 December 1886.

⁴⁴Ibid., 15 March 1885.



Yes, woman should possess the vote. She is human; she has her own interests; she is in business, industry and subject to licensing; she participates in the maintenance of the State; she pays, like us, direct and indirect taxes, that is to say the personal assessment, the real estate levy, the tax on bread, meat and drinks; she is judged in our courts; she pays her blood — the blood of her son (is not this blood hers?) — on battlefields; she shares our miseries, as she would share our triumphs and joys. All that we touch touches her. Her exclusion from common rights is not only a denial of justice, an act of individual oppression, it is a social crime.⁴⁵

The fault of l'assaut lay not therefore in its goal but in its means,

Richer stressed: "One point alone divides us: how to proceed."⁴⁶

The correct way to proceed meant ordering priorities in a manner consistent with the strategy of la brèche. Court decision had made it perfectly clear that "no one could vote if he for she did not enjoy the plenitude of his for her civil rights," Richer wrote in the spring of 1885:

Woman is grouped with minors, convicts, habitual criminals and individuals struck by infamous condemnation. So long as this injurious analogy exists, woman cannot be inscribed on electoral lists.

What, from this, should be the path to follow? Good sense indicates it: first relieve woman of her legal incapacities.

Once in possession of all her civil rights, woman becomes the equal of man; the principal argument — the only one, I would dare say, that one can invoke to contest her electoral right — will disappear.⁴⁷

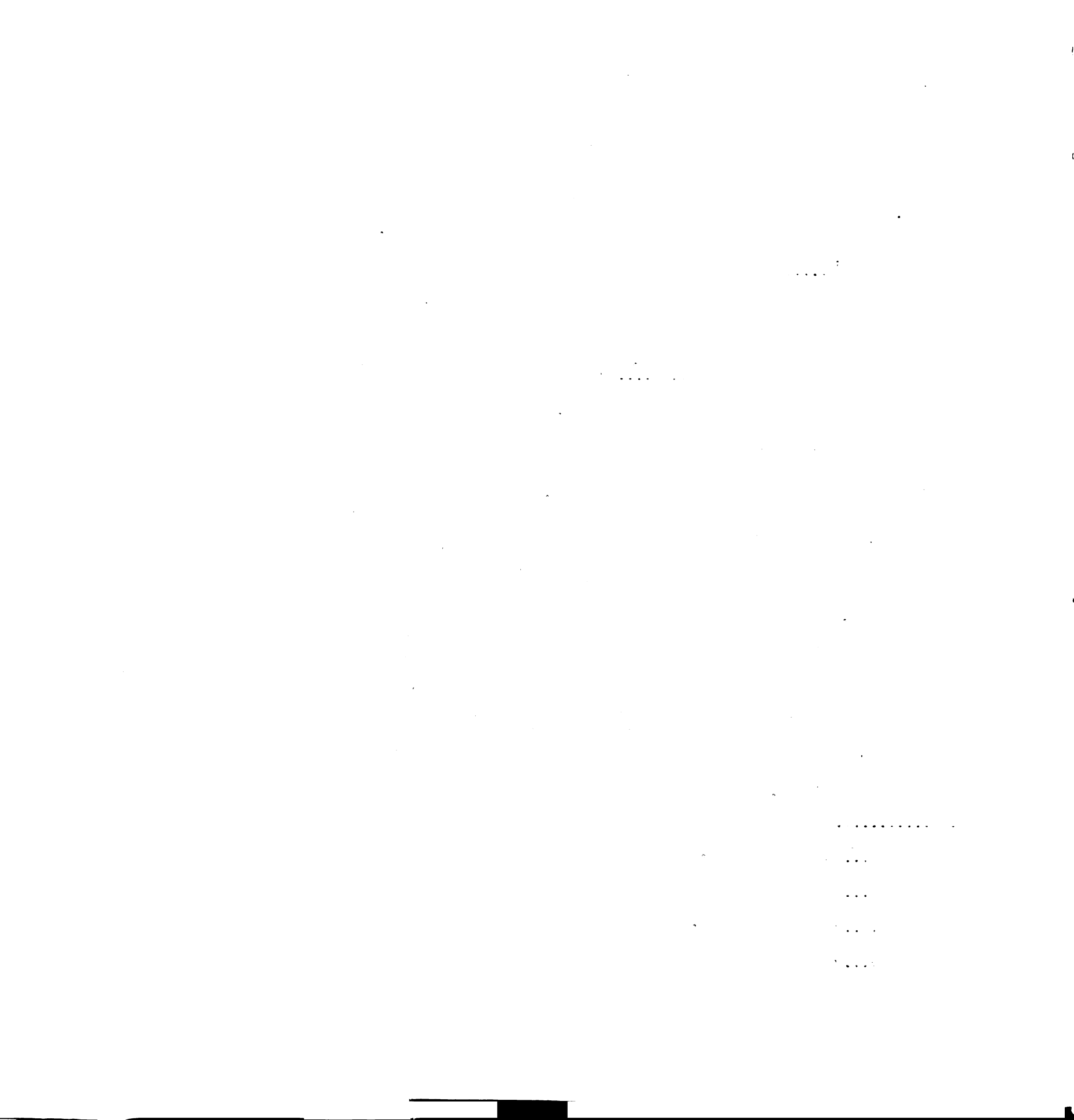
Some have maintained that an exception should be made for women, that they should receive the vote prior to their civil emancipation. But, Richer countered, "if in the state of our current legislation, we recognized women's right to suffrage, it would be necessary to recognize it equally for criminals."⁴⁸

⁴⁵Ibid., 5 April 1885.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid., 15 March 1885.

⁴⁸Ibid.



Even without the contrary legal decisions and the prospect of felons securing the vote, political realities compelled prudence. Few within the republican majority acknowledged woman's capacity to deal with questions of government, foreign policy, and taxes. "This is inept," Richer admitted, but undeniable.⁴⁹ However, many of these same men expressed concern for woman's civil status. Their attitude bore marks of "the old prejudice" that "woman is a being apart, having to fulfill special functions in the family, having distinct duties," but at least their minds were not entirely closed.⁵⁰ Furthermore, their support or opposition would determine absolutely the fate of all reform efforts. "Unfortunately," Richer lamented, "there are impatient [ones] among us, who, by their intemperate exigencies, detach from our cause a goodly number of those who had asked no more than to sustain it."⁵¹ A man who had assiduously attended feminist meetings for three months had just sadly informed him, Richer recounted, that he had "had enough" after hearing an address by Auclert in early May 1885.⁵² The newly formed and previously sympathetic Union Socialiste Républicain of 1885 had also begun to regret its commitment to woman's emancipation.⁵³ While in the Chamber, where patience was especially necessary, Auclert's extreme demands had undermined the cause by inviting defeat without debate.⁵⁴

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Ibid., 3 May 1885.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., 5 April 1885. When Deputy Escanyé (Pyrénées-Orientales) rejected one of Auclert's numerous suffrage petitions in 1885, Richer wrote that, although partisans of l'assaut might take satisfaction from Escanyé's choice of words, the effort had been useless: "But galantry

Graver still was the apparent indifference of l'assaut strategists to the Republic and republican principles. Haunted by the specter of counter-revolution, Richer never tired of repeating that premature woman suffrage would destroy French democracy:

I believe that at the present time [1888], it would be dangerous — in France — to give women the political ballot. They are, in great majority, reactionaries and clericals. If they voted today, the Republic would not last six months.⁵⁵

City women of republican persuasion should participate in political campaigns, and democratic parties should encourage mixed attendance at their meetings. Business women should have the commercante vote. But womanhood suffrage on a national scale must await the advance of republican education. "The antechamber of the polling booth," wrote honorary Ligue vice president Auguste Vacquerie, "is not the church, it is the school."⁵⁶ "Let us not repeat the sad experience of 1848," added

Richer:

I am not of those (no one will doubt it) who regret the brusque enactment of universal [manhood]suffrage. I saluted with enthusiasm the decree initiated by Ledru-Rollin, affirming to the great astonishment of Europe, the principle too long misunderstood, of national sovereignty. To that decree I owe my political freedom. But I cannot forget that that reform, so equitable, so necessary, brought us the Second Empire. The ignorance of the peasants caused all the evil. Suddenly called upon to vote, without prior preparation, they raised to power the man who, three years later, executed the [coup of] 2 December [1851].⁵⁷

has nothing to do with these types of questions. Compliments are not reasons. Does one contest the principle? It is necessary to know that above all. The deputy from Prades [Escanyé] has not explained that. He simply asked the Chamber to throw out the proposal: that was enough for him. For my part I would have liked the question to be discussed in depth To flatter women who, in fact, one brutally dismisses to their trinkets and to their stoves, does not prove that one has a very great esteem for them, nor that one is a gentleman; it proves only that one lacks candor. That is all."

⁵⁵Ibid., 20 May 1888.

⁵⁶Ibid., 7 September 1884.

⁵⁷Ibid., 17 May 1885.

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Until enlightened in the ways of democracy, women represented an ever present danger to the Republic. Self-seeking politicians would appeal to them, Richer warned, without paying the slightest heed to their real grievances. Léon Gambetta had done it as a republican in 1878, and the Right had produced his imitator a decade later in the person of General Boulanger. "No one, not even the General's closest friends, would dare maintain that he is exempt from all personal ambition," Richer commented. He "turns to women, not in order to say to them that he will work for their emancipation, but to adjure them, like Gambetta to preoccupy themselves with the grand interest of la patrie." He assigns to women only one mission in life, according to his L'Invasion allemande (1888): "Give us a vigorous generation, solidly tempered morally and physically, and you will have worthily accomplished your task." "As for your personal interests, as for restoration of your dignity, as for your rights," Richer concluded, "M. le général Boulanger troubles himself no more than Gambetta did previously. Not even a discreet allusion. Not a word of hope for the future!"⁵⁸

In comparing the two men, Richer absolved himself of any "vain satisfaction" at catching Gambetta in a contradiction. He also admitted a lack of specific knowledge in respect to Boulanger's attitude on the woman question. Furthermore, there was certainly nothing unusual about two statesmen opposing woman suffrage: "A great many politicians are not content to retard provisionally the accession of women to the exercise of the right to vote, they reject it in principle; at no time do they want it." Instead, the point was simply that whatever politicians might think of woman's rights, "it does not prevent them, when they believe that the

⁵⁸Ibid., 20 May 1888.

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support of women can be useful to their ambitious aims, from appealing to them in warm and solemn terms."⁵⁹ Sincere democrats had therefore to maintain constant vigilance, because the vast majority of women, whether enfranchised legally or aroused to political action on behalf of a would-be despot, could not be trusted to reinforce the Republic.

Richer's impression of the male electorate heightened his fear of woman suffrage. Many men continued to oppose the Republic, despite better education and previous voting experience. Thirty-seven percent of the deputies elected in 1889 represented reactionary views by Richer's count, and half the rest, who called themselves republicans, objected to further democratic reforms.⁶⁰ For women the situation was worse. Of the nine million who might have voted in 1877, according to Richer's estimates, only a few thousand had escaped from the confessional.⁶¹ This was transference, the application to women of perspectives drawn from men's experiences. But rather than a transfer of principle, as Auclert demanded, Richer applied the practice of men to the condition of women.

Belief in la brèche may also have fed Richer's fears. According to this strategy, once women obtained civil equality, political rights would follow as a matter of course and without additional struggle. Indeed, Richer had dared to say in 1885, only the absence of complete civil parity had so far kept women from voting.⁶² In light of his impression of women's political inclinations, however, that was tantamount to saying that their civil disabilities had so far prevented the destruction of

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid., 20 October 1889.

⁶¹Ibid., 7 September 1884.

⁶²Ibid., 15 March 1885.

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French democracy. A contradiction thus arose between la brèche, which anticipated women's enfranchisement the instant they became civil equals, and political democracy, which could not survive for long if women voted. Richer's response to the contradiction was simple: create a new type of woman, one which would guarantee a democratic future through unwavering devotion to republican ideals. In the meantime, while waiting for the new type of woman to emerge and multiply, he urged patience and extreme caution. The few women who already subscribed to the proper political ideals should cooperate with their male counterparts to achieve civil reforms but, more importantly, to demonstrate their loyalty to the Republic. Everything hinged on political rectitude, in short, and right-thinking women had to lead exemplary lives — exactly what Auclert refused to do.

Two of Auclert's proposals struck Richer as especially unexemplary. In asking the Chamber to exclude women from the apportionment process, she had demonstrated a disdain for popular sovereignty, the essential base of any democratic polity. "Those who do not vote, even when they are unjustly excluded from balloting — soldiers on active duty for example — have interests that should be defended." Auclert and her partisans had undoubtedly overlooked that point, Richer conceded, "but voluntarily or not, they nonetheless do much evil."⁶³ The other proposal called for woman suffrage, which always engendered a negative "situational" reaction from Richer but did not violate his theoretical sensibilities. Instead, Auclert aroused his ire by submitting her petition to the Congress of Versailles. The Congress consisted of Senate and Chamber sitting together as the National Assembly and had the statutory power to alter the constitution — precisely the goal that Auclert had in mind. But in

⁶³Ibid., 5 April 1885.

Richer's eyes, the Congress had no right to speak in the name of the people due to the unrepresentative character of the Senate. Sincere democratic women should therefore avoid any act that might legitimize that institution. The goal she sought had been bad enough, given the aid it would bring to the clerical camp, Richer wrote, but "I especially regret that in claiming woman's right to vote before the Congress of Versailles, [Auclert] has committed a grave fault that will remain in everyone's memory as an argument against women's political capacity."⁶⁴

Worse than Auclert's unexemplary proposals were the effects of her actions and the company she kept. Richer acknowledged that allegiance to common principles left room for legitimate differences, but he refused to condone behavior that might benefit the Republic's enemies. The 1885 shadow campaign constituted a perfect example of such behavior. Republican candidates will suffer, Richer warned two weeks before the balloting, because, as the reactionary Figaro's endorsement of the campaign proves, "you will favor, by this ill-considered, useless, culpable displacement [of votes], the success of our enemies and yours."⁶⁵ Treachery also marked Auclert's petition to eliminate women from the apportionment count. Its fifteen signers included royalist Deputy Pièye, and its Chamber sponsors numbered the reactionary and anti-nationalist Count de Roys and M. Ribot, "the friend of the princes of Orleans." Auclert's ultimate objective had merit, Richer exclaimed once again, "but when blunders succeed blunders, I cannot remain silent:"

I understand when women unjustly deprived of the right to vote defend their cause, but not in this manner or by similar arguments. If they wish to return to a restricted electorate, then let them say so;

⁶⁴Ibid., 7 September 1884.

⁶⁵Ibid., 20 September 1885.

if, in [opposition to] republican principle, they wish to substitute the doctrines of the Second Empire, let them avow it. At least we shall know in whose company we are.⁶⁶

Although Richer tended to single out Auclert as the movement's most divisive personality, others also drew his fire. One came from the ranks of the Ligue's founding members. In April 1885, Ligue member Joanny Rama employed Auclert's La Citoyenne to brand Richer "a legalist" and "a fake republican." Rama questioned the genuineness of Richer's oft-repeated espousal of woman suffrage and accused him of sacrificing justice to a narrow interpretation of the statutes.⁶⁷ Richer counterattacked with a charge of disruptive behavior: "It is pleasing to M. Rama, as to Mlle. Auclert, Mlle. Barberousse, and Mme. Picot, to follow a compromising course and the detestable effects of it will not take long to be felt."⁶⁸ As for the label "legalist," Richer continued, "that signifies, in the thinking of M. Rama, that I put the law above right — which is inexact."

When a law exists, however bad it may be, even if unjust, I submit to it.

But in submitting, I do all that I can to reform it.

Does not M. Rama himself obey existing laws? Willingly or by force, does he not submit?⁶⁹

As for being a "fake republican," Richer concluded, hardly anyone could avoid that label so long as true republicanism meant "the line of conduct traced by Mlle. Auclert and Mlle. Barberousse." But in respect to what counts most, at least "I do not make alliances with royalist deputies."⁷⁰

Perhaps the most frustrating proposal encountered by Richer was the "fantastic," "eccentric," and "bizarre" scheme advanced by Auclert's

⁶⁶Ibid., 5 April 1885.

⁶⁷La Citoyenne, April 1885.

⁶⁸Le Droit des Femmes, 19 April 1885.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Ibid.

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friend and backer, Deputy de Gasté. De Gasté advanced a plan for constitutional revision that would have guaranteed to women not only the vote but half the seats in the legislature. "I would not like to be unpleasant to M. de Gasté," Richer commented, "but I ask myself if he has been truly sincere, or if he has wanted to play a dirty trick on women and to mock them." Why propose a constitutional amendment in the first place, when a simple law would suffice? Moreover, what principle of democracy would sanction parliamentary sex quotas? "After having taken sides between the sexes, it would be necessary to take sides between the classes, so many [deputies] for the bourgeoisie, so many for the proletariat, so many for the liberal careers, so many for manual workers." The amendment also threatened passage of the commercante vote, which had finally moved from the Chamber into the Senate. "Had M. de Gasté wished to defeat our law," Richer charged, "he could not have conducted himself otherwise." When a Ligue member defended de Gasté on grounds that he might obtain a little by demanding a lot, pointing out that the commercante vote had languished in the legislature for six years, Richer virtually threw up his hands in disgust. The Senate and Chamber would never entertain de Gasté's "unfortunate proposition," he wrote:

Yes, I shall go to the end. I accept the fight. But by God! by unjustifiable blunders, by inexcusable impediments, one must not continually compromise the great cause of equality and justice that I have defended, in my modest sphere, for more than thirty years.⁷¹

Richer's pained outcry stemmed in large part from a heightened sense of betrayal. Practical reforms moderately pursued constituted the essence of la brèche. Most women failed to see that, Richer felt, a majority out of indifference born of confinement in narrow family circles,

⁷¹Ibid., 15 June 1890, 6 July 1890.



a minority out of reckless disregard for political realities.⁷² Consequently, and although he complained about it, he expected very little support from women. During the bitter recriminations of the 1885 shadow campaign, Richer ruefully recalled the words of warning that he had heard from the lips of a "great publicist" (probably Victor Hugo) at the time of Le Droit des Femmes' founding in 1868: "You are undertaking a very heavy task. It is not from the side of men that the greatest difficulties will come to you, it is from the side of women."⁷³ "The prediction is fulfilled," Richer added as the campaign unfolded. Henceforth, as always, woman's liberation would depend on right-thinking, republican men, who realized the need "to proceed by successive reforms."⁷⁴ Outwardly at least, de Gasté represented precisely that type of person — a male, a republican, a legislator, and a feminist. His advocacy of l'assaut therefore amounted to a kind of ultimate betrayal. At a moment when la brèche seemed on the verge of delivering a long-sought reform, his proposal could only arouse unnecessary opposition. Moreover, the year was 1890, and, whatever the effect of de Gasté's behavior on the parliamentary front, his scheme jarringly contradicted the intent of the Woman's Rights Congress organized by Deraismes and Richer the year before.

The Woman's Rights Congress of 1889

The idea for a second Woman's Rights Congress originated indirectly with Monsieur R. Davenne, president of the Ligue's Cercle Louis-Blanc at Bordeaux. Shortly after the 1885 shadow campaign, Devanne wrote a series

⁷²Ibid., 1 February 1888.

⁷³Ibid., 17 May 1885.

⁷⁴Ibid., 1 November 1885.

of articles for Le Droit des Femmes on how the Ligue might expand its activities in the provinces. The campaign in the capital received almost no local press coverage, he pointed out, and in any case Frenchmen tended to read little and remember less. A greater effort to provide outlying areas with speakers, tracts, and newspaper releases would help some, but regional congresses offered the best prospect for success. They would attract reasonable people who had no desire to join the Ligue itself and guarantee publicity, inasmuch as local journals could hardly ignore an event lasting several days. In addition to his native Bordeaux, Davenne recommended seven key cities as sites for such congresses: Lyon, Marseilles, Toulouse, Bourges, Rennes, Lille, and Nancy. The campaign to reestablish divorce had successfully brought an issue and the masses together; regional congresses would do the same for women's rights.⁷⁵

Richer endorsed Davenne's proposal and, characteristically, urged the Ligue's parliamentary deputies to implement it. Before they could act, however, attention shifted back to the capital. In the fall of 1886, the government appointed a commission to organize the centennial celebration of the 1789 Revolution. Auclert immediately protested the commission's make-up, forty-three men and no women, and demanded the inclusion of seven female members.⁷⁶ The commission rejected the demand but eventually made a concession to the growing interest in woman's condition by sanctioning an official congress on the subject.

Two Ligue members spearheaded the move for an official congress, Deputy Yves Guyot, who served on the centennial commission, and

⁷⁵Ibid., 3 January 1886, 17 January 1886, 7 February 1886, 21 February 1886.

⁷⁶La Citoyenne, November 1886.

Madame Émilie de Morsier.⁷⁷ De Morsier (1844-1896), a Calvinist apostate to free-thinking and Buddhism, became the general secretary of the resultant Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines. Her interests made her a logical choice for the post. She represented a point of view and a constituency that had little in common with either the partisans of l'assaut or the advocates of la brèche. With close ties to France's Protestant community, de Morsier stressed the need for moral reform and philanthropic alleviation of misery. Although she belonged to the Ligue and supported the campaign for women's rights, she focused her attention on the Oeuvre des Libérées de Saint-Lazarre and the crusade to abolish governmental regulation of prostitution. She had been a disciple of Josephine Butler, Europe's foremost abolitionist, since 1875.⁷⁸ Isabelle Bogelot, the director of the Oeuvres des Libérées de Saint-Lazarre and a self-proclaimed "philanthropic feminist," assumed a vice presidency in the official congress.

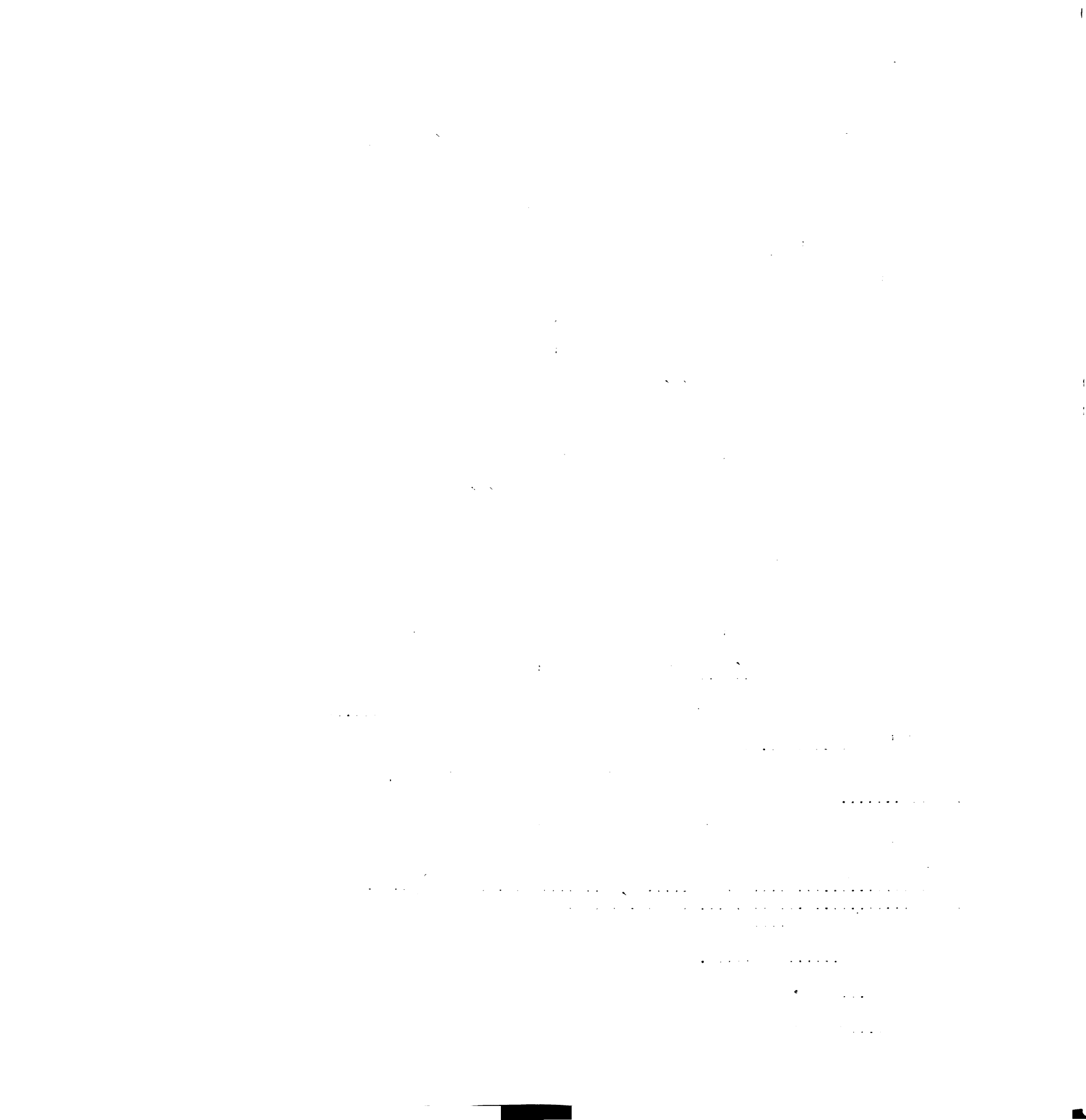
Many regular feminists also participated in the official congress, including Auclert's replacement at La Citoyenne, Maria Martin.⁷⁹ But the word féminine in the congress' title revealed its extremely moderate orientation. When the congress convened at the mairie of Paris' 6th arrondissement in July 1889, it strictly forbade any discussion of "sect and dogma, militant politics, and class struggle."⁸⁰

⁷⁷The idea for an official congress originated with de Morsier, who convinced Guyot in June 1888 to raise the matter within the commission. The commission delayed its approval until February 1889. Exposition universelle internationale de 1889: Actes du Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines (Paris, 1890), i. /Hereafter cited as Actes/.

⁷⁸Le Journal des Femmes, February 1896.

⁷⁹Actes, vi.

⁸⁰Ibid., iv.



In his opening remarks, honorary president Jules Simon ruled the issue of woman suffrage out of order: "Very simply, having other things to do, we shall do other things. I hope that this is well understood."⁸¹ Maria Martin presented an historical summary of La Citoyenne's development to the assembled delegates, but she emphasized that Auclert's interest in political rights reflected a desire to regulate male passion and to restore stability within the family.⁸²

On the grounds that each nation had special qualities, the official congress pledged to confine its activities to the unique character of the French. Its work fell to four sections: philanthropy and morality; arts, sciences and letters; education; and civil legislation. In the course of the six day event, over 120 individuals delivered addresses on issues ranging from "Enseignement par la musique" to "Le Régime végétarien au point de vue de l'éducation." Charitable and moral concerns dominated the proceedings, with dozens of reports on subjects like "l'Oeuvre de la Mason Israélite de refuge pour l'Enfance."⁸³

The topics discussed and the composition of the delegates essentially confirm Dronsart's claim that the official congress could lead outsiders to believe that France was a nation of Jews and Protestants.⁸⁴ Only the Countess de Verneuil and her daughter explored the role of Catholic charities. In contrast, the delegates listened to five reports on Jewish institutions and many times that number on those of Protestants. More than 550 individuals attended the congress, nearly 400 of whom lived

⁸¹Ibid., x.

⁸²Ibid., 442-45.

⁸³Ibid., 535-39.

⁸⁴Dronsart, "Le Mouvement Féministe," 115.

in France. Within the French contingent, women outnumbered men by three to one, a ratio that reflected the traditional involvement of middle and upper class women in social missionary work. The eighty-odd men included six pastors and grand rabbi Zadoc-Kahn. Baronesses James and Edmond de Rothschild also participated, and one of the reports dealt with a "Notice sur l'orphelinat de Rothschild."⁸⁵

Despite its conservative tenor, the Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines represented an advance in the eyes of many feminists. This feeling grew over the years, particularly after 1900, when, with the founding of the National Council of French Women, the moral and philanthropic concerns of the 1889 event came increasingly to dominate the movement. At the time of the congress, according to Maria Martin, feminists could look upon the proceedings with satisfaction for two reasons. In sanctioning an official congress, France had become the first nation to accord governmental approval to the "mouvement progressiste féminin." And, indirectly at least, the official congress had begun to reveal the full scope of woman's social role, which, coupled with the congress' emphasis on woman's duty, should help to dispel notions about feminine inferiority and bolster the claim for equal rights.⁸⁶ Moreover, if the congress' agenda reflected a feminine rather than a feminist orientation, it nonetheless raised issues of common concern to both camps, and, equally important, three-quarters of the congress' delegates belonged to the broad woman constituency on whose behalf the movement fought.

While most feminists, including Richer, could see some good in the official congress, a few could not. Among these few was Maria Deraismes.

⁸⁵Actes, 523-39.

⁸⁶La Citoyenne, April 1889, May 1889. Richer expressed measured satisfaction for the official congress, to which he also adhered, in Le Droit des Femmes, 16 June 1889.

Eight years after the event, l'Amélioration's secretary, Jules Allix, voiced her general objection to the official congress by charging it with failure to achieve anything of significance.⁸⁷ At the time, however, Deraismes expressed two very specific objections to "the conditions of the Exposition." The first related to Alphonse Daudet, the centennial commission's initial choice to head the congress. Deraismes opposed the nomination because Daudet was a protectionist who had recently used his influence as a Senator to push a bill through the Chamber forbidding night work to women.⁸⁸ In contrast to liberals like herself, who desired equal laws for all, Deraismes perceived Daudet as one of the many reformers who employed the notion of women's special qualities to deprive them of their liberty. She absolved Guyot, the congress' sponsor on the commission, of any culpability; he had ardently opposed the night work law. But she refused to participate in the official congress if Daudet presided.⁸⁹

The centennial commission then changed its mind and appointed Jules Simon to the presidency, a decision to which Deraismes also objected. In her opinion, Simon had long before severed the tie that had once bound the author of L'Ouvrière to the cause of woman's liberation. In recent years he had opposed the reestablishment of divorce and condoned religious teaching in the schools.⁹⁰ Simon had thus become a clerical in Deraismes' eyes, which was as incompatible with her free-thinking as Daudet's protectionism was with her liberalism. In the fall of 1889, Deraismes abandoned any attempt to reconcile the dispute and announced

⁸⁷Amélioration, Bulletin Bimestrial, June-July 1897.

⁸⁸The night work prohibition became law in 1892. See Chapter I.

⁸⁹IMD, Dossier Deraismes.

⁹⁰Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 86.

her intention of organizing a separate congress.

In the meantime, Richer had begun to plan a congress of his own. His ideas on the subject went back at least to Davenne's 1886 proposals, although the centennial allure of Paris overrode the earlier interest in provincial sites. Richer shared little of Deraismes' aversion to the official congress, but the centennial commission delayed final approval of the event until February 1889, sometime after his ~~own~~ plan had taken shape. It was also clear that the official congress, once sanctioned, would pursue a very conservative program and reflect a constituency that had only tenuous links to the movement. In addition, both Richer and Deraismes must have felt that far too much time had already elapsed since the 1878 Congress, and Richer undoubtedly expected a Ligue-sponsored congress to boost the morale and membership of his group.⁹¹

The prospect of two woman's rights congresses competing with the official congress caused alarm within the movement. French feminists had neither the numbers nor the money to support two such events in the same year. Disunity would also look bad to foreigners, who made very little distinction between the movement's factions. In soliciting adherents to the 1888 American Woman's Rights Congress, for example, Susan B. Anthony sent invitations to Richer as well as Auclert, and the woman who represented France in Washington, D. C., Isabelle Bogelot, belonged to both the Ligue and l'Amélioration. Furthermore, the 1888 American Congress created the International Council of Women to encourage and

⁹¹The eleven years that elapsed between the 1878 and 1889 Woman's Rights Congresses was the longest of such intervals. The next longest interval was between the 1900 and 1908 Congresses, which placed feminists under considerable pressure: "The principal reason for the feminist Congress of 1908 was this: no feminist congress had been held in France since 1900, the year of the great exposition." Oddo Deflou, ed., Congrès National des Droits Civils et du Suffrage des Femmes (Paris, 1910), v.

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coordinate national women's coalitions in all countries. French women lacked an effective coalition of that type until 1900, and just prior to her death in 1894 Deraismes lamented that "France alone remains behind, and this is not to its advantage."⁹² On the eve of the centennial celebration, however, these foreign developments interacted with the movement's meagre resources to create considerable pressure for some kind of reconciliation between Deraismes and Richer.

Negotiations between l'Amélioration and the Ligue took place throughout November and December 1888. Although l'Amélioration had applauded the 1888 Copenhagen Women's Congress for according first priority to woman suffrage, the two groups espoused nearly identical programs while eschewing the strategy of l'assaut in favor of la brèche.⁹³ Instead, procedural differences dominated the discussions. As with the Ligue, Richer had already announced that his congress would be open to all and free of charge for those who could not pay. Deraismes objected, conceding that anyone could attend but only the paying should vote. Unable to reconcile the difference but under pressure to arrive at some kind of agreement, Richer and Deraismes finally decided to hold a unity conference.⁹⁴

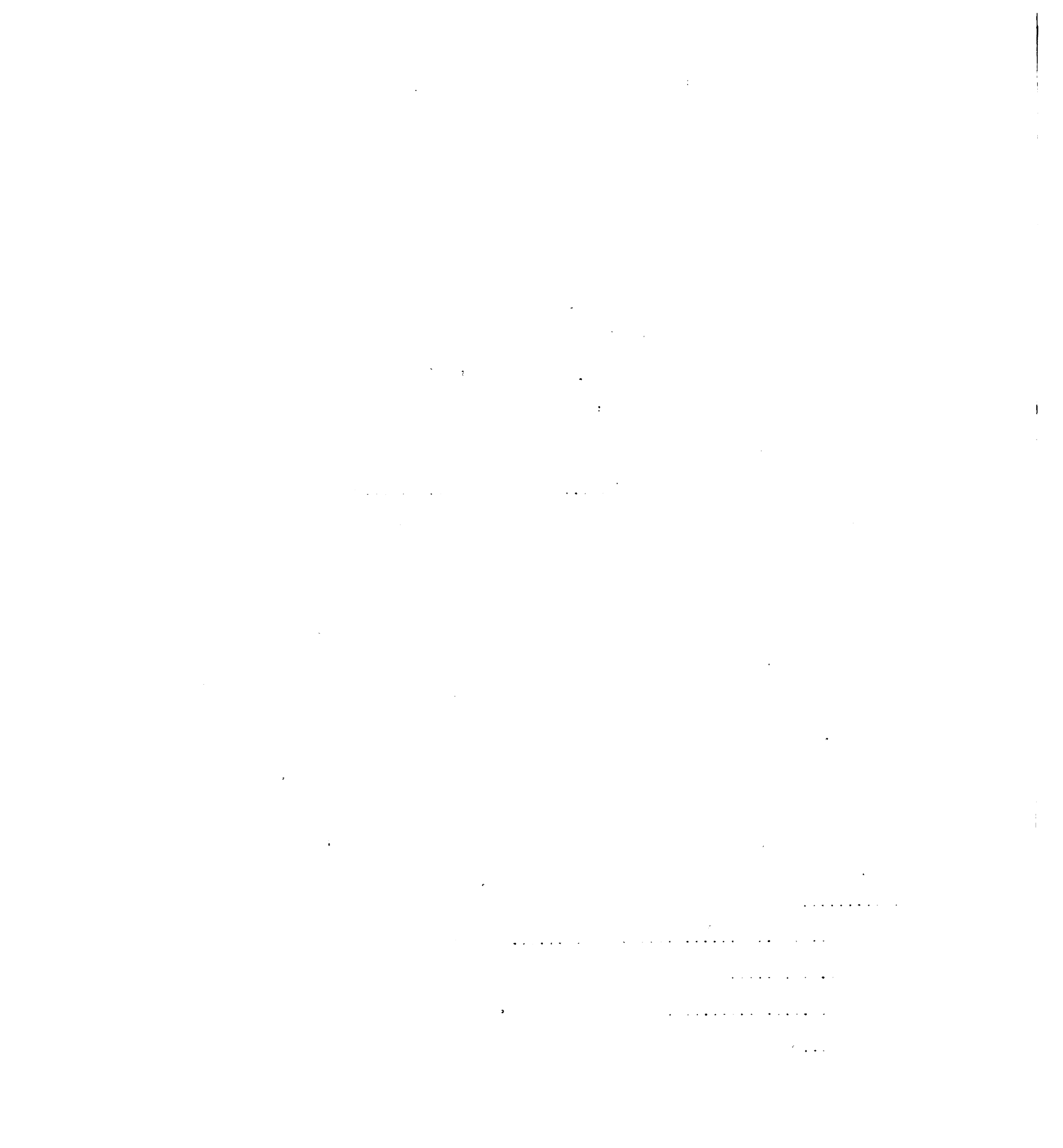
The conference met at the home of Deraismes on 23 January 1889. Each side was entitled to fifteen delegates, but the Ligue managed to muster only eight. Outnumbered but with entente at stake, Richer's "minority bowed before the votes of the majority."⁹⁵ Maria Deraismes

⁹²Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 356.

⁹³La Citoyenne, August 1888.

⁹⁴Le Droit des Femmes, 3 February 1889.

⁹⁵Ibid.



became the Congress' president by a vote of 19 to 2, with one abstention, and l'Amélioration members secured four of the six subordinate posts. Deraismes' sister was elected treasurer. With one dissenting ballot, perhaps his own, Richer emerged as honorary president. On the key issue of participation, Richer reported that "contrary to our views, there have been established several categories of members for the Congress."⁹⁶ Each participating organization could send three voting delegates, and any individual could attend as a "sympathetic member." But only honorary members and ten franc donors could vote. The ten franc rule permitted two exceptions: foreigners who lived outside France and, as a concession to Richer, individuals who enrolled prior to publication of the agreement. "All this is very complicated," Richer admitted, "but again the majority having thus decided, we are forced to accede."⁹⁷ The cut-off date for those who wished to vote without paying the full ten francs was set at 10 February 1889.

Upon learning of the agreement, Ligue members passed along their "observations." Indeed, Richer wrote, "I would almost say [they are] recriminations." One member complained that "it is not democratic," and another added "and this, in 1889!" Richer agreed in principle with the complaints but refused to sunder the entente: "What is voted is voted." Deraismes and her friends might be protesting now, if our full delegation had attended the unity conference. Should we have broken the alliance because we lost? Should we have tried to hold our own congress?

We did not think so.

To cause division at this moment, at this date, before foreign

⁹⁶Ibid.

⁹⁷Ibid.



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[opinion], would appear culpable.

We have yielded.

Patriotism, as well as the interest we share in the great cause about to be fought, would make it our duty [to submit].

Union! Union! Union!!!⁹⁸

The second French Congrès International du Droit des Femmes opened at the end of June 1889 in the salle de Géographie — three weeks prior to the official congress. Richer's appeal for union apparently worked because the Ligue enrolled the larger number of delegates. Both sponsoring groups solicited participants independently, with the names appearing in separate columns of *Le Droit des Femmes*.⁹⁹ L'Amélioration signed up sixty-six individuals and five groups; the Ligue 110 and eight respectively. A few like Clémence Royer, who joined Richer as an honorary president, figured on neither list. Only eight attended as official "sympathetic members," although dozens paid less than ten francs. The combined total of the various categories of individuals and groups came to almost two hundred.

As a raw number, the almost two hundred represented about one-third the total of the official Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines. It also represented a fourteen percent decline from the total of the 1878 Congress. That decline, however, resulted from a drop-off in foreign participation. In contrast to the first Congress, which attracted fifty-two foreigners, the second Congress enrolled only seventeen: one each from Switzerland and Germany (Alsace-Lorraine), two from Italy, three from Sweden, four from Britain, and six from Belgium. Foreign groups slipped from fourteen to two: Stockholm's Société suédoise pour A.S.F. and Josephine Butler's British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of Regulated Prostitution. The

⁹⁸Ibid., 17 March 1889.

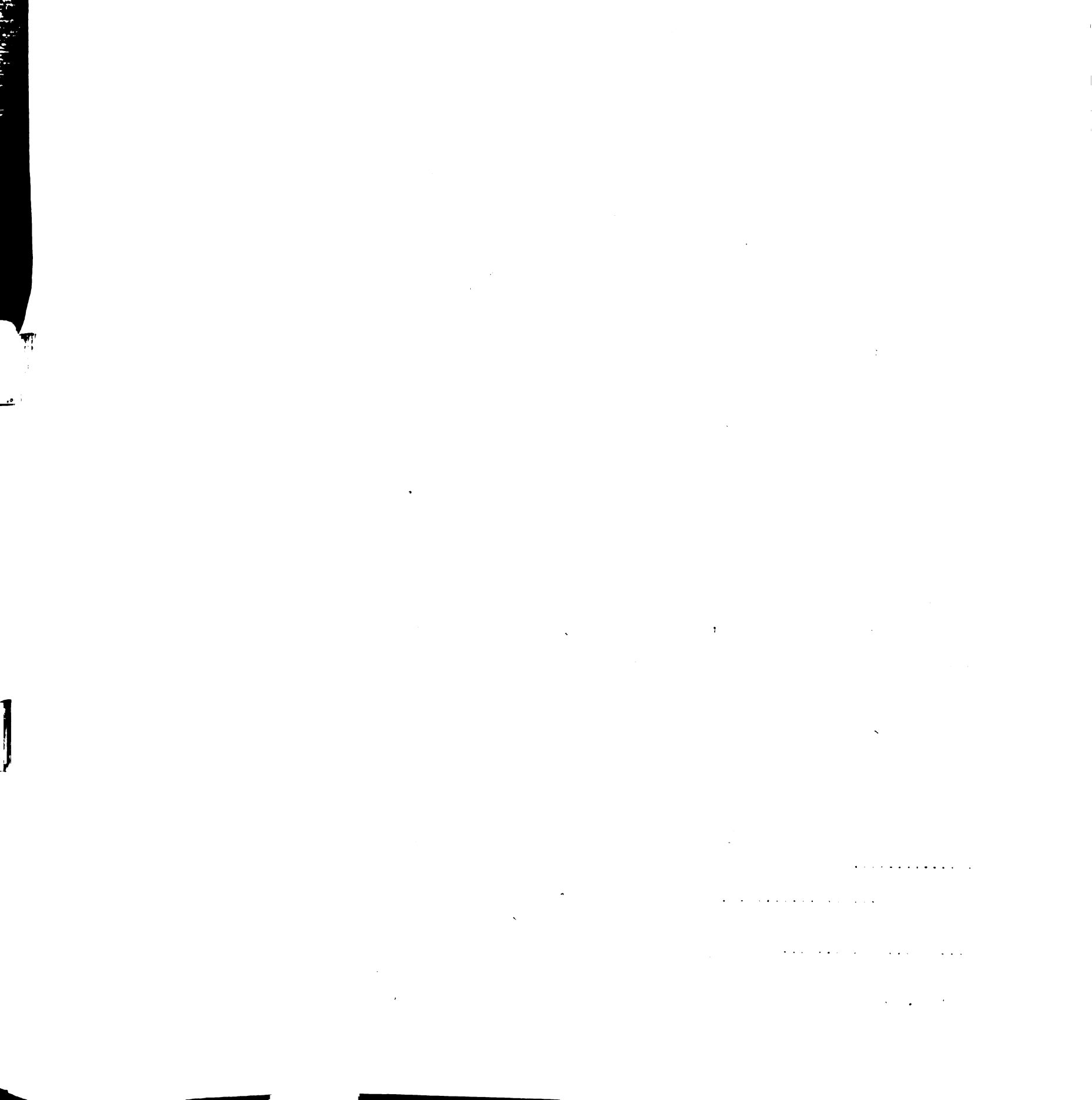
⁹⁹For information on the make-up and sources for the 1889 Woman's Rights Congress, see APPENDIX J.

number of French participants actually increased by at least six and perhaps a dozen in 1889.

The ten franc rule guaranteed that the second Congress would be at least as bourgeois as the first. Neither of the two workers' groups that attended in 1878 participated in 1889. Deraismes' list provided no job information, and Richer's named only one woman who might have worked, although it is not clear whether "Madame Lecomte, usine à gaz de Charleval (Eure)" and a five franc contributor, labored in the factory or owned it.¹⁰⁰ The Congress' economic section expressed concern for working women, but even equal pay for equal work could not have raised wages enough to permit female laborers to attend. Labor unions could have sent delegates, but women had been slow to take advantage of the 1884 Waldeck-Rousseau Law, which gave unions legal recognition for the first time since 1791. Ministry of Commerce statistics cite only one mixed union in 1884 and none exclusively female. Between 1894, when the Office du Travail initiated a monthly bulletin on labor organizations, and 1900, mixed unions increased to fifty-six and women's to twenty-four. But by then the feminist movement had acquired new leadership as well, and Marie Bonneval, secretary-general of the Ligue and the first woman appointee to the Conseil Supérieur du Travail, could write that "feminist Congresses, particularly those of 1896 and 1900, although attended by only a small elite of the female proletariat, have also made excellent propaganda [on behalf of working women]."¹⁰¹ Such was not the case in 1889.

¹⁰⁰ Le Droit des Femmes, 3 February 1889.

¹⁰¹ Marie Bonneval, "Le Mouvement Syndical Féminin en France," Revue de Morale Sociale (September, 1901), 263. Bonneval points out that the statistics of the Ministry of Commerce and the Office du Travail did not include mixed or all-women unions that failed to register legally. How many of each type that failed to register is unclear.



Other than Madame Lecomte, eight women indicated job qualifications. All were professionals: six doctors, including Elizabeth Blackwell, the first nineteenth century woman to receive a medical degree, and Blanche Edwards, who pressured the Director of Public Assistance to open internships to Frenchwomen in 1885; one practicing teacher, Madame Ferrand of La Rochelle; and one non-practicing lawyer, Marie Popelin, whose life-long exclusion from the Belgian bar made her a feminist cause célèbre. Nearly half the male participants came from politics and the professions, as in 1878. The office holders included three senators (Couturier, Macé, Georges Martin), four deputies (Boudeville, de Gasté), a former minister (Barbé), a former Parisian municipal councillor (Puteaux), and the mayor of Sartrouville (Monsieur Nicolle). From the professions, the Congress drew six doctors, three publicists, three military men, and a lawyer.¹⁰²

The most striking difference in participants between the two Congresses appeared in the sex ratio. Women barely outnumbered men in 1878 and comprised only forty-five percent of the French delegation. In 1889 they represented seventy percent overall, and Frenchwomen exceeded their male colleagues by a count of approximately 130 to 50. Comparatively, Frenchwomen nearly doubled their representation between 1878 and 1889, while males declined by half. A much higher percentage of women had also remained faithful to the movement, with women accounting for nineteen of the twenty-five hold-overs from 1878. The larger relative representation of women at the 1889 Congress began to bring French feminism into line with the sex ratio of the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian movements,

¹⁰² Senator Georges Martin was one of the six doctors. Richer was one of the publicists. Two of the military men had retired by the time of the Congress. See APPENDIX J.

where, it seems, men had already become a small numerical minority. In its significance to personalities within the French movement, the trend in the direction of male exclusion left Richer as the last of the great male feminists in France. With his retirement after the 1889 Congress, women consolidated their domination of the movement's top positions by taking over the Ligue's presidency as well. Ferdinand Buisson eventually emerged as a man of comparable stature, but the Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes that he helped found in 1911 consisted entirely of males.¹⁰³

The 1889 Congress had no financial difficulties. During the intra-League dialogue of 1886, Davenne considered money as the chief impediment to creating a series of provincial congresses, although he expected a second national congress to raise at least as much as the first. The entente with l'Amélioration resolved the problem. Although Deraismes' contingent represented only thirty-five percent of the participants, it raised nearly fifty-seven percent of the proceeds. None of Deraismes' subscribers paid less than ten francs, a third donated more. Deraismes and her sister gave one hundred francs each, as did two others. Two hundred francs came from both Paul Barbé and Madame Dusautoy. As a group, l'Amélioration contributed an additional five hundred francs, a sum matched by the Municipal Council of Paris. Nearly half the participants on Richer's list slipped below the ten franc standard, and only a sixth exceeded it. An "important error" in reporting cost Richer his lone one hundred franc donor, although two women gave fifty francs each. Richer's larger contingent reached a rough parity

¹⁰³For the Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes and Buisson's role in it, see Ligue d'Electeurs pour le Suffrage des Femmes, Bulletin, 1911-14.

with that of Deraismes due to a one thousand franc donation from a woman identified as "Madame L.-J., Paris." Together the receipts from the two lists totaled 4,794 francs, fifty percent more than in 1878. When expenses fell short of that amount, the Congress ended with a five hundred franc profit, two-thirds of which went to l'Amélioration for providing the Congress' seed money.¹⁰⁴ It seems clear in retrospect that, although the ten franc rule may have hurt Richer's solicitations, the Ligue would have been hard pressed to finance the event by itself.

There was never any doubt about the strategic orientation of the Congress. Auclert's marriage had removed the foremost partisan of l'assaut from Paris. Barberousse and Allix, the leaders of the 1885 shadow campaign, donated ten francs to the Congress through their Société pour la Protection de la Femme, but Richer pointed out in November 1888 that they had played no role in planning the event.¹⁰⁵ To forestall any last minute disruptions, the Congress decided to exclude the public from its sessions. The co-sponsors of the Congress had a slight overall majority, with half the Ligue's members and about one-third of l'Amélioration's participating. But each had allies. Deraismes could draw on support from the Fédération des Groupes de Libre-Pensée de Seine-et-Oise, while Richer could rely on the Paris and Marseilles branches of Fallot's Ligue Française pour le Relèvement de la Moralité Publique. Both probably had ties with the Masonic Loge Jérusalem Ecossaise. More independent perhaps were several of the other participating groups: La Société Nantaise; Les Droits des Femmes; socialist Astié de Valsayre's Groupe des Femmes Indépendantes de France; and La Société l'Avenir des Femmes of Nimes. Richer had helped

¹⁰⁴Amélioration, Bulletin, July-September 1894. For information on individual donations, see: APPENDIX J.

¹⁰⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 4 November 1888.

to create the Nîmes group and held honorary membership in it, for example, but its local founder, widow Fabre, had derived her initial inspiration from reading Auclert's 1888 letter to Susan B. Anthony.¹⁰⁶ Fabre designated La Citoyenne's Maria Martin as one of her group's delegates to the Congress. Moderate feminists in all camps might have received additional support from activists in the peace movement had not the Congrès de la Paix chosen the same June dates for its convention.¹⁰⁷

The format of the 1889 Congress resembled that of its predecessor with one exception — advances in education since 1878 had obviated the need to hold a special section on that subject. The four remaining sections, which met on consecutive days from 26 June to 29 June 1889, dealt with history, economics, morality, and legislation. Clémence Royer chaired the history section, Attorney Popelin the legislation section, and Deraismes the other two sections. Altogether the delegates listened to about fifty addresses, some of which exceeded the twenty minute time limit, spread evenly over the four days. Due to the fact that significant reforms had occurred during the previous decade in only two areas, education and divorce, the concerns expressed at the 1889 Congress largely reiterated those adumbrated at the earlier event.¹⁰⁸

In contrast to the similarity in format, the goal of the second Congress differed markedly from that of the first. Consistent with the

¹⁰⁶La Citoyenne, July 1889. For Auclert's letter to Anthony, see Chapter IV.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., May 1889.

¹⁰⁸Congrès Français et International du Droit des Femmes (Paris, 1889). This, the official report on the 1889 Congress, presents a slightly different picture of the participants and donations than the above account, which was taken from Le Droit des Femmes and is summarized in APPENDIX J. The official report lists 206 individual and group participants and total receipts of 5,034 francs.

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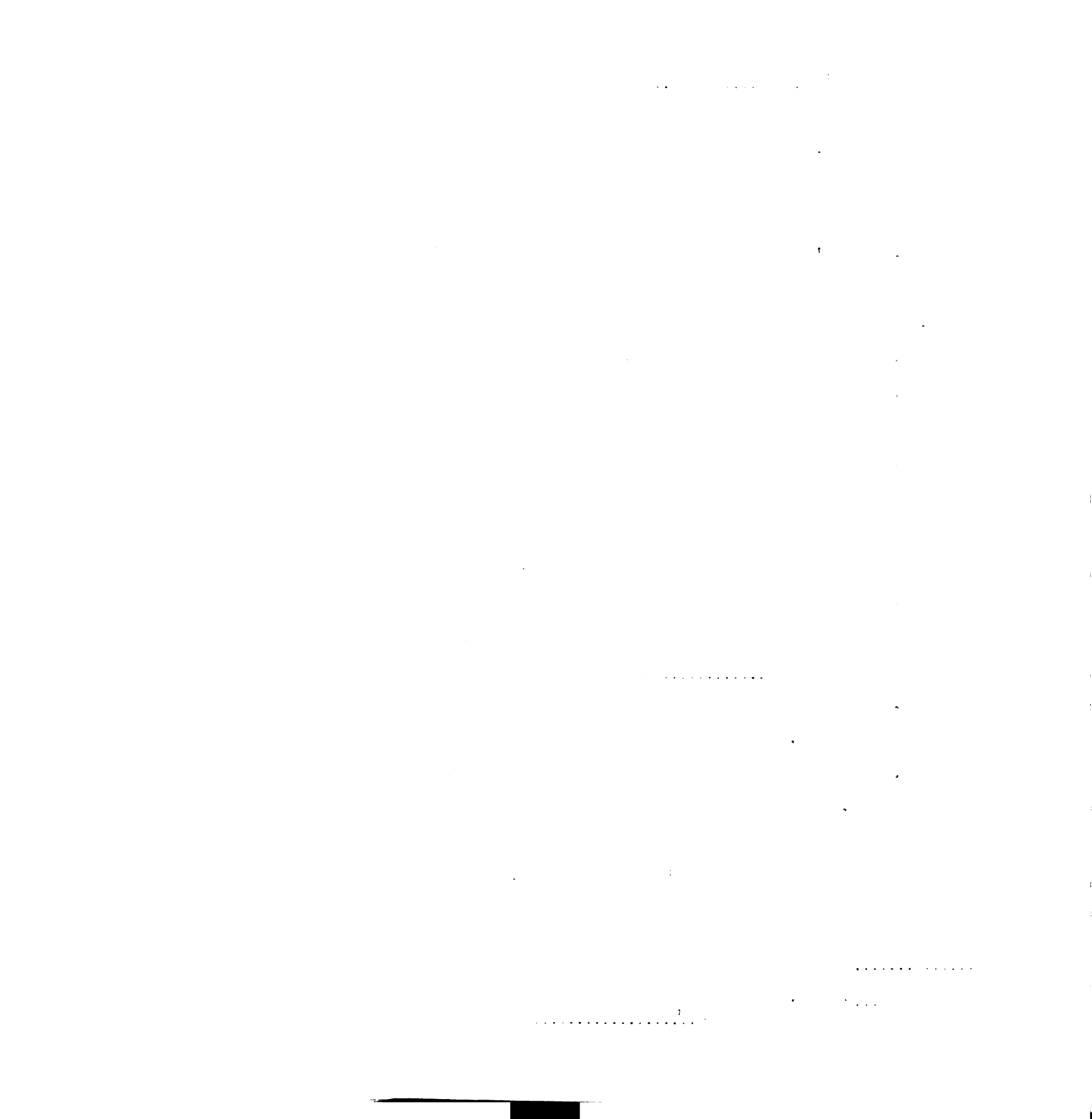
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purpose of Richer's Le Code des Femmes (1883) and the orientation of his Ligue, the 1889 Congress strove to limit resolutions to immediately realizable reforms. Rather than duplicate the dozens of sweeping demands made in 1878, the centennial Congress passed only nine resolutions, calling for:

1. A wife's right to control her own income and woman's right to defend her financial interests through participation on regulatory boards.
2. Equal pay for women teachers.
3. Access of women to all liberal careers and to the practice of law.
4. Admission of women to Bureaux de l'Assistance Publique as employees, investigators, and visitors.
5. Establishment of work shelters for women and the transfer of apprenticeship programs from workshops to schools.
6. Suppression of the morals police.
7. Demolition of the prison of Saint-Lazarre and the erection of women's refuges in all arrondissements.
8. Revision of the Code to conform to the principle of justice and absolute equality.
9. Abrogation of Code article 340 forbidding women to file paternity suits.¹⁰⁹

The Congress concluded its work by attempting to formulate a response to the international woman's rights movement. Under pressure to cooperate with foreign activists but wary of slipping into an even more subordinate position, Richer announced the creation of a new ten

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 258. The 1878 Congress passed four pages of resolutions under twenty-six major headings. L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 September 1878.



nation Fédération Internationale pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme. Paris would serve as the Fédération's headquarters, with Le Droit des Femmes as its official organ. The Ligue would represent France, but other French feminist groups could participate by cooperating with the Ligue.¹¹⁰ As president of the Fédération, Richer acknowledged a similarity between his coalition and the recently formed International Council of Women, which sent a representative to the 1889 official congress, but he did not expect the new organization to succumb to its tacit rival. Inasmuch as the goal was to succeed, he pointed out, the more combatants the better.¹¹¹

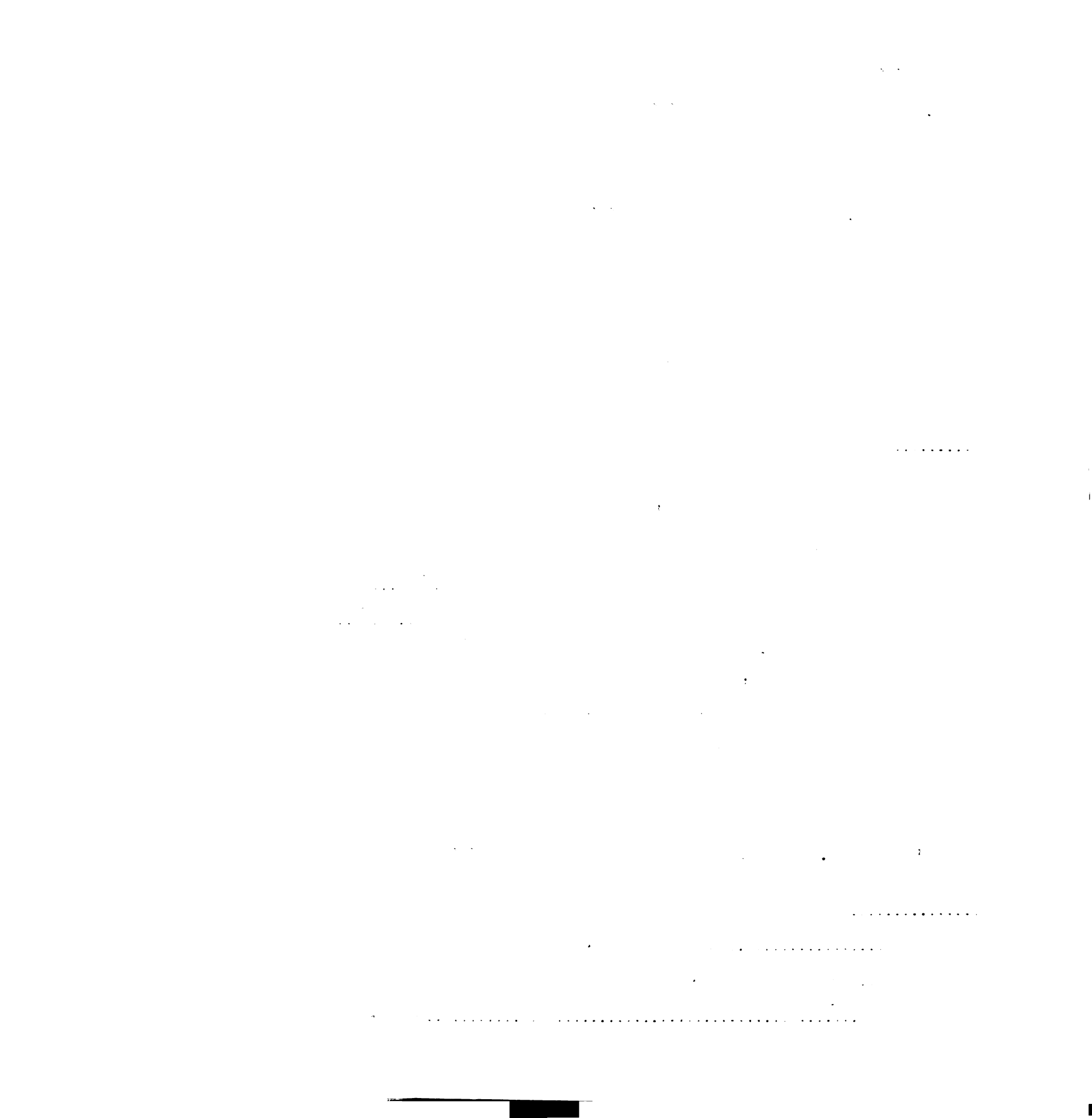
Conclusion

As the last grand act in a career devoted to moderate reformism, the second French Congress for Woman's Rights represented a personal triumph for Richer. Aside from defeat on the procedural question, Richer achieved nearly all that he had desired. Partisans of l'assaut could not be entirely excluded from the Congress, but the advocates of la brèche effectively muzzled them. Jules Alix managed to read a long and favorable report on Barberousse's 1885 electoral bid, for example, but, when he expressed "an injurious qualification against the Chamber," Deraismes censured him and struck the statement from the official record.¹¹² The Congress then proceeded to pass resolutions whose limited number and specific scope reflected the cautious program that had already become Richer's hallmark. Finally, in laying the basis for the Fédération Internationale, Richer emerged from the Congress with a vehicle through which

¹¹⁰ Le Droit des Femmes, 21 July 1889.

¹¹¹ Ibid., 18 August 1889.

¹¹² Congrès Français et International du Droit des Femmes, 146.



to rejuvenate the fortune of the Ligue, maintain the dominance of la brèche within the French movement, and assert that movement's claim for greater international recognition.

Richer's triumph proved short-lived. Under controlled circumstances the Congress had bent to his will, but once the final gavel sounded the realities that he had managed to exclude from the Salle de Géographie quickly rendered his "victory" illusory. For about a week the Chamber sustained Richer's belief in limited, specific reform proposals by again debating and at last passing the commercante vote, but the Senate blocked the measure for another five years. None of the Congress' other eight resolutions fared even that well. The Fédération also foundered. Hardly anything could be done about it during the summer, Richer explained in the fall of 1889, and in April 1890 he added a new subtitle to Le Droit des Femmes: "Revue Internationale du Mouvement Féminine: Organe Officiel de la Fédération Internationale."¹¹³ But more words on the masthead failed to reverse the attrition that had already halved the Ligue's strength, and, like Auclert's Fédération six years before, Richer's expired in silence.

Illusion also marked the momentary dominance of la brèche over l'assaut. De Gasté's 1890 constitutional amendment in favor of woman suffrage and proportional sex representation particularly angered Richer, but by then the strategy controversy had already wrecked the Congress' apparent unity. No sooner had the event ended than Léon Giraud accused Richer of deleting a woman suffrage motion from Le Droit des Femmes' coverage of the Congress. While Maria Martin absented herself from Paris due to illness, Giraud pressed his case in La Citoyenne. He claimed to

¹¹³Le Droit des Femmes, 3 November 1889, 6 April 1890.

have personally inserted a demand for "the civil and political emancipation of woman" into the text of the resolution on wives' financial rights. In Giraud's opinion, Richer also had confused civil with penal rights and, as a consequence, had acquiesced in relegating women to the status of convicted criminals.¹¹⁴

Richer disclaimed any intent to delete anything. The words referred to by Giraud were so obscure, Richer maintained, that even La Citoyenne had not cited them as a suffrage motion at the time. Moreover, if taken literally, Giraud's insertion would imply that only working women should vote, "that is, if salaries were sufficient and work days not so excessively [long], or if all women lived off their rentes, there would be no reason to claim political emancipation for them."¹¹⁵ Repeating that all women should be enfranchised but that civil rights must come first, Richer also mocked Giraud for writing under the feminine pseudonym "Camille" and suggested two alternative explanations for the controversy. The first, and less important, explanation was that, whatever the motion meant, Giraud had inserted it at the last possible second when hardly anyone remained in the hall. The second shifted the debate to new ground, the rights of illegitimate children. Continuing a heated exchange that had occurred at the Congress in the course of formulating a paternity suit resolution, Richer charged Giraud with criminal culpability for siding with the "Code de Bonaparte" against the rights of les

¹¹⁴La Citoyenne, August 1889, September 1889.

¹¹⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 18 August 1889, The controversial resolution said: "The Congress, considering that the question of women's work, their insufficient salaries, their excessive days, cannot be resolved except by legal and constitutional reforms, demands the civil and political emancipation of women, that will give notable to the wife the [free] dispensation of her salary, and to woman in general a representation for her economic interests, consequently for the salaries of women workers."

enfants naturels. He challenged Giraud to a formal debate on the issue, which never took place, and, after a double set of press forays, the dispute got lost in another controversy, the 1889 shadow campaign.¹¹⁶

The 1889 shadow campaign barely materialized. None of the 1885 activists participated, and no woman presented herself as a candidate. Its sponsoring organization was the Ligue Socialiste des Femmes, created in the fall of 1889 to bridge the gap between bourgeois indifference to the working class and socialist indifference to women. But hardly had the Ligue come into existence before it dissolved amid innumerable quarrels. Indeed, the entire demonstration could easily have escaped Richer's attention had not one of the Ligue's founders also been one of Le Droit des Femmes' principal editors, Eugénie Potonié-Pierre. She had rejected a candidacy in 1885 because too many women had run. On the occasion of the revolutionary centennial, however, she felt the need to make at least a minimal protest against woman's political disabilities. Even the threat of General Boulanger could not dissuade her:

Various journals have accused us, my two colleagues and me, of playing into the hands of boulangisme by diverting a certain number of republican votes. I repeat here /in Le Droit des Femmes/ what I have said in many Parisian newspapers. I have only wished, in accepting the candidacy offered to me, to make an act of propaganda in favor of an ardent conviction, that of the equity of the demand for woman's civil and political rights, which I have not ceased to claim since I took up the pen. I was and remain convinced that the few isolated votes that might go to women would exercise no influence on the struggle between the Republic and reaction.¹¹⁷

Richer naturally objected, warning that "ten votes taken from a republican candidate could assure victory to a reactionary." He acknowledged Potonié-Pierre's sincerity, "but I say that, given the gravity of the

¹¹⁶Ibid., 15 September 1889.

¹¹⁷Ibid., 6 October 1889.

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circumstances the moment was badly chosen for une manifestation féminine."¹¹⁸
 The campaign collapsed in any case when Potonié-Pierre learned from the press that the Prefect of the Seine, who refused to communicate with her directly, had ruled against her candidacy.¹¹⁹

The conduct of Giraud, Potonié-Pierre, and de Gasté in the immediate aftermath of the 1889 Congress, coupled with the slow pace of reform and the collapse of the Fédération Internationale, reflected the inability of Richer to impose his particular orientation on the French feminist movement. Through the Ligue, Le Droit des Femmes, and the second Congress, he had reasserted the preeminence of la brèche and perhaps contributed to the frustration that led Auclert to leave Paris for marriage. But he could neither annihilate the partisans of l'assaut through direct attack nor undercut their campaign through his own successes. He hung on for two more years until December 1891, when age, poor health, and disappointment combined to effect the suspension of Le Droit des Femmes. Thereafter, his service to the movement evoked an occasional article in the feminist press, and the Ligue honored him with a four franc banquet in 1902.¹²⁰ Otherwise, his retirement separated him almost completely from the cause that he had done so much to create. He died on 25 June 1911 at the age of eighty-seven. He had written what might pass for his epitaph in January 1889, at the beginning of the year that brought him so much joy and sorrow: "Always, I have been wrong in being right too soon!"¹²¹

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid. Sowerine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 100.

¹²⁰Le Journal des Femmes, May 1902; La Française, 30 December 1906, 25 June 1911; La Fronde, 25 May 1902.

¹²¹Le Droit des Femmes, 5 January 1889.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The Woman's Rights Congress of 1889 represented a transitional event for the feminist movement in France. At roughly that point in the struggle to liberate women, the collective effort underwent an internal process of regeneration. Literal and figurative death carried away many of the movement's creators, while those who came next looked back on that year as a time of beginning. This dovetailing of one generation into another marked a significant departure from previous feminist initiatives, but the 1889 transition also involved a severe fragmentation of the movement and a partial repudiation of the movement's founders. In particular, the second generation proved critical of the first's liberal politico-feminism. More important than that, however, was the failure of the first generation, despite its success in establishing an ongoing collective effort, to resolve several critical issues. Consequently, although the movement's first generation managed to group individual discontent and to perpetuate the struggle, it failed to develop clear guidelines for either itself or its successors in respect to the effort's organization, goals, and rationale.

Regeneration and Continuation

Despite the relative anonymity of the individuals whose names appeared on various feminist rosters, it seems clear that the movement's first generation suffered extensive losses in the late 1880's and early

1. The first part of the document is a letter from the President of the United States to the Congress, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the President's policy for the new year. The President states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The letter is signed by James Buchanan, the President of the United States.

2. The second part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by William A. Richardson, the Secretary of the Treasury.

3. The third part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Interior, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by John P. Kennedy, the Secretary of the Interior.

4. The fourth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by George B. Frisbie, the Secretary of the War.

5. The fifth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by Gustavus Franklin Frisbie, the Secretary of the Navy.

6. The sixth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by William A. Richardson, the Secretary of the State.

7. The seventh part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the War, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by George B. Frisbie, the Secretary of the War.

8. The eighth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the Navy, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by Gustavus Franklin Frisbie, the Secretary of the Navy.

9. The ninth part of the document is a report from the Secretary of the State, dated January 1, 1861. It is a very important document, as it sets out the Secretary's policy for the new year. The Secretary states that he is pleased to see the Congress assembled, and that he is confident that the country is in a better position than ever before. He also states that he is determined to maintain the Union, and that he will not allow any state to secede from the Union. The report is signed by William A. Richardson, the Secretary of the State.

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1890's. Each of the three principal founder-organizers succumbed between 1888 and 1894, with Auclert's withdrawal at the earlier date, Richer's retirement in 1891, and Deraismes' death during the later year. The much younger Auclert eventually returned to the movement, but her four year absence from 1888 to 1892 undercut her authority at about the same moment that Richer and Deraismes relinquished theirs.

At the level of the rank and file, at least three indicators suggest a large turn-over in the immediate era of the 1889 congress. One is l'Amélioration's roster for 1894, which reveals that half of Deraismes' sixteen original colleagues had died by the time of her death, while two of the remaining seven had reached advanced age, Deputy Émile Corneau (1826-1906), who retired from the Chamber in 1893 at the age of sixty-seven, and Virginie Griess-Trant (1814-1898), who passed her eightieth birthday in 1894. Nearly as old as Griess-Trant was Jules Allix, who served for years as l'Amélioration's secretary and died in 1897 at seventy-nine. Outside l'Amélioration's official ranks but also generationally indicative were the deaths of Eugénie Niboyet in 1883, Caroline de Barrau in 1888, Olympe Andouard in 1890, and Jeanne Deroin in 1894. Amélie Bosquit, who submitted a woman suffrage request to the National Assembly in 1871, lived until 1904 but reached her eightieth year in 1895. Among politicians who supported woman's rights during the first generation, Alfred Talandier died at seventy-eight in 1890, Joseph de Gasté at eighty-two in 1893, and Charles Bondeville at seventy-one in 1895.

Second, only twenty-five individuals who participated in the 1878 Congress also attended that of 1889. Although the reasons are unclear, this small number out of a total combined attendance of roughly four

hundred implies a significant rate of attrition in the course of the 1880's. The third indicator is the decimation of the founding members of Richer's Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes between 1882-1883 and 1892. Although expulsions and defections accounted for much of the decline, the inability of the Ligue to retain no more than forty of its original members would seem to reflect either the natural demise of an aged cadre or the active repudiation by younger members of old leaders. In any case, the evidence seems to indicate that the "death-end" of the regenerative process struck Richer's Ligue, Deraismes' l'Amélioration, and the movement as a whole at a moment coinciding in time with the second Woman's Rights Congress.

Numerous attestations reinforce the complementary conclusion that the events of 1889, either the Woman's Rights Congress or the official congress or the two together, represented an instant comparable to birth.¹ The authorized report on the Congrès Français et International du Droit des Femmes (1889) stressed that in comparison to "all the [other] Congresses held during the Exposition Universelle du Centenaire, that of Woman's Rights attracted the most attention and obtained the most publicity; the total of foreign as well as French articles devoted to the subject surpassed 600!"² In the eyes of subsequent feminists,

¹Several analysts of the movement have asserted or implied that the Congress of 1889 was the first such act in France. Geneviève Gennari said precisely that in her Le Dossier de la femme (Paris, 1965), 37. Louis Bardèche implied as much in referring to the 1889 Congress as a "brilliant sortie" in his Histoire des femmes, II, 337. Even Léon Abensour wrote at times as if the 1878 Congress had never taken place. "The Congresses began to appear, and that of 1889, the first, opened in an atmosphere of sympathetic attention," wrote Abensour in his Histoire générale, 274.

²Congrès Français et International du Droit des Femmes, i.

moreover, the events of 1889 completely eclipsed the first Congress. Avril de Saint-Croix emphasized the importance of 1889 for the careers of Jeanne Schmahl and Marya Chéliga, two second generation leaders of immigrant background. "It is from that date," wrote Saint-Croix in 1906, "and thanks as well to the contribution brought to it by two talented foreigners, that feminism definitely came of age."³ Chéliga herself had earlier written that the 1889 Congresses represented "incontestably the beginning of a prosperous epoch for the French feminist movement."⁴ Jules Allix also commented that "one can very well say that, from these two Congresses of 1889, truly date, in principle, all the numerous groups that have since emerged one after the other, and still exist [in 1897]."⁵ Even the otherwise hostile Maria Dronsart paid grudging homage to the importance of the two gatherings:

These two congresses drew no more than a thousand people. Party divisions somewhat confused the foreigners, and the nation ignored [the events]. However, they were the point of departure for a kind of organization.⁶

In the long view, summed up by Li Dzeh-Djen in 1934, 1889 constituted a decisive date for the French movement by "posing the first bases of a national and international tactic."⁷

The regenerative process of 1889 also separated the collective feminist effort under the Third Republic from previous movements.

³Avril de Saint-Croix, Le Féminisme (Paris, 1906), 133-34.

⁴Marya Chéliga, "L'Évolution du Féminisme," Revue Encyclopédique (November, 1896), 912.

⁵Amélioration, Bulletin, June-July 1897.

⁶Dronsart, "Le Mouvement Féministe," 115.

⁷Li Dzeh-Djen, La Presse féministe, 35.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring the integrity of the financial statements. It also highlights the need for regular audits and the importance of transparency in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of internal controls to prevent fraud and ensure the accuracy of financial data. It outlines the key components of a robust internal control system, including segregation of duties, authorization procedures, and regular monitoring and evaluation.

3. The third part of the document addresses the challenges faced by organizations in managing their financial resources effectively. It discusses the importance of budgeting, forecasting, and financial analysis in making informed decisions and optimizing resource allocation.

4. The fourth part of the document explores the role of technology in modern accounting and finance. It highlights the benefits of using accounting software, data analytics, and automation to streamline processes, reduce errors, and improve the efficiency of financial reporting.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of ethical considerations in financial management. It emphasizes the need for integrity, honesty, and transparency in all financial transactions and the role of the accounting department in ensuring compliance with ethical standards and regulations.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers recommendations for organizations to improve their financial management practices. It stresses the importance of continuous learning, adaptation, and collaboration between different departments to achieve financial success.

Although struggles to liberate women had occurred earlier, particularly in 1789 and 1848, none had lasted more than a few years. In contrast, the generation whose demise coincided with the era of the second Woman's Rights Congress not only set a record for longevity in respect to its own efforts, but managed as well to help create a second generation. Hence, in addition to its significance as the end of one generation and the beginning of another, 1889 also signalled the moment when organized feminism in France achieved sufficient momentum to break the historic pattern of interruption and to replace it with continuity.

Fragmentation and Repudiation

The movement continued, however, in only a very rudimentary form. Auclert reestablished her Société le Suffrage des Femmes when she returned to Paris in 1892, and l'Amélioration passed into the hands of Féresse-Deraismes upon the death of Maria Deraismes in 1894. Both groups survived at least until the First World War. The Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes also survived, with Maria Pognon as the first of Richer's several successors, and it exists to this day. But the pre-eminent structural and ideological position once held by these three groups quickly disappeared after 1889. Despite the emergence of a second generation out of the first, the continuation took the form of fragmentation and repudiation in the critically important areas of organization and ideas.

Disunity had characterized the movement throughout its first generation. After a few years in the ranks of André Léo's Société pour la Revendication des Droits des Femmes, Deraismes collaborated with Richer in founding the Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme. Six years later, Auclert created the Société le Droit des Femmes, and, after

another six years, Richer fashioned the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes. Auclert then launched her abortive Société Nationale du Suffrage des Femmes, and, at the time of the 1889 Congress, Richer announced his equally unsuccessful Fédération Internationale pour la Revendication des Droits de la Femme. In the meantime, each of the three groups experienced innumerable crises resulting in defections and expulsions. Indeed, the only instance of consolidation during the entire period was l'Amélioration's cooptation of Léo's Société in the early 1880's, and that act amounted to little more than a transfer of funds.

With the emergence of a second generation, however, the tripartite disunity of the earlier period gave way to fragmentation. From within the ranks of the movement, as usual, a host of individuals revolted against the old groupings and proceeded to found their own organizations. The first to do so was Madame Vincent, who anticipated some of her younger colleagues by creating the Société Féministe "Égalité" in 1889.⁸ Next came Chéliga's Union Universelle des Femmes, which grew out of the 1889 Woman's Right Congress and succeeded on a smaller scale in founding the international movement that Richer had hoped to lead.⁹ Thereafter and in short order, there appeared, among others, Astié de Valsayre's short-lived Ligue de l'Affranchissement des Femmes (1890), which numbered de Gasté among its members and imposed higher dues on

⁸ BMD, Dossier Madame Vincent.

⁹ Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, May 1891. An assortment of non-feminist groups also took a stand in favor of women's rights at this time. Perhaps the oddest was formed in 1890 at Nantes, the Société d'Altruisme, which displayed opposition to individualism through anonymous editing of its L'Anti-Égoïste. It called for woman's rights in the name of "altruistic solidarity." Le Droit des Femmes, 21 September 1890.

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and addresses, which appears to be a directory or a list of contacts. The names are written in a cursive script, and the addresses are listed below them. The list includes names such as "John A. Smith", "Mary E. Jones", and "Robert L. Brown".

2. The second part of the document is a series of short, handwritten notes or entries. These notes are written in a cursive script and are arranged in a list-like format. Some of the notes appear to be dates or short descriptions of events.

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men to symbolize women's inferior wages;¹⁰ La Société la Solidarité des Femmes (1891), which represented another effort by Potonié-Pierre to bridge the gulf between socialist and bourgeois women and enrolled La Citoyenne's Maria Martin as provisional secretary;¹¹ and Jeanne Schmahl's l'Avant-Courrière (1893), whose conservative cadre included the Duchesse d'Uzès and Madame Adam.¹²

In the course of this proliferation, the various feminist groups made one more effort to unite. The initiative came from Jules Gerbaud, editorial committee chairman of the Protestant La Femme. In an address to the 1891 general assembly of the Union Universelle and in an article for the Union's Bulletin, Gerbaud deplored the "polyfederal epidemic" that, if not cured, would soon leave each feminist with her or his own group.¹³ Potonié-Pierre supported the idea in articles for both La Citoyenne and Le Droit des Femmes, although she first raised doubts about Gerbaud's feminist experience and expressed alarm at the Union's authoritarian tendencies.¹⁴ Finally, once those and other matters had received an airing, eleven groups joined together in

¹⁰ La Citoyenne, November 1890. La Ligue de l'Affranchissement des Femmes charged monthly dues of twenty centimes for women and thirty for men. Women could also join directly, whereas men had to have the personal endorsement of someone who already belonged to the Ligue. The Ligue pledged to protect the identities of those who wished to remain anonymous.

¹¹ La Citoyenne, 1 July 1891. Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 99-110.

¹² Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 79-92.

¹³ Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, June 1891.

¹⁴ La Citoyenne, 1 September 1891, 15 September 1891, 1 November 1891. Le Droit des Femmes, 20 September 1891.

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December 1891 in a *Fédération Française des Sociétés Féministes*.¹⁵

Five months later the *Fédération* sponsored a Congress, but before it could undertake further endeavors Potonié-Pierre quit the new coalition in a dispute over her authority as its secretary.¹⁶ For a few months, the *Fédération* continued to function without direction. Then it silently disappeared into that realm where the proposals of Auclert and Richer had already gone. Meanwhile, the philanthropically oriented Protestant "feminists," who had dominated the official Congress, organized a series of annual Versailles Conferences, the first of which convened in 1890.¹⁷ As a result, the movement as a whole found itself more fragmented in the 1890's, despite yet another Congress in 1896, than it had been during the previous generation.

The second generation also repudiated much of what its immediate forerunners had stood for. This was particularly true of the many hyphenated feminists who put the woman cause second. Catholic-feminists objected to the first generation's lay passions, for example, while socialist-feminists excoriated its bourgeois outlook. But those who assumed control of the movement and professed feminism as their principal interest also repudiated the first generation. Léon Abensour reflected

¹⁵Le Droit des Femmes, 20 December 1891. The eleven groups were: L'Allaitement Maternel et le Refuge pour les femmes enceintes; La Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort de la Femme et la Revendication de ses Droits; Le Groupe Étienne Dolet; La Fédération de la Libre-Pensée; La Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes; La Ligue du Bien Public; La Ligue pour la Reforme du Costume Féminin et la Liberté du Costume; Le Patronat du 6e arrondissement; Le Patronat de la rue de Buci; L'Union Universelle des Femmes; and La Solidarité des Femmes. Several more groups joined before the *Fédération* finally collapsed.

¹⁶Le Journal des Femmes, March 1892, April 1892, May 1892, June 1892, July 1892.

¹⁷Almanach Féministe 1899, 31-36.

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the second generation's thinking of its predecessors when he wrote in 1921 that "perhaps France would have little by little accustomed itself to feminism, if some militants had not too hastily wanted to pick still unripe fruit and to pass on to direct action."¹⁸ The shadow campaigns had been especially disastrous, in Abensour's opinion: "From such demonstrations, which reinforce the facile jests whose influence is so strong on the public, undoubtedly flowed more bad than good for the cause."¹⁹

Among key activists who devoted considerable energy to repudiating the movement's founders, two stand out: Jane Misme and Jeanne Schmahl. Misme, who founded La Française in 1906 and played a dominant role for the next thirty years, sought to draw a sharp line between the moderates she represented and the "impulsive" partisans of l'assaut in Auclert's "radical party."²⁰ Until she herself rallied to woman suffrage in 1907, Misme considered the vote "utopian."²¹ After that date, Misme complained of Auclert's "gaudy demonstrations" and refusal to employ "discreet envelopment" against apathetic women.²² Misme could not avoid acknowledging Auclert's devotion, which she praised on the latter's death, but, even then, she conceded only the possibility of l'assaut's appropriateness to times past.²³

¹⁸Abensour, Histoire générale, 274.

¹⁹Ibid., 275.

²⁰Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 36.

²¹La Française, 30 December 1906.

²²Ibid., 29 November 1908.

²³Ibid., 18 April 1914.

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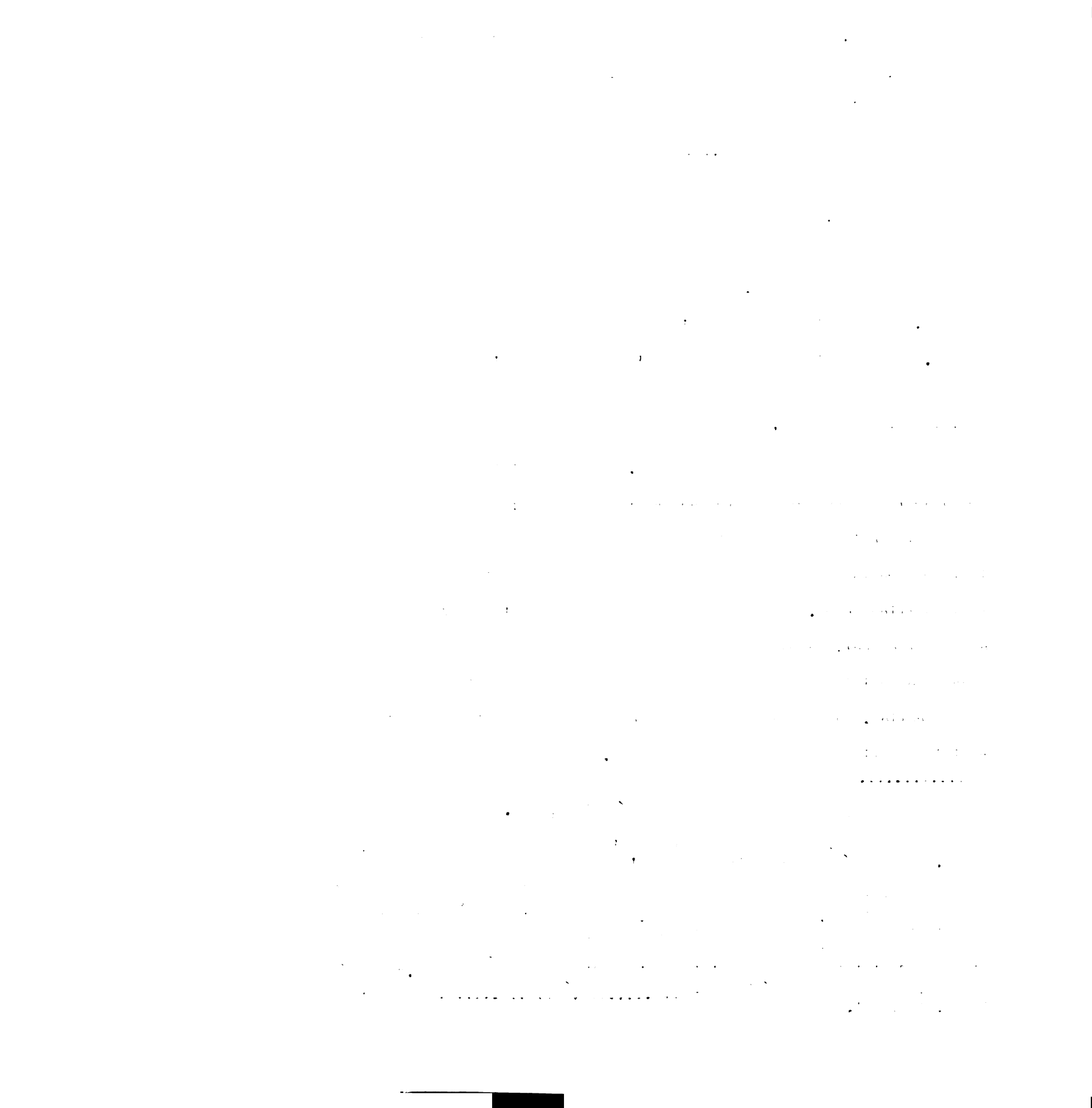
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Schmahl, whom Misme described as "remarkably intelligent and distinguished," refused to concede even that.²⁴ Shortly after forming *l'Avant-Courrière*, Schmahl commented on the first generation in an English language article for *Forum*. Auclert drew criticism for engaging in "uproarious proceedings" reminiscent of women militants during the French Revolution. As for Deraismes, Schmahl considered her "despotic" and lacking in the "ability to recognize and utilize talent and merit" possessed by her followers. More reprehensible than individual faults, however, was the first generation's involvement in religious and political causes. The campaign in the late 1860's for lay girls' schools "was undoubtedly a mistake," Schmahl wrote: "This mixing up of politics and religion with the women's question has been one of the great reasons of the unsuccess of the movement in France." Early feminists had also acted prematurely in declaring their democratic sympathies: "Until women have got the franchise they can neither be Republicans nor Monarchists; it is therefore foolish to stamp them beforehand as belonging to this or that political camp." The net effect of the founders' behavior was what one might expect, Schmahl concluded: women remained the greatest obstacle to feminism "not only because they are profoundly ignorant of its signification, but because they disapprove of the socialistic and irreligious attitudes of most of the leaders."²⁵

²⁴Misme, "La Vie et la mort du féminisme," 42.

²⁵Schmahl, "Progress of the Women's Rights Movement in France," 81-84. The Abbé Lecoœur, director of *l'externat Join-Lambert*, described Schmahl in 1897 as a "woman distinguished by talent, mind, and character." "She has resolutely separated herself from Maria Deraismes, especially from Louise Michel," Lecoœur continued, "and has oriented feminism in a practical way where moderation will lead to victories in the near future." Lecoœur estimated in the same year that "in Paris alone, one counts eighteen feminist groups comprising thirty-five thousand members." Abbé Lecoœur, "Le Mouvement Féministe," *Quatre Conférences Blanches* (Rouen, 1897), 123, 131.



Viewed against the regenerative process' attritional effect on first generation personnel, the movement's post-1889 tendencies to fragmentation and repudiation reinforce the simple but important impression that feminism's formative phase under the Third French Republic represented the work of individuals who collectively displayed rather distinct characteristics in respect to both their life spans and their attitudes.

Liberal Politico-Feminism

Analysts of the recent movement for women's liberation make a distinction between two types of participants, "politicos" and "feminists." In their present form, both types manifest characteristics that reflect peculiarities of the contemporary milieu as well as longstanding trends. For the purpose of this study, however, the significance of the distinction stems from the general applicability of the two types to other times and places. "Politicos" perceive the woman question as an important but subsidiary aspect of larger socio-political questions. Without any lessening of concern for woman's oppression, they focus primary attention on the struggle to alter extra-sex facets of the total society. In contrast, "feminists" perceive the woman question as the question, and, rather than wrestling with issues of class or political authoritarianism, they focus the struggle on the narrower dynamic of inter-sex rivalry. In the most uncritical sense, the disagreement can be "somewhat loosely defined as feminists seeing 'man as the enemy,' politicians, 'the system.'"²⁶

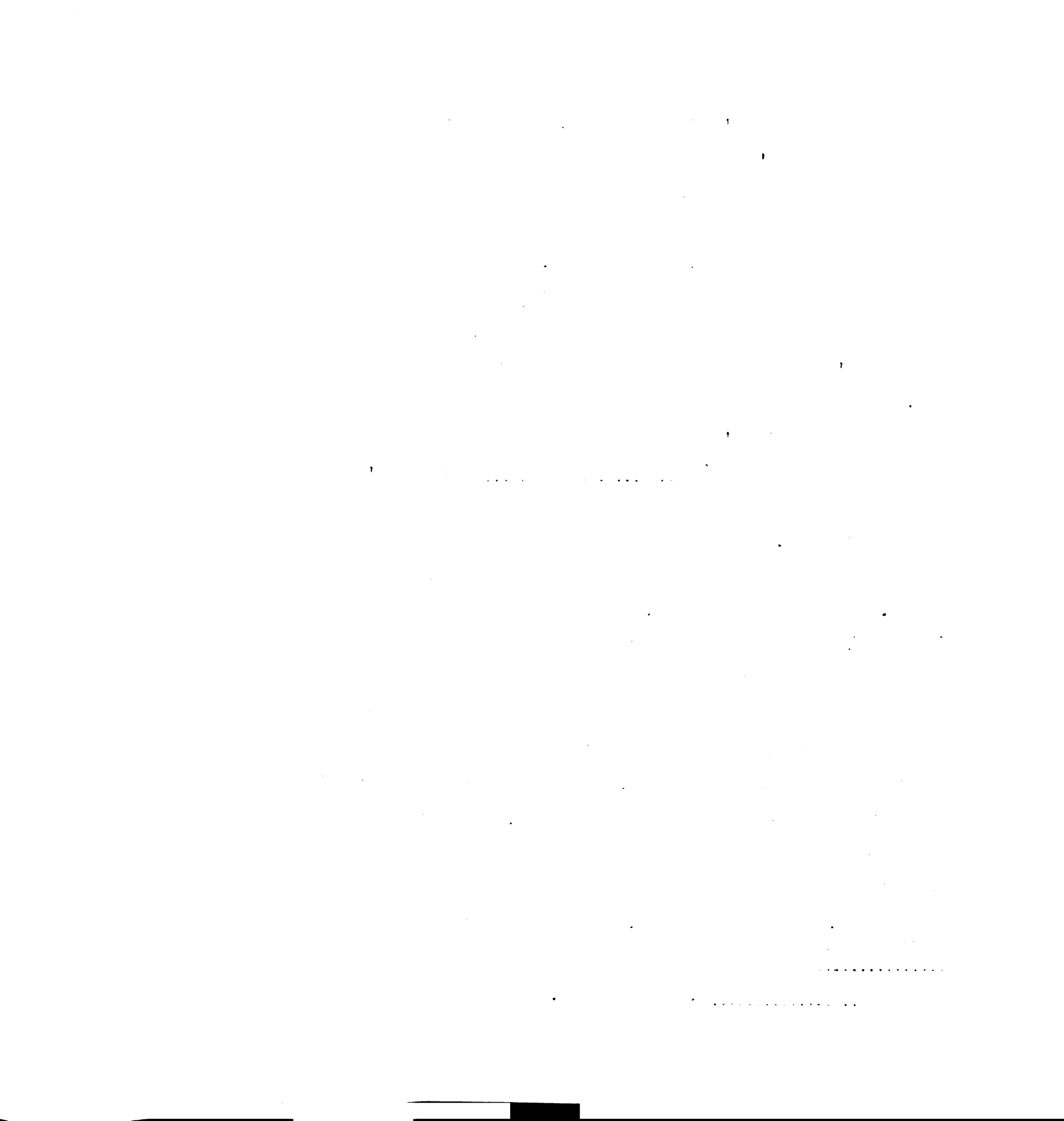
²⁶ Judith Hole and Ellen Levine, Rebirth of Feminism (New York, 1971), 116. With reservations, the onset of the recent upsurge of interest in women's liberation can be traced to Betty Friedan's The Feminine Mystique (New York, 1963).

In light of the above distinction, it seems clear that politics dominated French feminism's first generation. Their particular perception of the system's faults differed markedly from that of their twentieth century counterparts, who increasingly adopted a Marxist point of view, and the ranks of the movement often included individuals of a slightly different persuasion, notably Auclert. But in respect to both the premises on which the strategists of la brèche took their stand and the age-correlated experiences of the first generation, it appears that the movement's founders represented a liberal politico-feminist orientation.

Between Deraismes' practical involvement in republican politics, notably her salon and her Républicain de Seine-et-Oise, and Richer's constant reiteration of republican principles and friendly ties with Radical legislators, there would seem to be little doubt about the priority they accorded to erecting and protecting a liberal, democratic society. "When at the proper time, I shall call for political equality [for women], as I call today for civil equality," Richer wrote during the convoluted debate with Giraud in 1889, "I shall not speak in the name of particular class interests, but in the name of lofty principle, in the name of right, in the name of justice; I shall rest my case, without distinguishing between categories, on the quality of the [individual] human being which encompasses woman as much as man."²⁷ Deraismes subscribed to similar ideals and frequently expressed her contempt for collectivists and communists:

Thank God, we can rest reassured, because that faction [the communists] is composed of only the most ignorant and least

²⁷Le Droit des Femmes, 18 August 1889.



honorable individuals. . . . Communism is repugnant to nature. . . . It is absurd. Certainly, it is not impossible to seize riches violently, but what remains inalienable, indivisible, immovable are the sources that produce them: talent, genius, knowledge, character, beauty, health, etc. These are riches that cannot be expropriated and cannot be held in common.²⁸

Eliminating class antagonism constituted the ultimate social objective, Deraismes asserted, "because that opposition of interests forcibly creates a multiple, heterogeneous politics, inevitably engendering disorder and perturbation." In place of such antagonism, there should emerge a "persistent crusade against misery" in order to establish "the most favorable conditions for [individual] physical, intellectual, and moral development."²⁹

To these fundamental assumptions about the need to promote individual liberty and to ameliorate class antagonisms, Deraismes and Richer added the standard fare of contemporary Radical republicanism: anti-clericalism, to eliminate the Church as a vested interest; universal, lay education, to provide individuals with development opportunities and to offset religious indoctrination; procedural political democracy, to thwart authoritarianism and unrepresentative government in either its imperial form, as under the Second Empire, or in its oligarchic form, as with the Third Republic's Senate; and, to a lesser extent, pacifism, to abolish the scourge of war through international arbitration and mediation. Extensive reforms had thus to be undertaken, they believed, but caution had also to be exercised. In matters of method, Deraismes explained, moderation must prevail:

²⁸ Maria Deraismes, France et progrès, cited in Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 186-87.

²⁹ Ibid., 187. For an opinion on communism similar to that of Deraismes and Richer, see Georges Guérault's assessment of the First International reprinted in Deraismes' France et progrès, 249-53.

In order to obtain this result, is it a question of turning society upside down, of displacing injustices, of raising on high what had been on low and vice versa? Not at all. It is a question of successively introducing, after hard examination, profound study, and partial experimentation, the modifications, the reforms, where they are indispensable and the most legitimately claimed.³⁰

Change pursued moderately required in turn a political system that would respond to such a method, whether the cause was woman's rights or class solidarity. For Deraismes and Richer and their followers, only liberal democratic institutions could meet that requirement. "To effect these changes, to organize the relations of workers and capitalists on new bases," Deraismes emphasized, "the republican form appears to be the indispensable preliminary."³¹

Relative to the development of other socio-political orientations, especially those of the Left, the liberal-democratic credo of Deraismes and Richer had lost many of its "revolutionary" overtones by 1889. Indeed, in the 1890's, due to its grip on the movement, "the possibility of an alliance between feminism and socialism was diminishing."³² Yet, however "mainstream" or "conservative" this outlook eventually became, it remained a dynamic doctrine to the movement's founders. An important part of the reason for that would seem to be the age composition of the first generation. Many feminists reached at least their sixtieth year by 1889, which provided the movement's founders with a succession of national experiences quite different from those of most second generation activists. The movement's creators spent nearly a third of their lives under monarchical and imperial

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., 226.

³²Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 114.

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regimes antithetical to their own political beliefs. They also came to maturity at the moment when utopian socialist ideas exercised a strong influence on certain sectors of the French populace, including that to which the movement's leadership belonged. Richer cooperated with Arlès-Dufour and representatives of the Familistère de Guise, for example, while Phalanstérienne Virginie Griess-Traut played an important role in Deraismes' l'Amélioration. In contrast to the communism she loathed, moreover, Deraismes praised the doctrines of Saint-Simon and Fourier for their "just and incisive critique of our current [social] organization."³³ Liberals had no cause to fear them, she explained:

Of all the socialist ideas, the bourgeoisie has, by design, only held back from communism, inasmuch as neither Saint-Simon, nor Fourier had ever professed the division of riches. They wanted, on the contrary, that salaries become proportional to capacities and they accorded a very large role to genius, to talent.³⁴

This symbiosis between utopian socialism and liberalism, which undoubtedly reinforced the first generation's expectation that "antagonism" would one day disappear as a result of moderate reforms in the essential areas of class and sex oppression, provides further evidence of the "dated" socio-political orientation of the movement's founders. The point worth emphasizing, however, is that individuals who subscribed to this orientation grew to maturity in circumstances that thwarted its realization. Born within a few decades of 1789, weaned around 1830, in full youthful bloom in 1848, and middle aged during the critical 1868-1878 authoritarian-republican transition, they experienced a sequence of events that simultaneously reinvigorated their liberal faith

³³Deraismes, France et progrès, cited in Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 183.

³⁴Ibid., 185-6.

and heightened their concern about its successful implementation. Having witnessed reaction, they never overcame their fear of it, which definitely set them apart from their younger colleagues in the 1870's and 1880's and from the majority of second generation feminists. These latter proved no less devoted to the Republic, and Auclert for one preferred slavery in "democratic" France to freedom elsewhere, but their life spans, despite the debacle of 1848, brought them to maturity when the "forces of change" seemed inevitably ascendent. The generation of Richer and Deraismes could not abide such complacency. All progress hinged on the republican prerequisite, and, even after the Third Republic achieved relative stability, they brought to its defense the cumulative fears and frustrations that had once gone into its creation. Without that system, they believed, no one could enjoy liberty. Consequently, the woman question had to await final resolution of the political question, which, in light of the influence exercised by Richer and Deraismes, meant that liberal-politico feminism would dominate the movement's first generation.

Movement Implications of Liberal Politico-Feminism

The political priority of Deraismes, Richer, and their like-minded followers had multiple effects on the movement. In the ongoing and unresolved controversy over strategy, for instance, the assumptions of liberal politico-feminism underlay the dispute between advocates of la brèche and partisans of l'assaut. Woman suffrage and the tactics employed by its proponents provoked angry objections from the first generation's moderate majority, not because the vote conflicted with feminist theory, but because it seemed to threaten the Republic. Liberal politico-feminism also left the campaign overly dependent on the males



who had already found a niche in the evolving democratic infrastructure, and siphoned off into political activity a considerable amount of the movement's all too meagre human and material resources.

Against these negative implications, however, those who subscribed to this point of view derived one significant advantage, the psychological satisfaction of participating in the successful development of the Third Republic. Liberal politico-feminists perceived their struggle to liberate women as equally important, of course, but they dared not press it to its full extent until the political question had received a permanent and definitive answer. In the interim, they looked back on the transition from Second Empire to Third Republic with measured pleasure, despite their fears of reaction, and transferred the resultant sense of progress to the feminist side of the cause. Those of younger age, like Auclert, and those who desired a more radical answer to the political question, like Eugénie Potonié-Pierre, thus found themselves at least partially cut off from an important source of psychic sustenance at a time when movement affiliation required enormous inner strength.

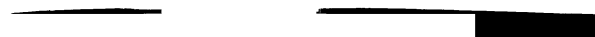
Whether considered as a matter of principle, class, or psychology, however, the dominance of liberal politico-feminism during the first generation raises a fundamental question: what type of movement did it manage to create? Throughout this study, the word "movement" has been used in the most general sense, i.e., a collective effort to achieve something. The reason for so broad a definition was simply to permit a focus on group endeavors to the exclusion of isolated, individual protests against woman's subordination, particularly those of a literary nature. However, political scientists employ a distinction that provides a more critical frame of reference for analyzing collective efforts. According

to this distinction, such efforts tend to assume one or another of two basic forms. One form is the movement per se, or what is usually referred to as a social movement. It tends to be goal-oriented, idealistic, and concerned with fundamental change. The other form is the party, which tends to be power-oriented, realistic, and concerned with the capture of offices. Neither form can easily avoid taking on some of the other's characteristics; social movements may resort to political means to achieve their sweeping reforms, while parties may present their office-seekers in the name of basic grievances. In some cases, moreover, the two forms are so intermingled that the collective effort tends to lose its sense of direction. One such case was the French Socialist party under the Third Republic; another would seem to be the feminist movement during its first generation.³⁵

In the case of the feminist movement, a contradiction immediately arose between the goal sought and the means employed. The goal, which will be examined in greater detail below, was simply to liberate women from the constraints of the système masculiniste. In scope alone that was an enormous undertaking. On behalf of a female population numbering from eighteen to twenty millions, the collective effort managed to muster less than a thousand activists during its first generation.³⁶ Viewed pragmatically, this immense discrepancy undoubtedly influenced the movement to shift tactical locus from its amorphous constituency to the halls

³⁵See the note in Donald N. Baker, "Seven Perspectives on the Socialist Movement of the Third Republic," Historical Reflections, I (Winter, 1974), 171.

³⁶Even when double and triple counted, the total membership of Deraismes' l'Amélioration, Auclert's Suffrage des Femmes, Richer's Ligue, and the two Women's Rights Congresses (1878 and 1889) came to less than 900. See Appendices C,D,F,H,I, and J.



of parliament, where sympathetic legislators might give to all women what only a few demanded forthrightly. In that sense, at least, the tendency of the collective effort to abandon mass action in favor of small group pressure tactics represented a realistic response to an extremely difficult situation. Moreover, this shift would not in itself prevent the collective effort from retaining predominant characteristics commonly associated with social movements.

Instead, the source of the contradiction stemmed from the fact that the feminist movement assumed party characteristics in at least two critical respects. While it never officially constituted itself as a party and practical difficulties affected its methods, the collective effort displayed a power-orientation in matters both of principle and of personnel. Despite differences in emphasis, all first generation feminists, as well as a great many non-feminists, subscribed to republicanism, which as a simple belief would not necessarily lead to direct involvement in office seeking. Under liberal politico-feminist leadership, however, the movement accorded priority to building a democratic power base in France. The fervor with which it attached itself to that principle, moreover, led to extensive participation in the larger effort to promote republican candidates and issues and to thwart the forces of reaction. The movement contributed a number of candidates directly — Richer, Lévrier, Allix, etc. — and Deraismes emerged as the dominant political figure in the Department of Seine-et-Oise. The net effect of these party-like endeavors was twofold. First, as long as the political question retained its primacy, the movement refused to open its ranks to non-republicans, and, conversely, non-republicans refused to join an effort controlled by Radical-Socialists, Freemasons, and free-thinkers.

Second, although the struggle to liberate women represented the movement's raison d'être, the priority accorded to republican power invariably produced a governing elite whose attitude on the woman question bore little resemblance to that of its liberal politico-feminist backers. Consequently the first generation not only found itself cut off from Catholics (due to its free-thinking), workers (due to its bourgeois outlook), and the rural masses (due to its urban locus), but dependent on the dominant Radical-Socialist Party, which waited until the eve of the First World War to create a woman's rights group. Even then, the *Fédération des Femmes Radicales et Radicales-Socialistes* excluded woman suffrage from its program.³⁷

Feminism and the Feminist Movement in France

If, as a collective force for change, the movement suffered from the contradiction between its self-appointed social mission to liberate women and its majoritarian commitment to republican democracy, it nonetheless concentrated on alleviating the constraints of the système masculiniste. Indeed, although second generation feminists like Schmahl occasionally faulted the movement's founders for excessive political involvement, it is not at all clear that political indifference would have strengthened the first generation's position. Nor is it clear that politico-feminism represented an obstacle to developing a critical analysis of sexist oppression, despite ancillary endeavors acting as a drain on the movement's limited energies. It seems quite likely in fact that liberal politico-feminism produced an unintended but important result. Once liberals achieved their political ends, the woman question emerged

³⁷La Française, 9 May 1914.

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in starker relief. The same can perhaps be said for other versions of politico-feminism, particularly those influenced by Marxist thought, which have tended to draw attention to woman's oppression while simultaneously entangling the problem in a morass of additional considerations. This is not to say, of course, that the woman question can be completely isolated from other questions. Woman's liberation may indeed require the abolition of political authoritarianism, class domination, racial discrimination, and much else. But, over the past few hundred years it seems clear that where successes have occurred in these other liberation efforts, the effect has been less to increase woman's freedom than to reveal the unique dimensions of woman's subordination.

Yet, if later events revealed new facets of woman's plight, the first generation quite successfully focused contemporary attention on rudiments of the problem. In particular, the movement served as a conduit through which individuals could express their shared discontent and initiate actions of scale beyond the capacity of the systeme's otherwise isolated victims. Relative to the enormity of the problem, the miniscule size of the collective effort virtually guaranteed failure in the area of substantive reform. But in order for change to occur at all, the woman question had first to be resurrected. To a significant degree, the movement's first generation accomplished that.

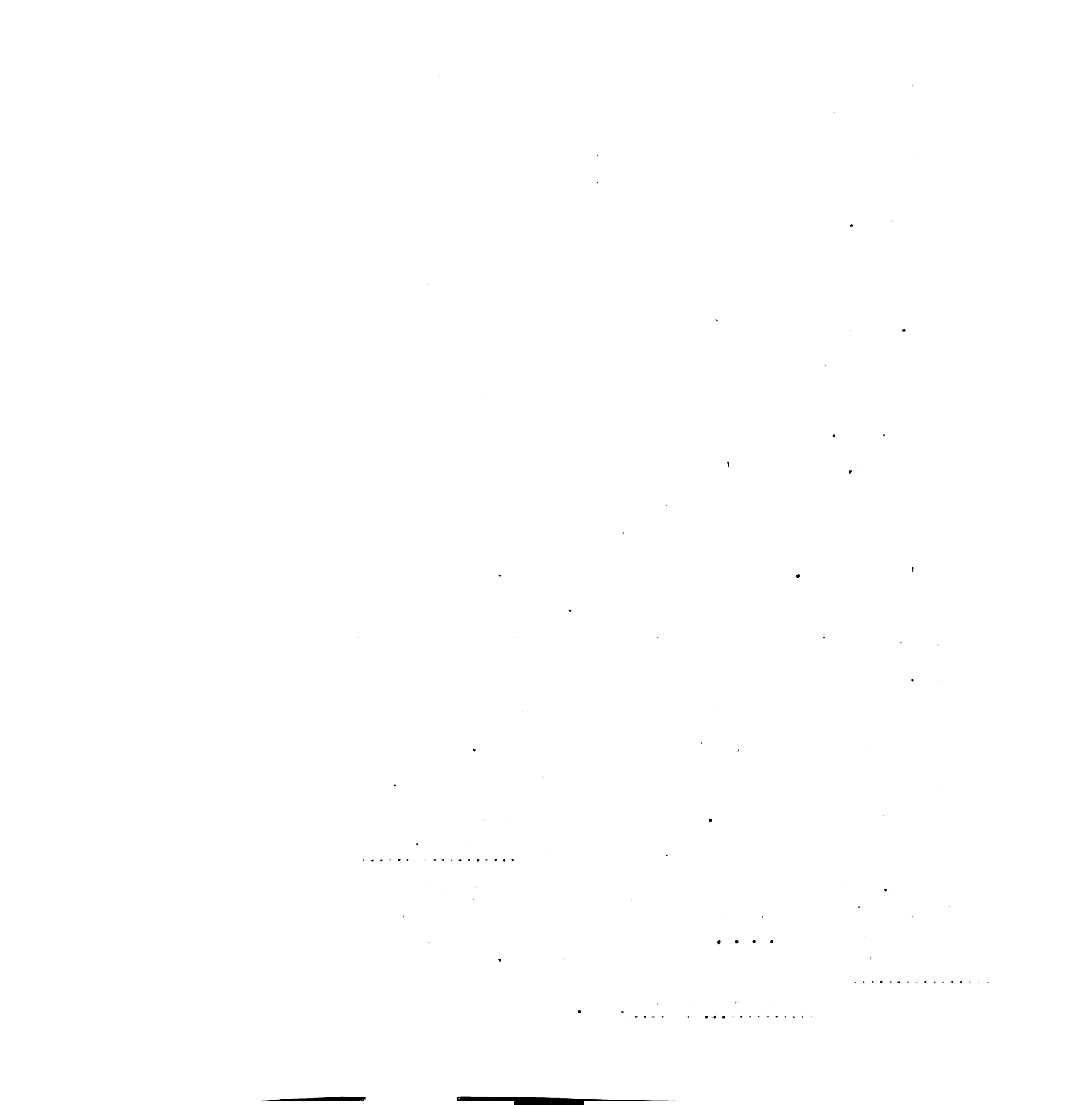
Other than that, however, the movement essentially failed. Many setbacks occurred where the movement had little control over events, as with its reform program. Strategists of la brèche and l'assaut undoubtedly weakened the collective effort by their incessant wrangling, but there is no reason to believe that solidarity on the issue of woman suffrage would have hastened its enactment. Where reforms succeeded,

moreover, they either touched very few women, as with the opening of internships in public hospitals to female medical students, or they represented "coattail" victories of dubious merit, as with the politically and anti-clerically motivated expansion of girls' education and reestablishment of divorce. The movement also failed to keep its own house in order, with the result that the collective effort displayed a propensity for squabbling and doctrinal disputatiousness akin to that of emigré revolutionaries. But, just as emigrés might receive exoneration on grounds of relative impotence, so analogically could French feminists receive at least partial absolution in light of their status as quasi-foreigners in their own country.

However, the movement's most grievous failure occurred where it had exclusive and undisputed control. It never developed an adequate interpretation of either the roots of woman's subordination or the routes to woman's liberation. Throughout the first generation, the movement drew heavily on the anguish of individual women, whose direct and vicarious experiences of sexist oppression provided an emotional bond for collective endeavor. It also managed to articulate certain inequalities reflective of the enormous gap that had evolved between the narrowed social sphere accorded to women and the much wider sphere enjoyed by men. But at that point, where psychological alienation met institutional description, the movement tended to come to rest. Abensour characterized the result in one of his last works on the subject, the aptly named Problème féministe:

In fact, feminism is at the same time a reaction of the individual conscience, and the collective conscience of women against the injustice and the illogicality of the condition that certain societies have imposed on them. . . . It appears less as a political, philosophical or social doctrine than as a state of mind.³⁸

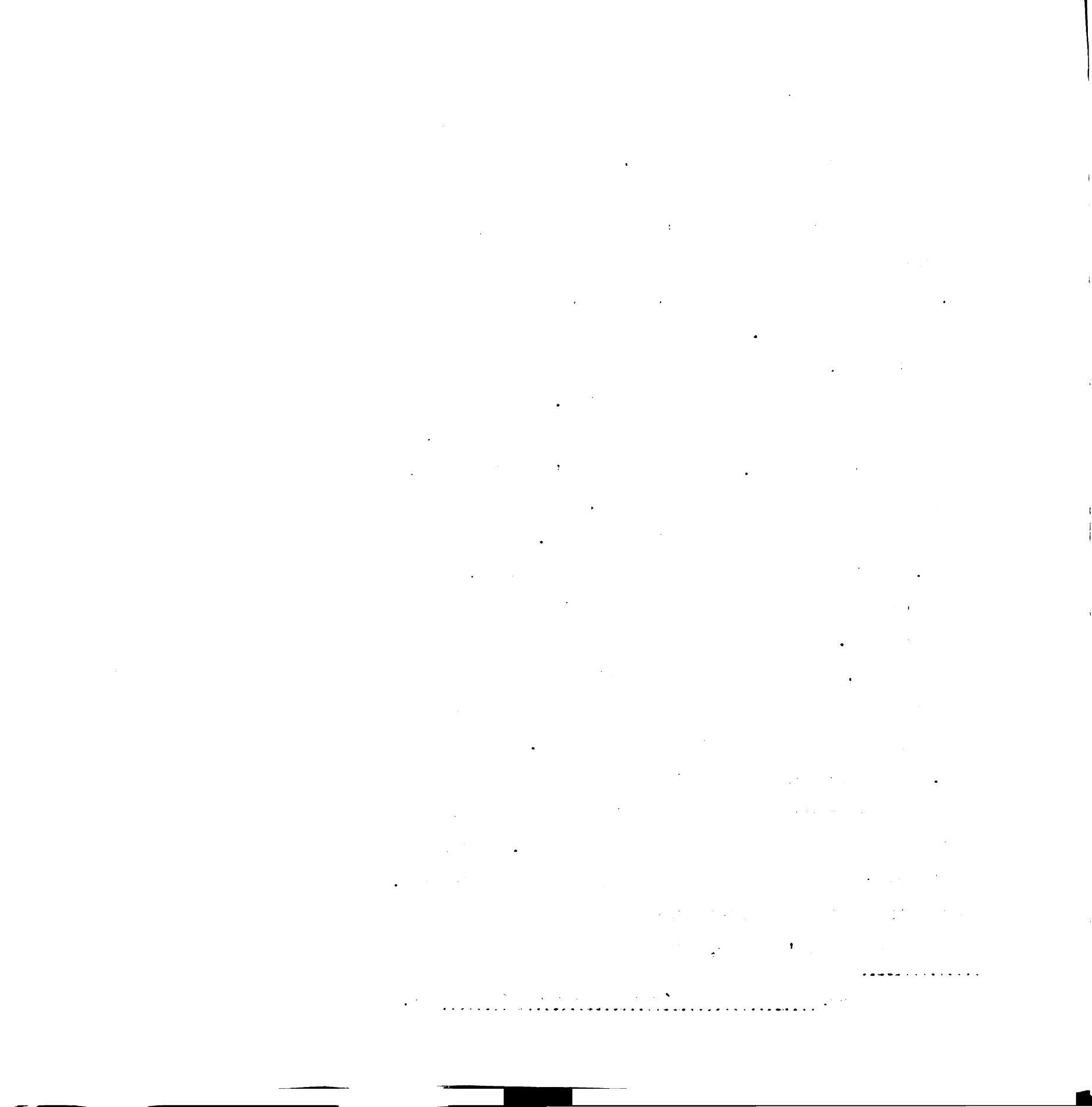
³⁸Abensour, Le Problème féministe, 159.



In other words, the movement's first generation failed to develop a theory adequate to explain either the conditions in need of reform or the means to effect the necessary changes. The movement exhibited an awareness that women had been relatively better off in the past and that men alone had benefitted from France's several revolutions, but that recognition also tended to stay fixed at the level of comparative description. Barring sophisticated analyses, moreover, "history" had little use-value for French feminists. Even the comparative descriptions had to be handled with care, lest the movement find itself juxtaposing "progressive" feudalism to the recent "reactionary" revolutions. Such a juxtaposition would have been generally accurate from a feminist point of view, and Abensour has suggested that, in reaction to woman's quasi-equality, anti-feminism preceded feminism in the middle ages, rather than the other way around as in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.³⁹ But on other grounds, especially those of political and religious import, the individuals who comprised the movement could not repudiate the present in the name of the past.

Instead, the movement found itself virtually compelled to adopt a position that somehow the "progress" that had brought so much to so many men would soon bestow benefits on women as well. In a very real sense, although the movement arose in response to the anguish of women whose freedom of choice had become increasingly circumscribed, the collective effort rode along on a kind of moral syllogism, to wit: Oppression is Wrong; Women are Oppressed; the Oppression of Women is Wrong. Coupled with the implicit anticipation that the wheel of progress was about to stop on woman's number, this feeling that justice demanded

³⁹Abensour, La Femme et le féminisme avant la révolution, v.

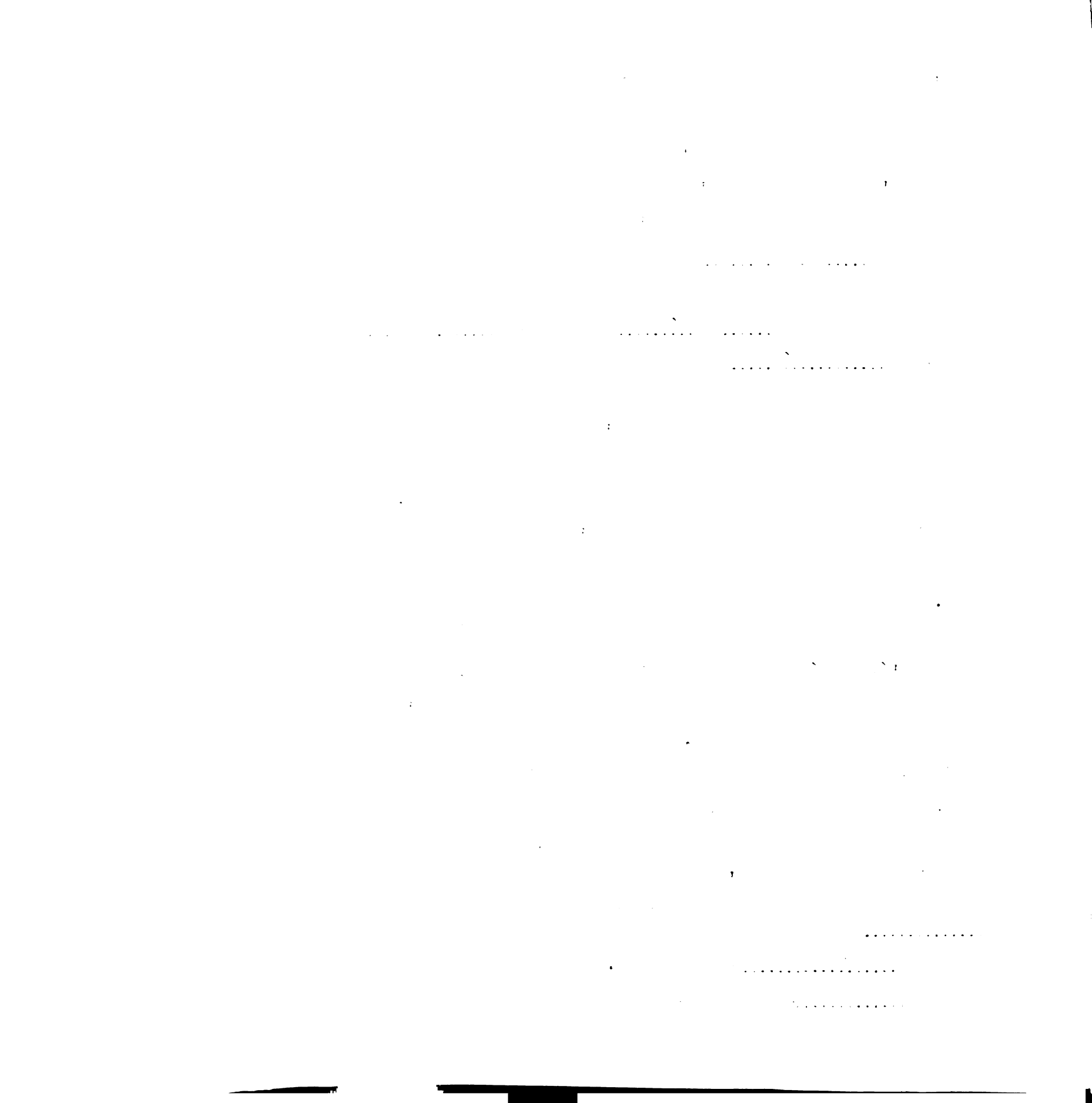


woman's liberation permitted the movement's first generation to display an optimism considerably out of proportion to the magnitude of its task. The prosaic titles of the movement's journals and groups, which emphasized woman's "future" and woman's "rights," convey this impression, and Richer took pride in reversing Bismarck's "Might makes Right" as the motto for his Le Droit des Femmes.⁴⁰ Not until the end of the second generation did journals appear bearing titles more in keeping with the extent of the problem: Le Combat Féministe (1913-14), Le Cri des Femmes (1914), and La Lutte Féministe (1919-21).

Carried along by moral indignation and optimism but without an adequate theory to guide them, the movement's participants found it extremely difficult to give direction to their own efforts, or, equally important, to elaborate an explanatory framework for their successors. In part this difficulty stemmed from the movement's interest in effecting change, which seemed under the circumstances to require action rather than study. Second generation feminists noticed this defect and attempted to compensate for it in 1898 when Madame Oddo-Deflou founded the Groupe Français d'Études Féministes et des Droits Civils des Femmes, which also strove to disentangle the woman question from the first generation's political and anti-clerical passions.⁴¹ With the possible exception of Deraismes, the founders of the movement also lacked intellectual credentials. Their chief collective talent was journalism, which led to reams of reportage and polemics but few in-depth analyses. Finally, given the great disparity between woman's rights and those of men, it seems clear that the movement considered sexist injustice so self-evident as to

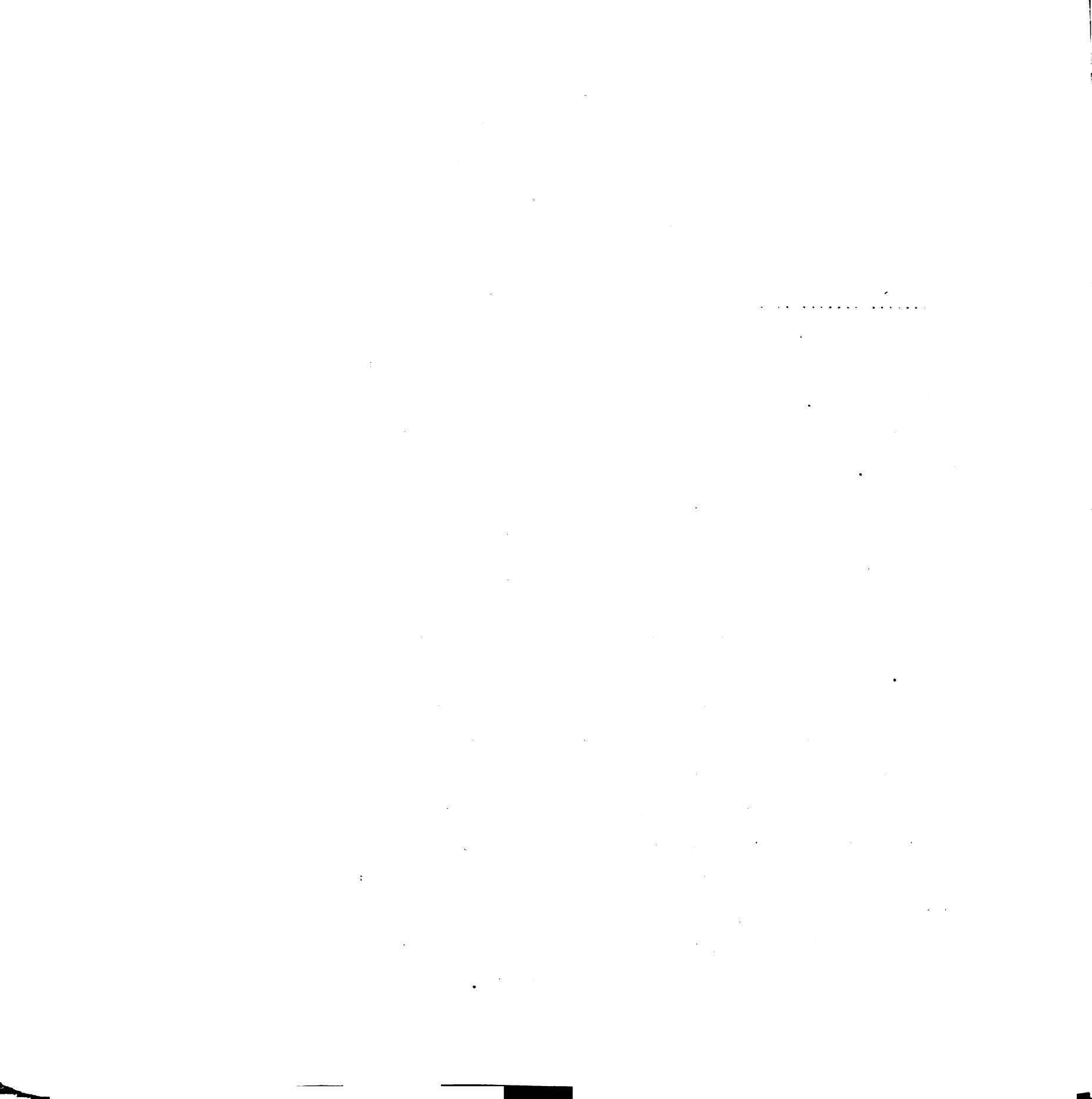
⁴⁰Le Droit des Femmes, 5 April 1885.

⁴¹La Française, 5 July 1915.



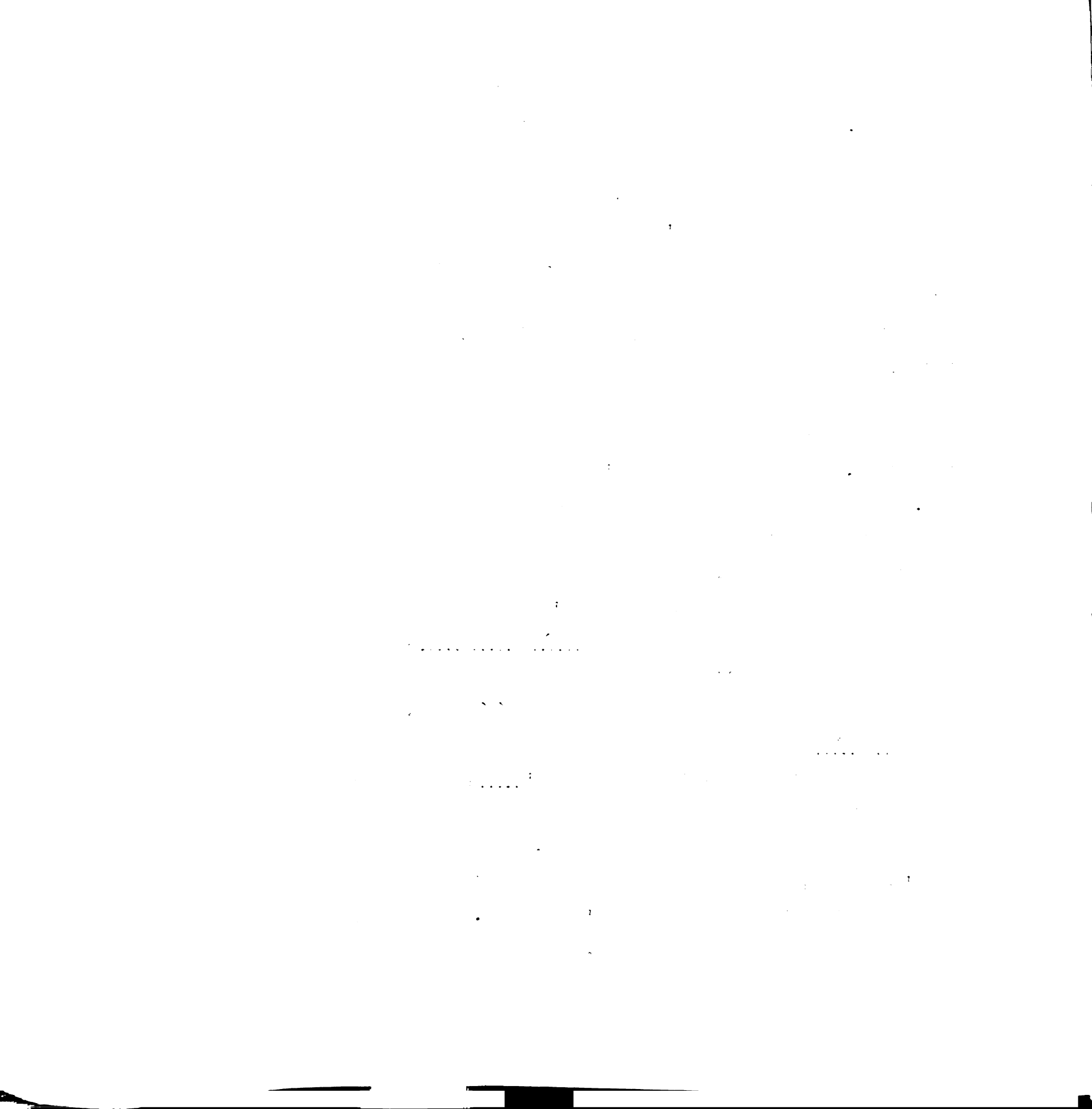
obviate the need for theoretical disquisitions. Yet, regardless of the reasons for the neglect, the first generation displayed crippling inconsistencies in respect to constituencies, goals, and rationale.

The basic constituency seemed obvious enough. It was woman, and the movement assumed the charge of liberating all in that category — slightly more than half the population — from man, whose standing within the système masculiniste brought him political, economic, social, and ideological dominance. On the surface, therefore, the lines of struggle seemed clear; women would have to engage in a "war on men," as Audouard's 1866 title suggested. But many women accepted and even defended their own subordination, while at least a few men passionately fought against sexist tyranny. As a result, the movement could count women among its enemies and men among its friends, even though the ostensible objective was to free all women from their subordinate relationship to all men. First generation feminists were not so naive, of course, as to think that all women would instantly rally to the cause, and the movement exhibited an awareness of how socialization had instilled deference and docility into women. But whatever the explanation for individual attitudes, the point is simply that the effort to resolve the woman question pitted two sides against each other whose internal composition, if defined by sex, included both "friends" and "enemies." The second generation eventually brought the two sides more into line with the apparent sex division through increasing the ratio of women to men in the movement. But, although later feminists viewed this as a practical necessity due to woman's conditioned deference to man, nineteenth century feminists seemed to have moved in that direction because, in the absence of theory, only their female constituency could provide the cause with definition.



Feminists had more difficulty in determining their relationship to other groups. As only one of many collectivities in French society, and constantly in need of allies, the movement repeatedly had to decide with whom and against whom to align itself. Such decisions proved relatively easy for the first generation's majority so long as its liberal politico frame of reference could serve as a guide. Republicans secured feminist support in opposition to monarchists and Bonapartists, for example, as did anti-clericals, Freemasons, utopian socialists, and lay educationists. Individuals from each of these groups reciprocated to a certain extent, particularly during the transition from Second Empire to Third Republic when the political question dominated the activities of the tacit coalition. In the course of the 1880's, however, the situation changed. Stability had come to the Republic by then, and the new democratic Establishment relied heavily on personnel drawn from groups with which feminists had cooperated. But, once in power and once the education and divorce reforms became law, the movement's political "friends" proved extremely reluctant to tamper with the système masculiniste.

Auclert anticipated this republican reluctance to work for changes specifically related to women when she founded her Société in 1876. Strategists of la brèche assailed her for endangering the Republic, but although they never relinquished their opposition to l'assaut, they too became aware during the next decade that their political ties had failed to generate mass support for their feminist objectives. In the course of the 1880's, in short, the movement reached a point where liberal politico-feminism seemed insufficient to advance woman's liberation. As a result, the movement began to search for new partners. But in the absence of an adequate theory to provide overall direction, the movement lacked a



"liberation standard" against which to evaluate potential allies. Only the time-worn liberal-politico perspective remained as a guide, which led the movement to continue to exclude right wing political and Catholic groups from its ranks at a moment when its former partners exhibited disinterest in woman's emancipation. Stronger ties with socialists represented another alternative, particularly in light of utopian socialism's influence on feminist thought; but although Auclert, Potonié-Pierre, and others explored that link, the conflict between class and sex orientation, as well as Proudhon's lingering impact on the working class, proved insurmountable.

One other alternative remained: the numerically significant but philanthropically-minded moral reform organizations. Throughout most of the first generation, feminists worked alongside these groups without embracing their orientation. They held separate congresses in 1889 and again in 1900. Yet they had much in common. Both were largely bourgeois with large numbers of women in their ranks. Both expressed interest in woman's lot and demanded rights for women. Finally, they held similar views in respect to republicanism and anti-clericalism. Consequently, as its former partners became less dependable, the movement gradually began to seek more extensive ties with moral reformers. This process did not come to a head until 1901, when the National Council of French Women emerged out of the two 1900 congresses. But the impetus to that type of coalition, which eventually swamped the movement in a sea of moral zeal, commenced in the 1880's. Indeed, if a specific moment could signify the beginning of this evolution, it would be 2 May 1886, the date when Richer announced that his dwindling Ligue had entered into an informal alliance with Pastor Tommy Fallot's Ligue Francaise pour le Relèvement de la Moralité

Publique.⁴²

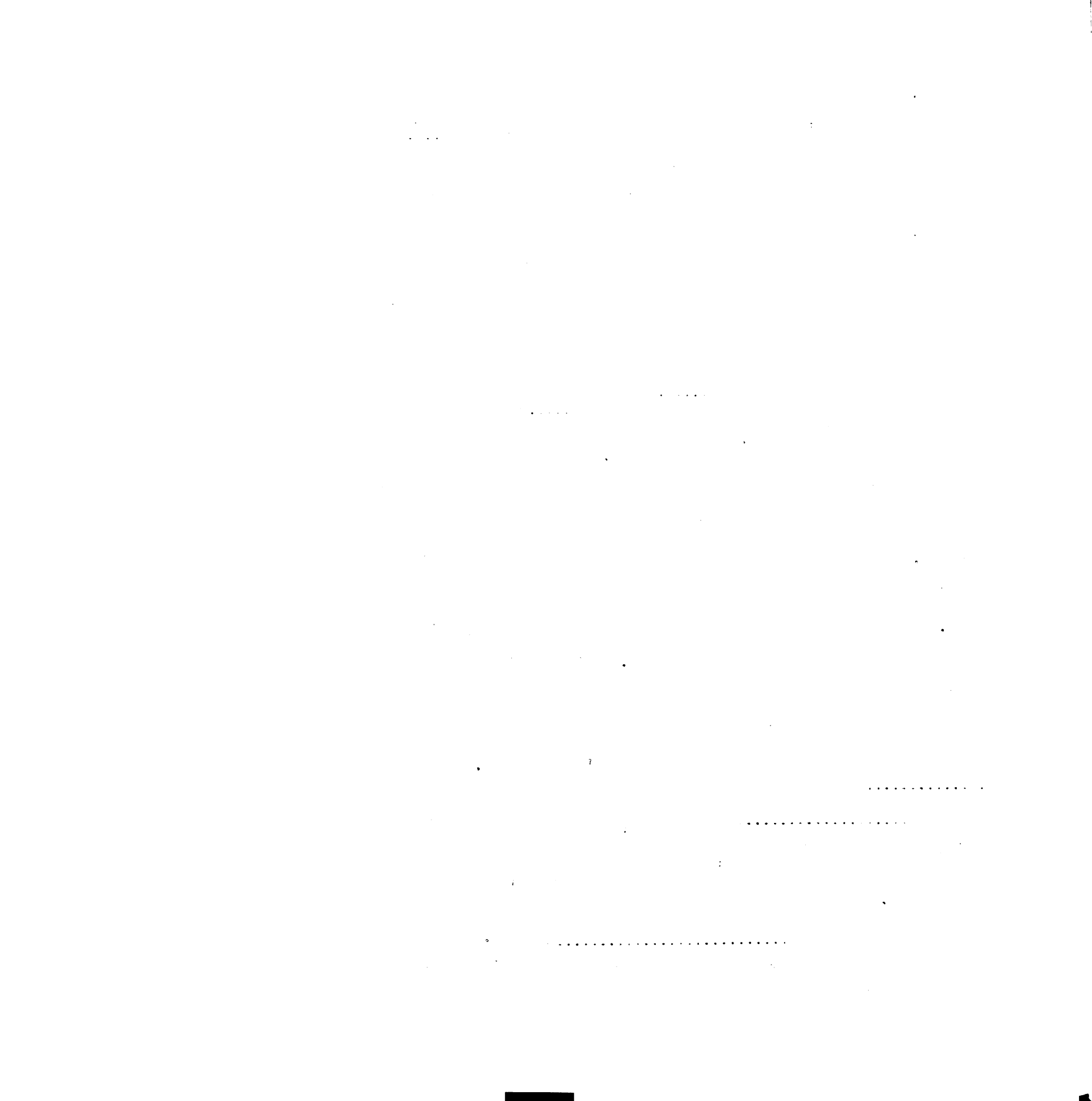
The movement's goals also seemed obvious enough. The système imposed countless constraints on women. Those had to go, along with anything else that prevented women from realizing their full potential. In practice, however, the movement tended to focus exclusively on woman's rights. This may have been due to deep-rooted traditions, as the Belgian theorist, Henry de Man, maintained in respect to working class aspirations:

In Britain and the United States, the workers are led by their longing for equality to demand freedoms from the State; in continental European countries, the workers clamour for rights. In the English-speaking lands, the demand is that the State shall not hinder the process of social change. In Latin countries, the demand is that social changes shall be regulated by law.⁴³

Or the emphasis on rights may have reflected, once again, the movement's failure to formulate a theory against which to evaluate the goals of its struggle. In any case, by focusing on rights, the movement contributed to a trend that affected nineteenth-century feminists in France and elsewhere. That is, by directing the struggle against legal constraints, the movement became increasingly ends oriented. This is not to say that rights were immaterial, but, whatever their intrinsic importance, the movement could not determine their significance to women due to its failure to develop a general concept for woman's liberation.

⁴²Le Droit des Femmes, 2 May 1886. Lack of an adequate theory probably accounts as well for the movement's praise of such non-feminist activities as vegetarianism. It also seems that another unintended benefit of the first generation's liberal politico-feminism was that it tended to hold the moral reform organizations at arm's length from the movement.

⁴³Henry de Man, The Psychology of Socialism, trans. by Eden and Cedar Paul from the 2nd German edition (London, 1928), 121. Cited in Baker, "Seven Perspectives on the Socialist Movement of the Third Republic," 179.



Much of the movement's difficulty stemmed from the failure to elaborate a clear-cut answer to the question: Why should women enjoy greater liberty? The movement took it for granted that women should be free, which provided the collective effort with an enormous constituency and a cosmic goal. But it never developed a consistent outlook about the women it purported to represent. Despite the movement's clamor for women's rights, it displayed a marked ambivalence about why women should have those rights. Were women the equals of men, as some feminists maintained, or only equivalent, as others asserted? Perhaps they were both, equal in some respects, equivalent in others? "Feminism," wrote Nelly Roussel, "is the doctrine of natural equivalence and of social equality of the two factors of the human genre."⁴⁴ Schirmacher expressed a like notion: "Woman, in her peculiar sphere, is entirely the equal of man in his."⁴⁵ Richer suggested that "man and woman are equivalent. In this sense one can say EQUAL: — that is, equality in dissimilarity."⁴⁶

In immediate impact, this ambivalence led the movement to employ two rather contradictory "liberation" themes. At times, the movement portrayed women as an integral part of a larger unit — the nation, the west, all humanity — and demanded their emancipation in the name of universal justice and right. At other times, the movement emphasized woman's special relationship to smaller units, particularly the family, and claimed her freedom in the name of unique "feminine" qualities. Often the two themes merged, especially in the assertion that woman's unique

⁴⁴Le Petit Almanach Féministe pour 1907, 4.

⁴⁵Schirmacher, The Modern Woman's Rights Movement, xiv.

⁴⁶Richer, Le Livre des femmes, viii.

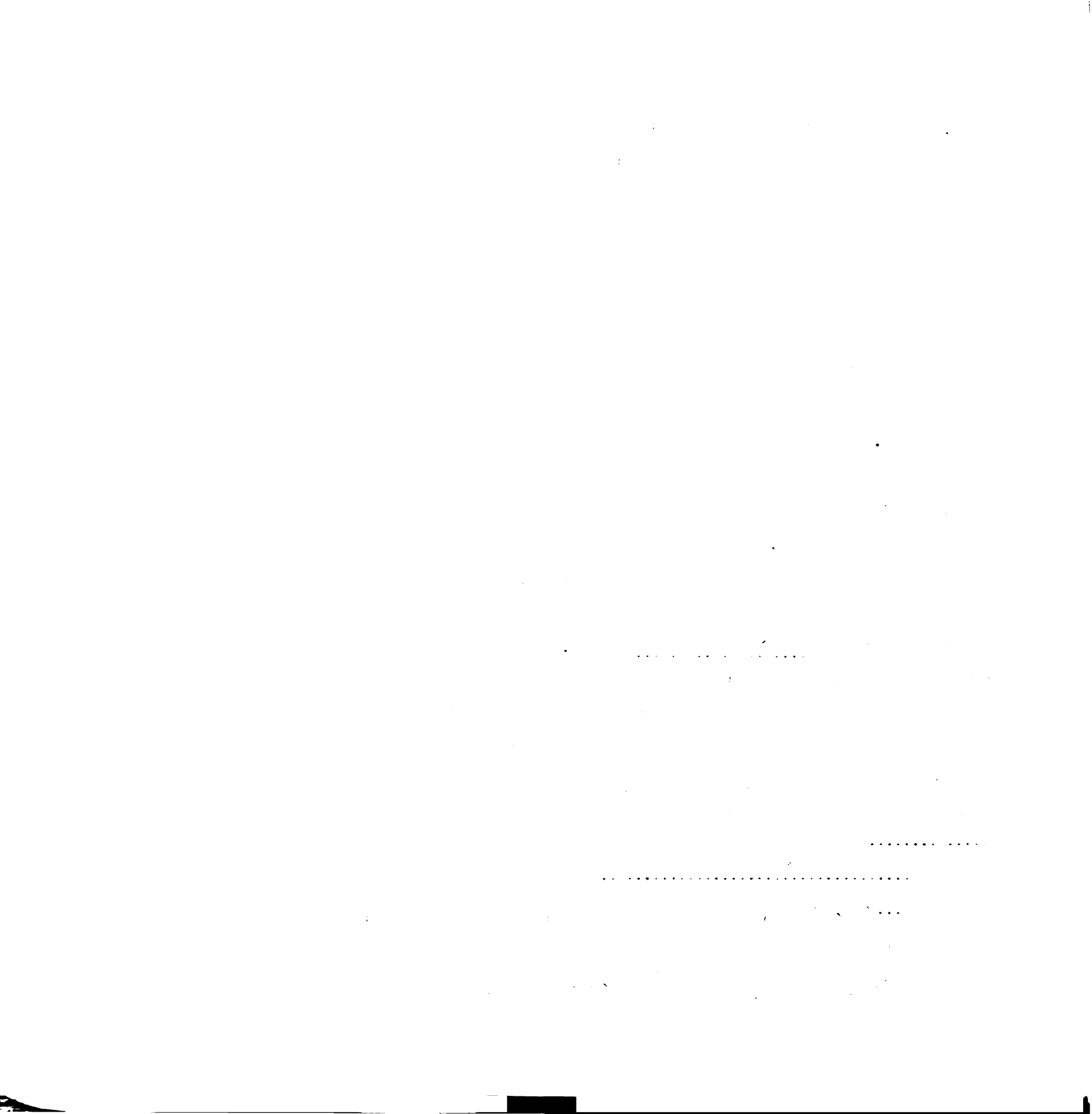
characteristics would contribute to a more peaceful, harmonious social order. Deraismes typified the movement's tendency in this respect when she stressed the potential benefit of woman's domestic virtues to the whole of society: "She will bring to public life her beautiful qualities: sagacity, perseverance, abnegation."⁴⁷ Without full utilization of these virtues, moreover, society must necessarily suffer:

Woman being one of the two great factors of humanity and civilization, all good as well as evil resulting only from the mixed action of the two sexes, let us recognize that any law, any institution that does not bear the imprint of the human duality will be neither viable, nor durable.⁴⁸

In its long range impact, this ambivalence inclined the movement to expediency. During the previous few generations, the trend in favor of the "rights of man" had completely bypassed woman, and, try as they might, feminists could not effect a transfer of those "people" principles from one sex to the other. In the meantime, popular belief had increasingly enclosed woman in a prison of sexist metaphysics. The notion that woman possessed innate aptitudes constituted the basic ideological assumption on which the système masculiniste rested. Therefore, when feminists drew attention to woman's "beautiful qualities," which they tended to stress more and more as appeals to principle failed, they simply reinforced the already wide-spread belief that sex represented a legitimate criterion for discrimination. Furthermore, to the extent that women occasionally secured new legal rights in the name of their "equivalent"

⁴⁷Oeuvres complètes de Maria Deraismes, 273.

⁴⁸Ibid., 279. The assumption that women possessed a special nature underlay Abbé Lecoœur's endorsement of Schmahl's campaign for women's rights and led him to claim the Church as an ally of feminism: "In a word [woman] wants to have rights, I do not say equal, but equivalent to those of man, in keeping with her innate faculties and with her providential creation." Lecoœur, "Le Mouvement Féministe," 138.



natures, the net effect was to strengthen the metaphysical notion that underpinned the système in the first place.

The most powerful of the metaphysical notions with which the founders of the movement had to contend was that of the mère éducatrice. According to this image, woman possessed an innate aptitude for two roles, mother and wife. To fulfill these two roles, woman had to confine herself spatially to the home, where she could then devote herself exclusively to maintaining domestic order and to guiding the next generation through childhood. Implementation of this ideal required a husband who earned enough to keep a full-time bed-mate and propagator, insuring that, although the image applied to all women, the first to suffer it in practice would come from the ranks of the bourgeoisie. It is understandable, therefore, that middle-class women dominated the movement, because, in addition to the requisite time and money at their disposal, their freedom from material want made them all the more aware of their oppression as women. It is also understandable that, given its class composition, the movement tended to limit its demands to the "bourgeois" rights already enjoyed by men.

Less understandable is the inability of the movement to develop an adequate critique of the mère éducatrice, the essential myth on which the système masculiniste based its ideo-structural constraints. Due to this myth and the objective conditions that transformed it into a "living" reality for a growing segment of the population, women experienced a unique type of oppression. Unlike other subjugated groups, they found themselves isolated from one another and in daily "loving" contact with their "superiors." In their child-rearing capacity, they also found themselves charged with the unprecedented responsibility — for "inferiors"

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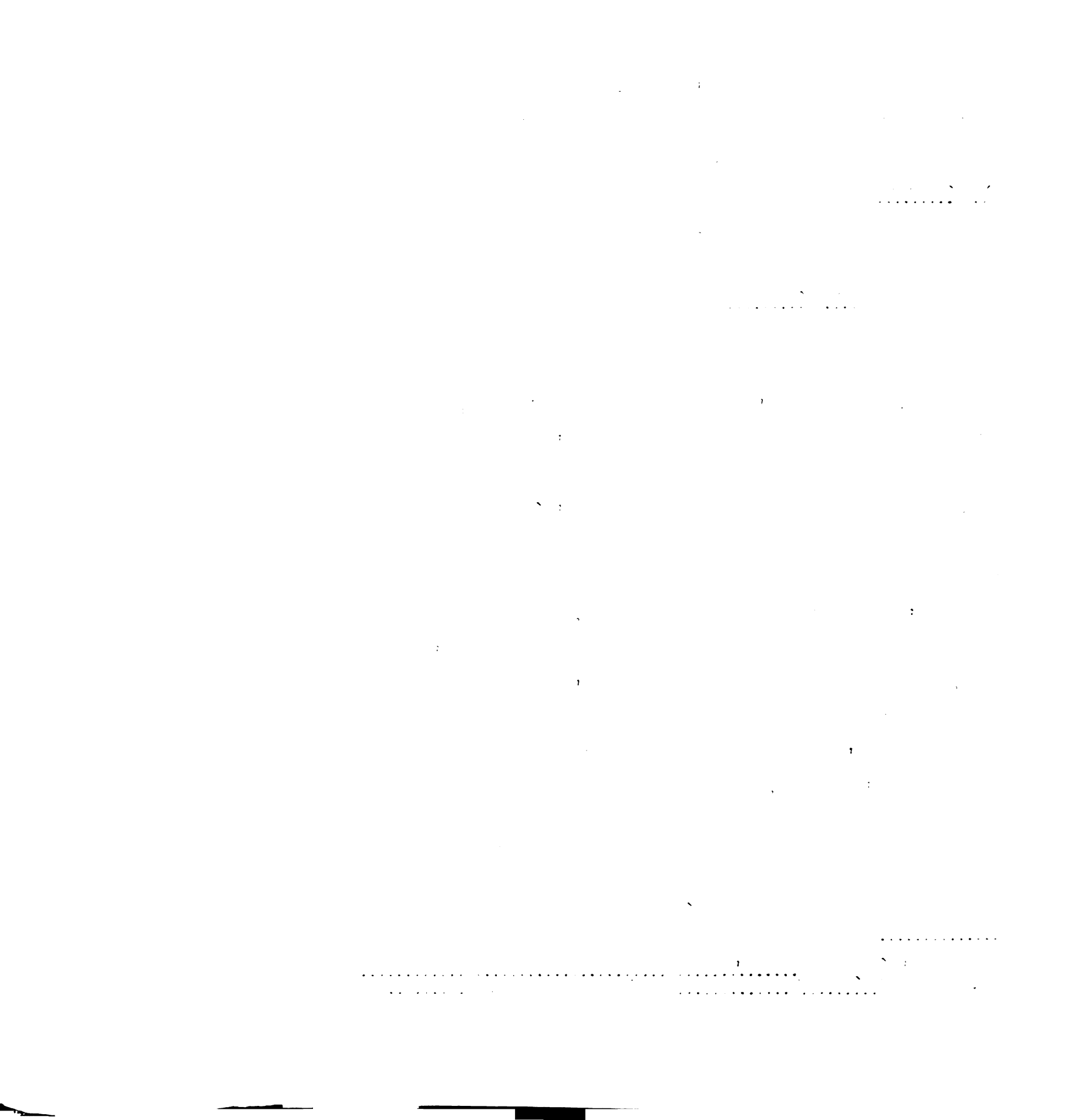
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at least — of molding the society's future. Together, the various constraints combined with the one exalted mission to deprive women of any real choice over their own lives. Indeed, so long as the ideal of the mère éducatrice prevailed, women would continue to face the Proudhonian predicament of "housewife or whore."

The movement not only failed to develop a theory to counteract the ideal of the mère éducatrice, however; if anything, the collective effort strengthened the myth by increasingly relying on "special nature" arguments to obtain the rights that increasingly became ends in themselves. As a result, although women's legal status gradually improved, their gains in law were more than offset by the movement's simultaneous reinforcement of the ideological premise that lay at the root of their oppression. At the beginning of the first generation, d'Héricourt had protested against the tendency of utopian socialists to envelop the woman question in "theology," while Lamber had asserted that "I, like Proudhon, believe that woman's first duty is to be wife and mother."⁴⁹ Unfortunately, and somewhat paradoxically, the movement also subscribed to Proudhon's priority. Thus, despite the fact that the movement's first generation managed to organize an ongoing collective effort, it failed to formulate a critique of woman's liberation sufficient to guide either its own or the next generation's struggle.

Not so very far from the Cathedral of Saint-Denis, where dogs and lions of stone continue to bear witness to the historic subordination of women in France, is the Square des Épinettes, a small park in the 17th

⁴⁹D'Héricourt, A Woman's Philosophy of Woman or Woman Affranchised, 202. Lamber, Idées anti-proudhoniennes, cited in Stephens, Madame Adam, 61.



arrondissement bordered on the west by the rue Maria-Deraismes. Inside the Square, close to the fence at its southern end, a weathered block of granite attracts children, who playfully launch themselves into space from its flat surface, and adults, who employ that same surface for an occasional repast. Perhaps stone should always serve some such end. But that particular stone once had a different service to perform. On 3 July 1899, after several years of fund raising and to the applause of several dozen onlookers, the sculptor Barrias raised on it a statue to Maria Deraismes. Some years later, probably during the Second World War, the statue disappeared. Today, unadorned, the pedestal remains, a mute symbol to the difficulty still faced by women in a world defined by men.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

PROGRAM OF THE JOURNAL L'AVENIR DES
FEMMES OF 1876

THE LAW SAYS:

The girl, from fifteen years of age is alone responsible for her virtue.

Seduction is not a crime (délit). (1)

Corruption, even of a female minor, is not a crime. (2)

The search for paternity is forbidden.

Illegitimate children (les enfants naturels) are the sole responsibility of the mother.

Every promise of marriage is null, -- even following the abandonment of the child.

WE DEMAND:

That the young girl, even older than fifteen years, should be guaranteed by law against adventurers (coureurs d'aventures).

That seduction should be punished.

That corruption should be punished.

That the search for paternity should be permitted, as is the search for maternity.

That the natural father should be responsible.

That the illegitimate child should be the responsibility of its two authors.

That a promise of marriage should not be considered less serious than a promise of sale, and that it gives a right, in case of rupture, to moral or other reparations, proportionate to the damages caused.

(1) Simple seduction does not fall under the arm of the law, for which violence is required. VIOLATION and RAPE are crimes, seduction is not.

(2) Here is the text of the law: -- "Anyone who has violated morality in exciting, favoring, or facilitating habitually the debauchery or the corruption of an individual below the age of twenty-one, will be punished by imprisonment from six months to two years and fined from fifty to five-hundred francs." (C.P., 424) -- Consequently, the law does not punish accidental, isolated corruption; it is necessary, to constitute a crime, that it be a habit, a skill, that is called, in a word, proxénétisme.

1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The sixth part of the report deals with the religious situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The seventh part of the report deals with the legal situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The eighth part of the report deals with the educational situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The ninth part of the report deals with the health situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study. The tenth part of the report deals with the environment situation of the country and the position of the various groups. It is a very general and superficial treatment of the subject, but it is a good starting point for a more detailed study.

The male, in marriage, alone exercises paternal authority

For children to marry, the father's consent suffices; if the mother refuses hers, it does not matter.

The husband administers the personal wealth of his wife.

The husband can sell, if he so desires, the family's goods (le mobilier conjugal).

He can dispose of all movable effects, securities, furniture, jewels, etc., without consulting his wife, and that free of charge, and even to the profit of a third person (read: to a Concubine).

The wife can neither make nor receive a donation, even from a member of her family, without her husband's consent.

Ineligible to be tutors or members of family councils, minors, convicts, men of notorious misconduct, individuals condemned to loss of civil rights. . . . and WOMEN!

The husband's adultery, perpetrated outside the conjugal domicile, is not punishable.

The wife's adultery, in whatever place it has been consummated, is punishable.

The murder committed by the husband on the wife as well as on the accomplice, in the instant when he surprises them en flagrant délit in the conjugal home, is excusable. The murder committed by the wife, in the same circumstances, is not excusable.

That authority over children should be common to the father and to the mother.

That the consent of the mother should be as necessary, for marriage, as that of the father.

That administration of personal wealth of the wife should not belong of right and exclusively to the husband.

That the husband cannot sell, without the consent of his wife, goods outfitting the home.

That he cannot dispose freely and alone, either free of charge or as a debt (a titre onéreux), of securities or movable effects necessary to the community or belonging to one of the spouses.

That the wife can make and receive donations without the consent of her husband, in conformity to the prescriptions of law.

That she ceases, in what concerns family councils, to be grouped with minors, imbeciles and habitual criminals.

That the husband's adultery should be assimilated to the wife's adultery; that is to say that adultery perpetrated by the husband, outside the home, should be as criminal as adultery in the common residence.

A judgement of the correctional tribunal of Niort, of 7 December 1861, conveyed the following: It is in principle and in jurisprudence that the individual who has excited to debauchery in order to satisfy his

The woman cannot be admitted as a witness in the acts of birth, marriage, or death, wills, leases, sales, family property divisions or public acts; HER SIGNATURE CARRIES NO VALUE (ne fait pas foi).

There is what the law says: -- and a host of other offensive things, that women ignore or that they only learn of too late, when misfortune itself has charged them to open their eyes.

That the witness of the woman counts (fasse foi) in civil acts and public acts, as it counts before criminal tribunals.

WE DEMAND IN ADDITION:

In the name of the sanctity of marriage itself.
In the name of moral purity.
In the name of morality.
That the hypocritical law of separation, -- which breaks marriage without dissolving it, separates spouses without disuniting them and opens the door to shameful compromises, -- should be replaced by divorce encompassed with all the legal guarantees judged necessary.

The problem thus posed, there is not a honest woman, a mother anxious about her dignity and her interests, of the dignity and the interest of her children, who refuses to join us.

This is why we appeal to all, without distinction of opinion, of rank and of fortune, begging them to help us, by all the means in their power, in the accomplishment of the great task that we have undertaken.

Our goal is to revise the law.

If it is said that the hour is inopportune, it is in epochs of social and political reorganization like that through which we pass, that it is good to think of reforms.

No moment would be more propitious.¹

own passions, is not at all regarded as culpable by our legislation.
-- We could multiply the examples.

¹L'Avenir des Femmes, January 1876.

APPENDIX B

PROGRAM OF THE SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'AMÉLIORATION DU SORT DE LA FEMME OF 1887

1. Complete identification of man and woman in respect to the possession and exercise of civil rights.
2. Preservation by woman of the plentitude of her rights in marriage: No more subordination of the wife to the husband; right of the mother equal to the right of the father.
3. Reestablishment of divorce.
4. Progressive initiative of woman into civic life.
5. A single morality for the two sexes: what is excusable for the one cannot be blamable, sometimes even criminal for the other.
6. Absolute right for woman to develop her intelligence through study, to cultivate her reason, to extend the circle of her knowledge, without other limits than those resulting from her aptitude and her will.
7. Free access of women to all professions and to all careers for which they will prove, in the same degree as men, and after similar examinations, the necessary capacities and aptitudes.
8. Rigorous application, without distinction of sex, of the economic formula: "Equal pay for equal work."¹

¹L'Avenir des Femmes, 1 April 1877.

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APPENDIX C

LISTE GÉNÉRALE DE MEMBRES DE LA SOCIÉTÉ POUR L'AMÉLIORATION DU SORT DE LA FEMME ET LA REVENDICATION DE SES DROITS EN 1894

Membres Fondateurs

| | |
|--|--|
| Mme Deraismes (Maria) (feu). | Mlle Duval (Charlotte). |
| Mme Féresse-Deraismes. | Mme Houry. |
| M. Barbe, *, député, ancien
ministre (feu). | M. Gasté (de), député (feu). |
| M. Griess-Traut (feu). | M. Corneau député. |
| Mme Griess-Traut (Veuve). | M. Koechlin. |
| Mme Dusautoy (feu). | M. Arnaud (Léonin). |
| Mme Sallé (feu). | M. Petit (Frédéric), conseiller
général (Amiens). |
| La Solidarité, de Genève | Mme Ernesty (d') (feu). |
| Mme Ve Guérin (feu). | Mme Brochard (feu). |

A Titre de Dons

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| M. Mayer (Ernest-Maurice). | M. Guillerault, conseiller
municipal (Orléans). |
| M. Besnard. | |

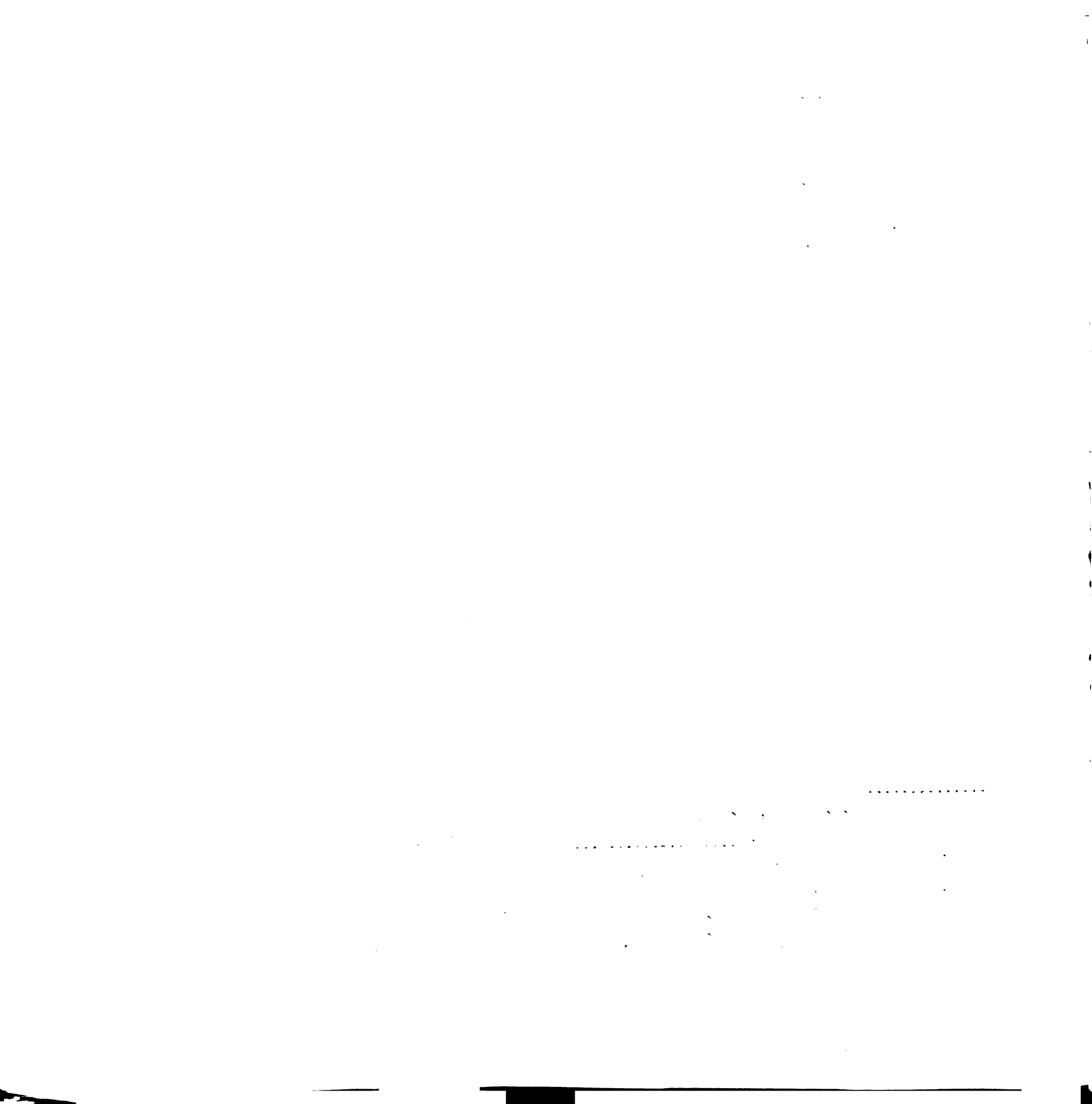
Membres Titulaires

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| M. Allix (Jules). | Mme Fonsèque (Élisabeth). |
| M. Ameuille (Dr). | M. Francolin (Gustave). |
| M. Barodet. | Mme Fringnet (Alphonsine). |
| Mlle Barberousse (Louise). | Mme Gatineau. |
| Mme Beauquier. | Mme Gatineau. |
| M. Bernhard (Alphonse). | Mme Gaudin. |
| Mme Berthoin. | Mme Gesnouin-d'Arsonville. |
| Mme Béquet, de Vienne. | Mme Gouté (Héloïse). |
| M. Bétholaud. | Mme Gouthéraud. |
| M. Bogelot. | Mme Grandmottet. |
| Mme Bogelot. | Mme Griess-Traut. |
| Mme Busquet-Pagnerre (Vve). | M. Hamel (Ernest). |
| Mme Cantagrel (Veuve). | Mme Hayem. |
| Mme Castanier (la générale). | Mme Hérédia (de). |
| Mme Cécilia (la). | Mme Houry. |
| Mme Champseix (André-Léo). | Mme Hubbard (Veuve). |
| M. Chassaing (Dr). | Mme Jannot. |
| Mme Corniau (la comtesse). | Mme Janvier. |
| M. Couturier. | Mme Brun-Jaret de la Mairie. |
| M. Coulbeaux (Alfred). | Mme Jullien. |
| M. Cuif. | Mme Koatven (Germaine) (de). |

Mme David (Louise).
 M. Damoiseau.
 Mme Desingé-Carpentier.
 Mme Dupuis-Vincent.
 Mlle Duval (Charlotte).
 Mme Fanton (Germaine).
 Mme Féresse-Deraismes.
 Mlle Floch.
 M. Fonsèque.
 Mme Koatven (Germaine) (de).
 Mme Koppe (Louise).
 M. Lacretelle (Henri de).
 Mme Leboeuf (Paul).
 Mme Leduc.
 Mme Leflère.
 Mme Lefèvre (Ernest).
 Mme Lévy (Maurice).
 Mme Lieutier (Nelly).
 Mlle Lindsay.
 M. Lutaud (Dr)
 Mme La Madelène (Jules de).
 Mme Marc (Edouard).
 M. Martin (Georges).
 Mme Mauriceau (Florestine).
 Mme Ménétrier.
 M. Mermet.
 Mme Meyer (Maurice).
 M. Millet (Charles).
 M. Moigneux.
 M. Montaut.
 Mme Montaut.
 M. Morel.
 M. Morin.
 M. Nicolle.
 Mme Pfahler-Millet.
 Mme Paraf.
 Mme Parpalet.
 M. Perthuis.
 Mme Petti (Olga).
 M. Plaut.
 Mme Poloce.
 Mme Raymond Pognon.
 Mme Preuilly (de).
 M. Puteaux (Lucien).
 Mme Ray.
 Mme Rapotel.
 M. Rodriques (Hippolyte).
 Mme Rogelet.
 Mme Salis.
 Mme Shlippenbach.
 Mme Sée (Marc).
 Mme Schmall.
 M. Soller.

Mlle Staub (Henriette).
 Mlle Staub (Marie).
 M. Thibaudin (le général).
 Mme Thibault.
 Mme Thouvin.
 M. Thorel.
 Mme Tinayre.
 M. Vauthier (Louis-Léger).
 Mme Vincent.
 Mme Voisin.
 M. Weill (Alexandre).
 Mme Wiggishoff.¹

¹La Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort des Femmes et la Revendication de ses Droits, Bulletin Trimestriel, April-June 1894, 29-30. Of the eighteen founding members only four were still active in the group in 1894: Mme Féresse-Deraismes, Mme Griess-Traut, Mlle Charlotte Duval, and Mme Houry. Their names were repeated on the list; without the repetitions the total membership in 1894 came to 109. A few individuals who had associated with Amélioration from the beginning were either left off the list, like Léon Richer, or given only member status, like Mme Vincent.



APPENDIX D

LISTE ALPHABÉTIQUE DES
MEMBRES DU CONGRÈS OF 1878¹

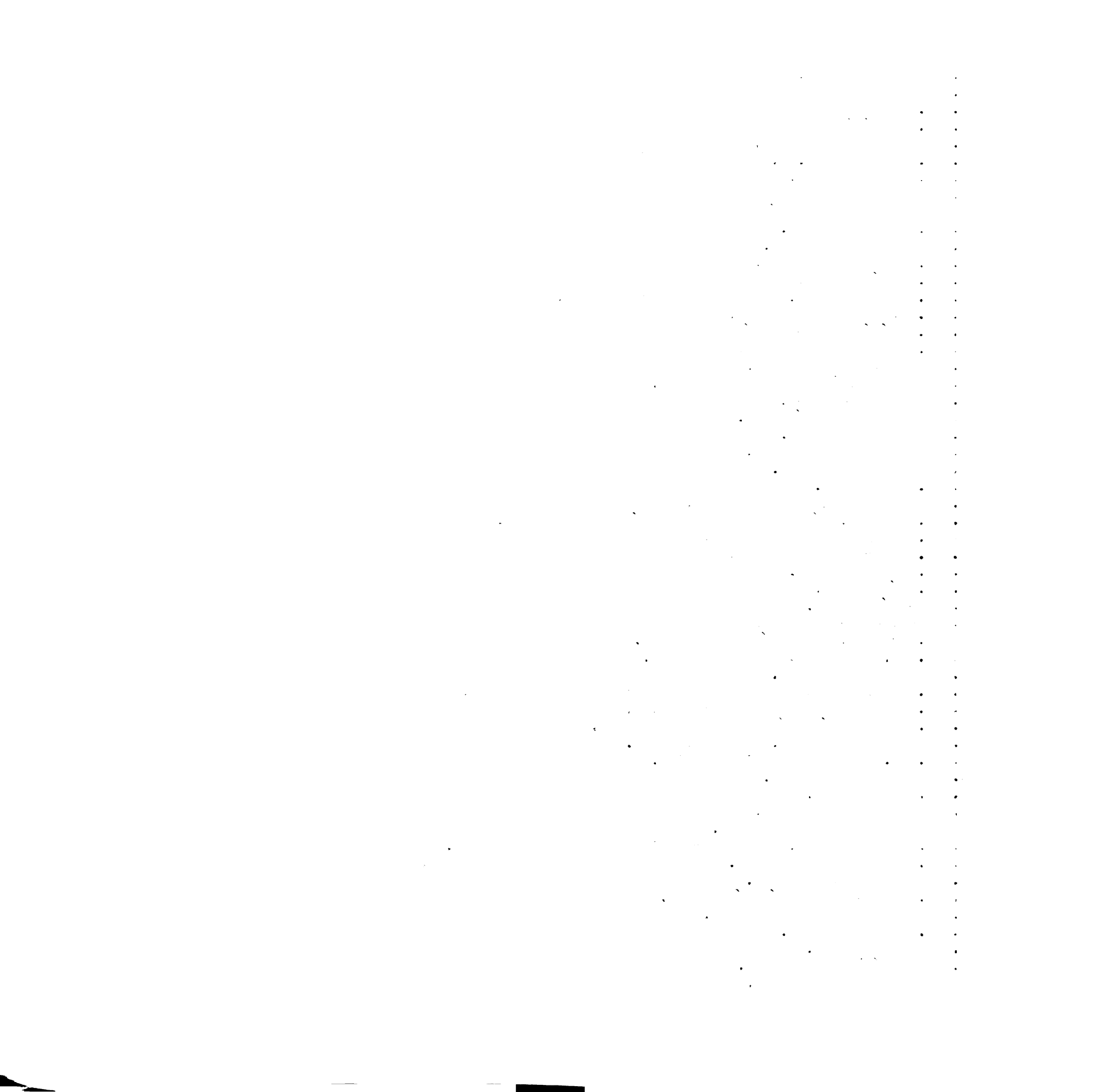
1. M. Camille Adam (France).
2. M. Jean Alesson, homme de lettres (id).
3. M. Alfred Assolant, homme de lettres (id).
4. Mme Atman (Angleterre).
5. Mme Aubé (France).
6. Mlle Hubertine Auclert (id).
7. Mme Vve Bailly (France).
8. Miss Anna Balland (Angleterre).
9. Mme Baronet (France).
10. Mme Caroline de Barrau (id).
11. M. Bazire (id).
12. Mme Sophie Beale (Angleterre).
13. M. Bertani, membre de la chambre des députés d'Italie.
14. Mme Béseaud (France).
15. M. Bibal (id).
16. M. Boreau (id).
17. M. Ch. Boudeville, député de l'Oise (France).
18. Mme Ch. Boudeville (France).
19. Mme la comtesse de la Bourdonnaye (id).
20. M. Arthur Bourmensé (id).
21. Mlle Marie Boutteville (id).
22. Miss Myra Bradwell (Angleterre).
23. M. Albert Brisbane, de New-York (Amérique).
24. Mme Brisbane (id).
25. Miss Brown (Angleterre).
26. Mme Catherine Bussy (France).
27. Mme Brucker (id).
28. Mlle Cagé (France).
29. M. Constantin Calligari (Roumanie).
30. Mme de Caqueray (France).
31. Mme Carraz (France).
32. M. Germain Casse, député de Paris (France).
33. Mme Germain (id).
34. M. Rodolphe Cerf (id).
35. Mme Cimino Folliero de Luna, désignée par le gouvernement italien pour les questions scolaires (Italie).

¹ L'Avenir des Femmes, 4 August 1878.



36. M. Camille Chaigneau (France).
37. Mme Elisabeth Chalmers (Amérique).
38. M. Maurice Champion, homme de lettres (France).
39. Mme Chaplin Ayrton (Angleterre).
40. M. Emile Chaté (France).
41. Mme Elisa Chaté (id).
42. Mme Chilliet (id).
43. Mme Vve Christin (id).
44. M. Louis Codet, député de la Haute-Vienne (France).
45. M. Colfavru, ancien représentant du peuple (id).
46. Mme Cortet (France).
47. Mlle Anne-Marie Cortet (id).
48. Mlle Aline Cuvelier (id).
49. Mme Dalencourt (France).
50. Mme Louise David (id).
51. M. Décembre-Alonnier (id).
52. Mme Décembre-Alonnier (id).
53. Mme Demars (id).
54. Mlle Maria Deraismes (id).
55. M. Derode, avocat (id).
56. M. Emile Deschanel, député de la Seine (id).
57. Mme Vve Destriché (France).
58. M. Auguste Desmoulins, publiciste (id).
59. Mme Lucie Dissat (id).
60. M. Disch (id).
61. Mlle Marie Drouin (id).
62. M. Duquesne (id).
63. M. Clement Dulac, ancien représentant du peuple (id).
64. Mlle Charlotte Duval (id).
65. Mme Dwernicka (Russie).
66. Mme d'Elhom (France).
67. Mme Fanny Faron (France).
68. M. Fauvety, publiciste (id).
69. Mme Féresse-Deraismes (id).
70. Mlle Floch (id).
71. M. de Font-Réault (id).
72. M. Gustave Francolin (id).
73. Mme Froissart (id).
74. M. Fuzillier (id).
75. M. Gagneur, député de Jura (France).
76. Mme M.-L. Gagneur (France).
77. M. G..... (démissionnaire).
78. M. Eugène Garcin, publiciste (France).
79. Mme Eugène Garcin (id).
80. M. Marcel Gay, docteur en droit (id).
81. Mme Gibbons de Pensylvanie (Amérique).
82. M. Giraud, docteur en droit (France).
83. M. Godissart, député de la Martinique (France).
84. Mme Marie Goegg, de Genève (Suisse).
85. Mme Catherine Gontcharoff, docteur en médecine (Russie).
86. M. Goron (France).
87. M. Griess-Traut (id).
88. Mme Griess-Traut (id).

89. Mme Guérin (id).
90. Mme Heaterley (Angleterre).
91. M. le docteur Hébert (France).
92. M. de Hérédia, membre du Conseil municipal de Paris (France).
93. Mlle Herzen (Russie).
94. M. le colonel E. W. Higginson (Amérique).
95. M. le Dr Hoffman.
96. Mlle Hoskens (Angleterre).
97. Miss Hotchkiss (Amérique).
98. M. Houry (France).
99. Mme Anna Houry (id).
100. M. le Dr Huguet (id).
101. M. Aimé Humbert, de Neufchatel (Suisse).
102. M. Robert Hyenne, homme de lettres (France).
103. M. Arthur Jame (France).
104. M. Frédéric Jones (Amérique).
105. M. Fernando Jones (id).
106. Mme Graham Jones (id).
107. Mlle Geneviève Graham Jones (id).
108. Mme Keller-Dorian, de Mulhouse, (Alsace-Lorraine).
109. Mme Klumple (Amérique).
110. Mlle Klumple (id).
111. Mlle Klumple (France).
112. Mme Krohn (France).
113. M. Krohn (id).
114. Mme Amalia Laforgue (France).
115. M. Laisant, député de la Loire-Inférieure (France).
116. M. le Dr Edouard Landowski.
117. M. le Dr Paul Landowski.
118. M. Lavy (France).
119. M. Léger (id).
120. Mme Léger (id).
121. Mme Vve Lejosne (id).
122. M. Lemaire, licencié en droit (id).
123. M. Ch. Lemonnier, publiciste (id).
124. Mme Level (France).
125. M. le Dr Level, conseiller municipal de Paris (France).
126. M. Antonin Levrier, publiciste (id).
127. M. Edouard Lévy, étudiant en droit (id).
128. Mme Nelly Lieutier, publiciste (id).
129. M. Ch. Limousin, publiciste (id).
130. Mme Malval (France).
131. M. Mancel (id).
132. Mme Lara Marcel (id).
133. Mme Marshall (Angleterre).
134. M. Antide Martin, conseiller municipal de Paris (France).
135. M. le Dr Georges Martin, conseiller municipal de Paris (id).
136. Mme Martinet (France).
137. M. Mauro-Macchi, député italien.
138. Mme de Meysenburg (Russie).
139. M. Molet (France).
140. Mme Molet (id).
141. Mlle Hélène Molet (id).
142. Mlle Marie Molet (id).



143. Mlle Morancé (id).
144. Mme Montéran (id).
145. M. le Dr Mora (Italie).
146. M. Salvatore Morelli, député italien.
147. M. Morin, conseiller municipal de Paris (France).
148. Mme de Morsier (France).
149. Mlle Anna-Maria Mozzoni (Italie).
150. Mme Nina Olivetti (Italie).
151. M. Parisot (France).
152. Mme Party (Amérique).
153. M. Frédéric Passy (France).
154. Mme Paulin (id).
155. M. Payart (id).
156. M. Eugène Pelletan, sénateur (France).
157. M. Perrau (France).
158. Mme Perrau (id).
159. M. Pérussan (id).
160. M. Pétrot (id).
161. M. Philippe (id).
162. Mlle Eugénie Pierre (id).
163. M. Pignon (id).
164. M. Gaetano Pini (Italie).
165. M. Edouard de Pompéry, publiciste (France).
166. M. Auguste Raimon (France).
167. M. Rama (id).
168. M. Louis Ratisbonne, publiciste (id).
169. Mme Régnault (id).
170. Mme Louise Rétoux (id).
171. Mme Révillon (id).
172. M. Tony Révillon, publiciste (France).
173. M. Régnier (France).
174. M. Léon Richer, publiciste (id).
175. Mme J. Richer (id).
176. Mme Rosen (Suisse).
177. M. Rosen (id).
178. M. Rouzade (France).
179. Mme Léonie Rouzade (id).
180. Mme Clémence Royer (id).
181. Mme Jenny Sabatier-Herbelot (France).
182. Mme Louisa Santhworth (Amérique).
183. M. Sancelot (France).
184. M. Santa-Anna Véry (Brésil).
185. M. Savary (France).
186. M. Serge de Scharapov (Russie).
187. M. Victor Schoelcher, sénateur (France).
188. Mme Schmahl (Angleterre).
189. M. Charles Silvain (France).
190. Mme Henriette Silvain (id).
191. Mlle Skwarzoff (Russie).
192. M. Théodore Stanton (Amérique).
193. Mme Stenshmer (Angleterre).
194. M. Terson (France).
195. Mme Tessier (id).



196. M. Tiersot, député de l'Ain (France).
197. M. Charles Traut (France).
198. Mme Julie Traut (id).
199. Mme Van Calcar (Hollande).
200. Mlle Van des Slyden (id).
201. Mme Emilie Venturi (Angleterre).
202. Mme Eugène Véron (France).
203. M. Verrier (id).
204. M. Virey (id).
205. M. Carl Von Bergen (Belgique).
206. Mme Sophie Von Bergen (id).
207. M. Von Vreitschwert (id).
208. Mlle Walker (Angleterre).
209. M. Walter de Selys (France).
210. Mme Julia Ward-Howe (Amérique).
211. Mme Barrière (France).
212. Mme Berline, docteur en droit.
213. Mme Goetz Steinhelmer (France).
214. M. Lenoel-Zevort (France).
215. Mme Lenoel-Zevort (id).
216. M. Lenoir (id).
217. Mme Eugénie Niboyet (id).
218. M. Talandier, député de Paris (id).
219. M. le docteur Georges Wickam (id).

Adhérent

M. Gustave Goegg, de Genève (Suisse).

Sociétés officiellement représentées

1. La Solidarité, association pour la défense des droits de la femme, ayant son siège à Genève (Suisse); — représentée par Mme Griess-Traut et M. Ch. Lemonnier.
2. L'Association Nationale d'Amérique pour le suffrage des femmes; — représentée par Mme Graham Jones, de Chicago (Illinois).
3. L'Association nationale d'Angleterre pour le rappel des Actes (The national Association for the repeal of the contagious diseases Acts); — représentée par Mme Emilie A. Venturi.
4. L'Association démocratique de Milan (Italie); — représentée par Mlle Maria Mozzoni.
5. Le Comité de Naples pour l'émancipation des femmes italiennes; — représentée par M. Léon Richer.
6. La loge maçonnique la Concordia, de Florence (Italie); — représentée par M. Gaetano Pini.
7. La Société des dames réunies de Lyon (France); — représentée par Mme d'Elthom.
8. La Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté, de Genève; — représentée par M. Ch. Lemonnier.
9. L'Association américaine pour le suffrage des femmes; — représentée par Mme Julia Ward-Howe.
10. Le Club des femmes de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, de Boston; — représentée par la meme.

11. La Fédération britannique, continentale et générale pour l'abolition de la prostitution, spécialement envisagée comme institution légale ou tolérée, dont le siège est à Liverpool; — représentée par Mme Caroline de Barrau.
12. L'Association nationale contre le vice réglementé, dont le siège est à Londres; — représentée par Mme Emilie A. Venturi.
13. L'Association de vigilance pour la défense des droits personnels, dont le siège est aussi à Londres; — également représentée par Mme Emilie A. Venturi.
14. La Ligue protectrice et providentielle des femmes, de Londres; — représentée par Mme Heatherley.
15. La Société des ouvrières couturières, modistes et confectionneuses, de Londres; — représentée par Miss Brown.
16. La Chambre syndicale des ouvrières lingères, couturières, brodeuses et confectionneuses, de Paris; — représentée par Mme Goetz Steinhelmer.

APPENDIX E

PROGRAM OF HUBERTINE AUCLERT'S LE SOCIÉTÉ LE DROIT DES FEMMES¹

The Société, considering the political emancipation of woman as the sole means of obtaining the economic and civil emancipation of woman, writes into its program the exercise of the right to vote /and/ the right to eligibility for women in the /local/ Community, as in the State.

The Société writes into its program integral education for woman. No need to burden the budget to obtain this goal; it suffices that lycées /and/ existing schools be mixed /co-educational/ schools open to girls as well as boys.

The Société demands for woman access to all careers, to all professions and equality of salary with man for equality of production.

The Société demands the search for paternity.

The Société believes that marriage should be an association freely contracted and based on equality between spouses. At the present time, it /the Société/ advocates the regime of separation of goods.

Like every association, marriage should be dissolvable, the human being can much less alienate his person and his freedom than his interest.

The right of spouses to separate does not reduce the duty imposed on them to raise their children.

The Société, desiring impartial justice, wants women to be named consular judges, civil judges and jurors.

Finally, the Société wants for woman, of whom is demanded the fulfillment of all duties, the recognition and exercise of all rights: The equality of the two sexes before the law.

¹ Auclert, Historique de la Société le Droit des Femmes 1876-1880, 6-7.

APPENDIX F

ROSTER OF AUCLERT'S FOLLOWERS IN THE LATE 1870'S AND 1880'S

The following roster represents an attempt to compile a list of the individuals who associated with Auclert. These individuals fall into several categories: members of Auclert's Société and Cercle, signers of petitions and letters, contributors to La Citoyenne, etc. The roster does not include individuals who only spoke at Auclert's meetings, wrote favorably of her in the press, or rendered other incidental services to her cause. The numbers in parentheses indicate the source and the type of association. (1) L'Avenir des Femmes, 7 October 1877 (signers of the Société's appeal to defend the republic during the seize mai crisis). (2) La Citoyenne, 28 August 1881 (members of the Société at the time of the expulsion of Épailly and Drouin). (3) La Citoyenne, 19-25 December 1881 (signers of Auclert's appeal for a census boycott). (4) La Citoyenne, May 1885 (signers of Auclert's appeal for opening electoral meetings to women). (5) La Citoyenne, 17 July 1881 (spoke with Auclert at anti-Bastille Day protest of 1881). (6) La Citoyenne, 28 August 1881 (signers of letter to Lévrier about Épailly affaire). (7) Le Libérateur, 23 July 1881 (self-identified). (8) La Citoyenne, 7 January - 4 February 1883 (contributor to La Citoyenne). (9) La Citoyenne, 5 February - 4 March 1883 (members of committee of initiative for Auclert's proposed Société Nationale du Suffrage des Femmes). (10) La Citoyenne, February 1884 (organizers of Auclert's Cercle). (11) La Citoyenne, July 1884 (signers of a letter from the committee of the Société to Senator M. Dumole). (12) La Citoyenne, January 1885 (Société delegates to the Fédération Républicaine Socialiste). (13) La Citoyenne, January 1886 (accepted honorary membership in Auclert's Cercle). (14) Sowerwine, Women and Socialism in France 1871-1921, 12 (Société delegate to early socialist congresses). (15) Press clipping of 11 April 1880 at BMD, Dossier Auclert (tax-strikers named by Auclert). (16) La Citoyenne, 3 December 1884 (contributor to La Citoyenne). (17) La Citoyenne, 2 - 8 January 1882 (tax-striker).

1. Abeille (11)
2. M. Jules Allix (11)
3. M. Oscar d'Angirey (7)
4. Elisa Aubé (3)
5. Hubertine Auclert (1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12)
6. Jeanne Avézard (3)
7. C. Bal (2)
8. Louise Barberousse (11)
9. Barbier (2)
10. Rose Beauquis (3)

11. Mlle Besson (3)
12. Mme Besson (3)
13. Maria Blain (3)
14. M. Blin (2)
15. Mme Blin (2)
16. Widow Bonnair (2, 3)
17. Widow Brunet (3)
18. M.-A. de Cagnenray (1)
19. Charton (4)
20. Constance Contet (3)
21. Céleste Dehau (11)
22. Widow Demars (2, 3)
23. Widow Dembourg (2)
24. Auguste Desmoulins (9)
25. Mme Amélie Désormeaux (9)
26. Mlle Marie-Jeanne Drouin (pseu. Louise de Lasserre) (2)
27. Mme Dupré (2)
28. Charlotte Duval (1)
29. Commandant Claude-Célestin Épailly (2, 6)
30. Anna Fassano (3)
31. Marie Félin (3)
32. Joseph de Gasté (4, 9, 10, 11)
33. Amélie Geslin (3)
34. Léon Giraud (9, 12)
35. Berthe Gosselin (3)
36. Virginie Griess-Traut (8)
37. Julie Guyot (3)
38. Yves Guyot (9)
39. Clovis Hugues (9)
40. Mme Janssen (2)
41. Mlle Marie de Kapcevitich (9, 10)
42. Keva (14)
43. Catherine Kremer (3)
44. Widow Vincent Labarthe (4)
45. Léonie Lacore (3)
46. Mme Lacorre (2)
47. M. Lacorre (2)
48. Lagrue (4)
49. Augustine Leveau (3)
50. Antonin Lévrier (2, 9)
51. Lara Marcel (pseu. René Marcil) (5, 9)
52. Henri Maret (9)
53. M. Andre Marque (2, 4, 6)
54. Louise Martane (Mlle Gravetot) (4, 12)
55. Adrien Martin (4)
56. Maria Martin (2, 4, 11)
57. Merle (4)
58. Michelin (13)
59. Mlle Molet (2)
60. Mme Blanche D. Mon (6)
61. Amélie Morancé (1)
62. Mme Céline Niche (9)
63. Gustave Normand (4)
64. Mme Josephine Nouveau (9, 10, 11)
65. Mme Ogier-Clavelle (2)



66. Madona Olivetti (4)
67. Mme Rose Perée (9, 10)
68. Jules Pascaly (9)
69. Péruf (4)
70. Rosalie Petit (3)
71. Mlle Pigeaire (2)
72. Edmond Potonié-Pierre (4)
73. Eugénie Potonié-Pierre (4)
74. Rama (4)
75. Raux (2)
76. Emilie Saint-Hilaire (1, 2, 4)
77. Mme Salés-Saxton (9)
78. Fanny Savary (1)
79. Charles Schacre (11)
80. Mme Schacre (10)
81. Sophie Schoenloh (3)
82. Catherine Schvach (3)
83. Louise Sinet (4)
84. Libussa Slavenko (3)
85. M. Soreuil (2)
86. Mme Louise Soreuil (2, 3)
87. Souty (4)
88. Louise Suchet (1)
89. Alfred Talandier (9)
90. Amélie Tessier (1, 2)
91. M. Tournay (2)
92. Mme Tournay (2)
93. M. Tournemol (2)
94. Mme Tournemol (2)
95. Louise Tournemolle (3)
96. Vallère (2)
97. Catherine Venir (3)
98. Doctor Verrier (9, 10)
99. M. Verriere (2, 6)
100. Mme Viard (9)
101. V. Viardot (4)
102. J. Vinhalek (2)
103. Widow Blondit (15)
104. Marie Chevassus (15)
105. J. Coulassez (15)
106. Widow Dupénet (15)
107. Widow Jamier (15)
108. Widow Ladoue (15)
109. Widow Leprou (17)
110. Widow Marc (15)
111. Widow Rioux (15)
112. Mme de Tissoniere (16)

APPENDIX G

PRINCIPLES AND PROGRAM OF RICHER'S LIGUE FRANÇAISE POUR LE DROIT DES FEMMES

Our Principles

The question of civil and civic equality for women is posed everywhere.

It makes in England, in Switzerland, in Italy, in America, rapid and considerable progress.

France cannot remain behind.

Our most eminent thinkers, our best known writers, our most influential political men, pronounce themselves in favor of a prompt revision of the restrictive laws that place so heavy a burden on an entire half of the human species, particularly on wives and mothers.

It is incontestable that woman occupies, neither in society, nor in the family, the place that is her legitimate due.

Everywhere she is inferiorized, everywhere she is sacrificed.

The code makes her a minor and an unfit person; customs make her almost a slave.

Even in work, this duty for all, this supreme necessity for the poor, she confronts, in suffering, the inferiority of her sex.

Such a state of things cannot be maintained for long.

Man and woman have a right to the same rights.

There must be only one law, permitting to woman what is permitted to man.

There must be only one morality, and what is reputed as a crime or an infraction for woman must not be a licit thing for man.

Every woman must be able to live honestly on the product of her labor, without being forced to turn to the filthy resources of public or clandestine prostitution.

It is in order to defend these principles and to seek their application that the Revue Le Droit des Femmes had been founded in 1869.

The goal to achieve is clearly determined. In these conditions, with the problem thus posed, there is not an honest woman who can repudiate it, not a mother concerned for her dignity and her interests, for the dignity and the interest of her children, who can legitimately refuse us her support.

That one might say that the time is not right. It is precisely in epochs of social and political reorganization, like those that affect France at present, that it is good to think of reforms.

No moment would be more propitious.



Already we have obtained the reestablishment of divorce.

Already we have obtained the creation of écoles supérieures, the creation of collèges and of lycées for girls.

We have obtained the admission of women to faculty examinations. Thanks to our long and presevering efforts, women can today be bachelières ès-lettres, bachelières ès-sciences, licenciées, docteurs. They can practice medicine.

There is yet to resolve the question of civil equality, to ameliorate the situation of women in marriage.

In order to bring about this second part of our work, we appeal to the devoted support of women themselves.

That they help us to expand our action; that they join our ranks, as members of the Ligue Française. The next step is up to them, the future of their daughters is put in question.

Our Program

1. Complete identification of man and woman, in respect to the legal possession and exercise of civil rights, while waiting for the legal possession and exercise of political rights.

2. Retention by woman of her full rights in marriage. No more subordination of the wife to the husband. Rights of the mother equal to the rights of the father.

3. Revision of the divorce law.

4. Search for paternity.

5. Progressive initiation of woman into civic life.

6. One and the same morality for the two sexes: what is excusable for the one being no longer unexcusable — sometimes even criminal — for the other.

7. Abolition of regulated prostitution; immediate closing of all whore houses; suppression of the police improperly designated by the name Police des mœurs.

8. Absolute right for woman to develop her intelligence through study, to cultivate her reason, to extend the circle of her knowledge, without other limits than those resulting from her aptitudes and her will.

9. Open access of women to all professions and to all careers for which they prove, in the same degree as men and after identical examinations, the necessary capacities and aptitudes.

10. Rigorous application, without distinction of sex, of the economic formula: "Equal pay for equal work."¹

¹Circulaire of the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes of 1892, at BMD, Dossier Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes.

APPENDIX II

ROSTER OF THE LIGUE FRANCAISE POUR LE DROIT DES FEMMES FOR 1882-1883¹

1. M. André, ancien officier cavalerie, Nantes
2. M. Andrieux, lithographe, Nantes *
3. Mme Andrieux, Nantes *
4. Mlle Andrieux aînée, Nantes *
5. Mlle Andrieux (Eva), Nantes *
6. M. Arnould (Arthur), homme de lettres, Paris *
7. Mme Asseline (Louis), professor of piano, Paris-Batignolles *
8. Mlle Aubry, Paris *
9. M. Audigier, Nantes
10. Mme Audigier, Nantes
11. M. le docteur Autun, conseiller général, Oran (Algérie) *
12. M. Barberon (Paul), licencié en droit, Paris *
13. Mme de Barrau (Caroline), Paris *
14. Mlle Bayonne, Nantes *
15. Mme Beddoe, vice-présidente de la Société pour le suffrage des femmes de Bristol (England)
16. Mme Benucci-Petit, professeur d'allemand, Paris-Batignolles *
17. M. Berruyer, Médecin, Nantes *
18. Miss C. A. Biggs, London (England) *
19. Miss Blackburn (Hélène), Bristol (England) *
20. Mlle Blandin (Zélie), Paris-Batignolles *
21. Mme Bogelot (Isabelle), Paris *
22. Mlle Bon (Eulalie), Aumagne
23. Mlle Bon (Emma), Aumagne
24. M. Bonnetain (Emile), Paris *
25. M. Bonnetain (Paul), secrétaire de la rédaction de Droit des Femmes, Paris *
26. Mme Bonnetain, mère, Paris *
27. M. Bonnetain, père, Paris *
28. M. Bordan, commis de la marine, Croisic (Loire-Inférieure)
29. M. Boudeville (Ch.), député de l'Oise *
30. Mme Boudeville (Ch.), Méru (Oise) *
31. Mlle Bouré (Mélanie), professeur de chant, Paris *
32. Mme Bourgeois, propriétaire, Nantes
33. M. A. Bourgeois, distillateur, Nantes *

¹The list is compiled from issues of Le Droit des Femmes between December 1882 and December 1883. Names followed by asterisks are those of founding members.

34. Mme Bourgeois, Nantes *
35. Mlle Bourgeois (Julie), Nantes
36. Mlle Burel (Louise), Nantes *
37. M. Cabrol (Ernest), Agen (Lot-et-Garonne) *
38. M. Germaine Casse, député, Paris
39. M. Casse (Nathan), employé, Nantes
40. M. Casse (Gaston), tailleur, Nantes
41. M. Casse, père, tailleur, Nantes
42. M. Castuy, comptable au Crédit Lyonnais, Nantes
43. M. Camille de Chancel, Paris
44. M. Champury (Ed.), homme de lettres, Nantes *
45. Mme Champury (Ed.), Nantes *
46. M. Chatelain, lithographe, Chaumont (Haute-Marne) *
47. Mme Collard (J.), Paris *
48. Mlle Combeau (A.), institutrice-adjointe, Aumagne *
49. M. Cosseret (Paul), homme de lettres, Paris
50. M. Cosson, Levallois-Perret (Seine)
51. M. Couturier (H.), député de l'Isère *
52. Mlle Curot (Léontine), propriétaire, Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) *
53. Mme Dallet (E.), Familistère de Guise (Aisne) *
54. M. Dejean (J.-M.), employé, Nantes *
55. Mme Delalande, Paris *
56. Mme Deroin (Jeanne, Vve Desroches), London (England) *
57. M. Deschanel (Émile), professeur au Collège de France, sénateur inamovible, Paris *
58. Mlle Desroches (Cécile), London (England) *
59. M. Dietrich (Auguste), publiciste, Paris *
60. Mme Durand (E.), Troyes (Aube) *
61. Mme Durand (veuve), Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) *
62. Mlle Duval (Charlotte), Paris *
63. Mme Ebstein, rue Laffen, Nantes
64. M. Ferrand (Alexis), instituteur, Aumagne *
65. Mme Ferrand (S.) institutrice, Aumagne *
66. Mlle Ferrand (J.), Aumagne *
67. Mlle Ferrand (E.), Aumagne *
68. M. le docteur Fiaux (Louis) *
69. Mme Floquet (A.), Paris *
70. Mme Franck, Nantes *
71. Mme Frouard, Nantes *
72. M. Frouart, professeur de mathématiques, Nantes *
73. M. Gaboriau, étudiant en pharmacie, Nantes
74. Mme Gagneur (M.-L.), femme de lettres, Paris
75. M. Garcin (Eugène), Paris *
76. Mme Garcin (Eugène), Paris *
77. M. Gegout (Ernest), Paris
78. Mme Gegout (Marguerite), Paris
79. M. Gérard (Charles), homme de lettres, Paris
80. Mme Germance (Amélie), artiste lyrique et dramatique, Paris *
81. M. Goron, capitaine en retraite, Nantes *
82. Mlle Goron, rentière, Nantes *
83. Mme Gos (Caroline), Chaux-de-Fonds (Suisse) *
84. M. Alan Greenwell, vice-président de la Société pour le suffrage des femmes de Bristol (England)
85. Mme Guénot, docteur en médecine, Paris
86. Mme Guillon (veuve Ch.), Lyon *

87. M. Guillot (Louis), député de l'Isère *
88. M. Guyard (E.), agent comptable en retraite, Nantes *
89. M. Guyot (Yves), ancien vice-président du Conseil municipal, Paris *
90. M. Herbert, Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine) *
91. M. de Hérédia, député de Paris *
92. M. Hugues (Clovis), député de Marseille *
93. Mme Hunziker, professeur, Aarau (Suisse) *
94. Mme Isalay, à T.... (Marne) *
95. M. Jean-Bernard, publiciste, Paris
96. M. de Lacretelle (Henri), député de Saone-et-Loire, Paris *
97. M. Lacroix, mécanicien, Saint-Nazaire
98. Mme Lacroix, Saint-Nazaire
99. Mme Lagrave (Louise), Angers (Maine-et-Loire) *
100. M. Laguens, agent de change, Nantes
101. Mme Laguens, Nantes
102. M. Laisant (A.), député de la Loire Inférieure *
103. Mlle Landais, institutrice communale, Nantes
104. M. Lavalenne, négociant, Nantes *
105. Mme Ledoux, Paris *
106. M. Lefèvre (Ernest), député de Paris *
107. M. Leguerre, député
108. Mlle Lemoine (E.), Vincennes (Seine) *
109. M. Lepage, Montmédy (Meuse) *
110. Mme Lepage (Marie), Montmédy (Meuse) *
111. Mlle Leroyer de Chantepie (Marie), Angers (Maine-et-Loire) *
112. M. Lesclide (Richard), homme de lettres, Paris *
113. Mme Lesplau (Marie), peintre danoise, Paris *
114. M. Lessard, coiffeur, Nantes *
115. Mme Lessard (Émilie), Nantes *
116. M. Limousin (Ch.-M.), publiciste, Paris
117. Mme Lockert, Montmorency (Seine-et-Oise) *
118. Mme Loré (veuve), Lusigny (Aube) *
119. M. Loreau, ancien receveur de l'enregistrement, Paris *
120. M. Louis (Désiré), journaliste, Paris *
121. M. Maillet (Jacques), statuaire, Paris *
122. M. Mancel, Nice *
123. M. Margain (Georges), professeur de physique, Paris-Batignolles *
124. Mme Margain, Paris *
125. M. le docteur Martin (Georges) *
126. M. Martinet (Camille), commis encaisseur à la Tournillière, Nantes
127. Mme Meunier (veuve), rue Frédéreuse, Nantes
128. M. Meunier (Lucien-Victor), homme de lettres, Paris *
129. Mme Meunier (Jeanne-Victor), Paris *
130. M. Meyns (Célestin), architecte, Paris *
131. M. Morel (A.-L.), libraire, Nantes *
132. M. Moret (A.), Paris *
133. Mme Moret (Marie), Familistère de Guise (Aisne) *
134. Mme de Morsier (Émilie), Paris *
135. M. Mourlet, Alger Mustapha (Algérie) *
136. Mme Mourlet, Alger Mustapha (Algérie) *
137. Mme Mundt (Émilie), peintre danoise, Paris *
138. Mme Naudin (Léonie), Rouen *
139. Mme Nelly-Lieutier, Paris *
140. Mme Nicot, Nantes

141. M. Nus (Eugène), auteur dramatique, Paris *
142. Mme Oegger-Autas, Hyères (Var) *
143. M. Pagny (Jules), négociant, Saventheim (Belgique) *
144. M. Passy (Frédéric), membre de l'Institut, député de la Seine, Neuilly (Seine) *
145. M. Pegand (Gilbert), Paris-Montmartre *
146. M. Pelloutier, commis principal des télégraphes, Nantes
147. Mme Pelloutier, Nantes
148. M. Petit (Frédéric), conseiller général, Amiens (Somme) *
149. M. Picard (René), Nantes *
150. M. Plumet, professeur de piano, Aumagne
151. M. Poisson (Jules), cocher, Nantes *
152. M. Poupin (Victor), publiciste, Paris
153. M. le docteur Odoardo Porro, Crémone (Italie) *
154. Mme Quéroy (H.), Parc-st-Maur (Seine) *
155. M. Rama, Bourg-la-Reine (Seine) *
156. Mlle Rapt (Léonie), at V.... (Seine) *
157. Mlle Regnault (Léontine), Courbevoie (Seine) *
158. M. Revel, employé, Nantes *
159. Mme Revel, Nantes *
160. M. Révillon (Tony), député de Paris *
161. M. Richer (Léon), rédacteur en chef du Droit des Femmes, Paris *
162. Mme Richer (Léon), Paris *
163. M. Richer (Paul), Paris *
164. Mme Rigondet, Paris *
165. M. Riveau (Ch.), maire et délégué cantonal pour la surveillance des écoles, Genouille (Charente-Inférieure) *
166. M. Rivet (Gustave), homme de lettres, Paris *
167. Mme Rivet (G.), Paris *
168. Mme Rivière (veuve), Nantes *
169. M. Roncin, vérificateur des poids et mesures, Paimboeuf (Loire-Inférieure)
170. Mme Roullier, Nantes
171. Mme Rousseau, directrice d'une école communale de filles, Nantes
172. M. Rousseau (G.), étudiant en droit, Nantes
173. Mme Rouyer-Barbier, Vricourt (Vosges) *
174. M. Schoelcher (Victor), sénateur inamovible, Paris *
175. M. Segeunot, at X *
176. Mme Simpson (Thérèse C.), Serville-Portobello (Ecosse) *
177. M. Smyth (James), Jouy-sur-Morin (Seine-et-Marne) *
178. Mlle Terrisse (Marie), Bale (Suisse)
179. Mme Tirlet, Nantes
180. Mme Touzin (Jenny), femme de lettres, Paris *
181. Mme Turneau de la Templerie, Nantes
182. M. Vesco (Albert), avocat, Toulon (Var) *
183. Mme Villemain, Pargots par Lac-ou-Villiers (Doubs) *
184. Mlle Vincent (Mary), Vernex-Montreux, Vaud (Suisse) *
185. Miss Williams, membre de Comité central de la Société pour le suffrage des femmes, London (England)
186. M. A....., Nantes
187. Mlle L. C..., Nantes
188. Mlle S. C..., Nantes
189. M. H. L..., Nantes



- 190. M. P. M..., London (England) *
- 191. Mme P..., Nantes *
- 192. M. X... (Georges Bath), rédacteur du Droit des femmes, Paris *
- 193. Mme X... (Jeanne Mercoeur), rédactrice du Droit des femmes, Paris *
- 194. M. X. Z..., Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhone)

Honorary Members

- 195. M. Hugo (Victor), honorary president
- 196. Mlle Deraismes (Maria), honorary vice-president
- 197. M. Vacquerie (Auguste), director of Rappel, honorary vice-president

APPENDIX I

ROSTER OF THE LIGUE FRANÇAISE POUR LE DROIT DES FEMMES FOR 1892¹

PRÉSIDENTS D'HONNEUR:

1st Victor Hugo (1)
2nd Victor Schoelcher, sénateur

MEMBRES HONORAIRES:

M. Auguste Vacquerie, directeur de Rappel
Mlle Maria Deraismes

MEMBRES A VIE

Mme Vve A..., Paris.
Mme Berry (Amélie), à la Sabartarié (Tarn).
Mme Brochard, à Vouvray (Indre-et-Loire).
Mme Vve David, 108, boulevard Arago, Paris.
Mlle C. van Marcke, à Gruxelles (Belgique).
M. Petit (Frédéric), sénateur, à Amiens (Somme).
Mme Rivet Meinguet, à Nantes (Loire-Inférieure).

MEMBRES ADHÉRENTS

M. Barodet, député, avenue des Gobelins, Paris.
Mlle B..., à Monthiers (Aisne).
Mme Bertillon (Caroline Schultz), 24, rue de Penthièvre, Paris.
Mlle C. Besseyre, à Aurouge (Haute-Loire).
Miss Blackburn (Hélène), à Londres (Angleterre).
Mlle Blandin (Zélie), 14, rue Lécluse, Paris.
Mme Bogelot (Isabelle), 4, rue Perrault, Paris.
M. Boudeville, député, à Méru (Oise).
Mme Boudeville, à Méru (Oise).

(1) Ce nom illustre nous rester éternellement attaché; il en sera de même de ceux de tous les présidents d'honneur.

¹Report of the annual general assembly of the Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes of 22 May 1892 (Clermont [Oise]: 1892), 10-12.

Mme B...., à Auteuil (Seine).
 Mme Vve Christin, 6, place des Batignolles, Paris.
 Mme Collard, 43, rue Saint-Pétersbourg, Paris.
 Mme Contamin, 13, avenue Gourgau, Paris.
 Mme Couche, 38, boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris.
 M. H. Couturier, sénateur, 82, rue de Rennes, Paris.
 Miss Cozens, à Londres (Angleterre).
 M. R. Davenne, à Bordeaux (Gironde).
 M. Deschanel (Emile), sénateur, 69, av. Marceau, Paris.
 Mme Vve Desroches (Jeanne Deroin), à Londres (Angleterre).
 Mlle Desroches (Cécile), à Londres (Angleterre).
 M. Dumas (Alexandre), membre de l'Académie française, 98, avenue de Villiers, Paris.
 Mme Dupuis-Vincent, à Arcachon (Gironde).
 Mlle Durand (Emilie), à Troyes (Aube).
 Mme Vve Durand, à Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise).
 M. Ferrand (Alexis), à La Rochelle (Charente-Infér.).
 Mme S. Ferrand, à La Rochelle (Charante-Inférieure).
 Mlle J. Ferrand, à La Rochelle (Charante-Inférieure).
 Mlle E. Ferrand, à La Rochelle (Charante-Inférieure).
 Mme Fidel (Clémence), au Parc Saint-Maur (Seine).
 M. Garcin (Eugène), 8, rue Saint-Paul, Paris.
 Mme Garcin (Eugénie), 8, rue Saint-Paul, Paris.
 Mme G...., à Mulhouse (Alsace).
 Mme J. Grandin, 3, rue Lafayette, Paris.
 Mme Guénot, 19, boulevard de la Madeleine, Paris.
 M. Guyot (Yves), député, ancien ministre, 95 rue de Seine, Paris.
 Mlle H.... (Alsace).
 M. Hammer (Richard), 77, rue Blanche, Paris.
 Mme Hammer (Amélie), 77, rue Blanche, Paris.
 Mlle Hammer (Thilda Germance), 77, r. Blanche, Paris.
 M. Herbert, à Rennes (Ille-et-Vilaine).
 M. de Hérédia, ancien ministre, 177, rue de Courcelles, Paris.
 Mlle Heutte (Louise), à Monthiers (Aisne).
 M. A. Hovelacque, député, 38, r. du Luxembourg, Paris.
 M. le Dr. H. Huguet, 27, rue de Londres, Paris.
 M. A. Laisant, député, 162, avenue Victor-Hugo, Paris.
 Mme Vve E. Lefèvre, 8, rue Dumont-d'Urville, Paris.
 Mme Le Grand, 15, avenue Gourgau, Paris.
 Mlle E. Lemoine, à Vincennes (Seine).
 Mme Lieutier (Nelly), 1, place de la Croix-Rouge, Paris.
 Mme Vve Loré, à Lusigny (Aube).
 M. Macé (Jean), sénateur, 5, rue de Poitiers, Paris.
 Mme Marchand, au Prieuré, Vaiges (Mayenne).
 Mme Margain, 14, rue Lècluse, Paris.
 M. Martin (Georges), ancien sénateur, 115, rue Mouffetard, Paris.
 Mme de Morsier (Emilie), 71, rue Claude-Bernard, Paris.
 M. Mourlet, à Alger-Mustapha (Algérie).
 Mme Mourlet, à Alger-Mustapha (Algérie).
 Mme Naudin (Léonie), à Darnetal (Seine-Inférieure).
 M. Nus (Eugène), 80, rue Bonaparte, Paris.
 Mme Parren (Callirhoe), à Athènes (Grèce).
 M. Passy (Frédéric), membre de l'Institut, à Neuilly-sur-Seine (Seine).

Mme Pognon (Raymond), 7, rue Clément-Marot, Paris.
 Mlle Pognon (Mathilde), 7, rue Clément-Marot, Paris.
 M. Poupin (Victor), député, 66, rue de Rivoli, Paris.
 Mme Ragot-David, à Tribny (Marne).
 Mlle R... (I.), à Paris.
 Mlle Régnault (Léontine), à Courbevoie (Seine).
 Mme Reinschmit (Paulina), à Varsovie (Pologne).
 Mlle Rengnet (Myrtille), 10, rue de Chateaubriand, Paris.
 M. Richer (Léon), 4, rue des Deux-Gares, Paris.
 Mme J. Richer, 4, rue des Deux-Gares, Paris.
 M. Richer (Paul), 16, rue Clauzel, Paris.
 Mme Richer (Paul), 16, rue Clauzel, Paris.
 Mme Vve Rouyer-Barbier, à Vricourt (Vosges).
 M. Roy (Émile), à Poligny (Jura).
 M. Schoelcher (Victor), sénateur, 64, rue de la Victoire, Paris.
 M. Schloesing (Émile), à Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhône).
 M. de Simon (P.), à Genève (Suisse).
 Miss Simpon (Thérèse), à Selville Portobello (Ecosse).
 M. le Dr Thulié (H.), 31, boulevard Beauséjour, Paris.
 M. Trial (Louis), à Nîmes (Gard).
 Mme Vaillant, à Troyes (Aube).
 Mme Valette (A.), 54, rue Lepic, Paris.
 Mme Venturi (Émilie), à Londres (Angleterre).
 M. Viviani (René), 85, boulevard du Parc-Royal, Paris.

APPENDIX J

ROSTER OF THE 1889 CONGRÈS FRANÇAIS ET INTERNATIONAL DU DROIT DES FEMMES¹

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Mme la baronne d'Adlesparre, Stockholm | 1 |
| 2. M. Ajuti (Mario), Paris | 1 |
| 3. Mme Ameuille | 5 |
| 4. Mme Audrat (Mathilde) | 3 |
| 5. M. le Dr. Autun, Saint-Florentin (Yonne) | 1 |
| 6. Mme Autun, Saint-Florentin (Yonne) | 1 |
| 7. Mme Baer | 5 |
| 8. M. Barbe (Paul), ancien ministre | 3 |
| 9. Mme Bariol, Paris | 1 |
| 10. M. Barodet, deputy, Paris | 7 |
| 11. Mlle Basset (A.), Paris | 1 |
| 12. Mme Béquet (Léon), présidente de la Ligue pour la
Propagation de l'Allaitement maternel, Paris | 1 |
| 13. Mme Berry (Amelie), Sabartaire (Tarn) | 4 |
| 14. Mme Berthoin | 3 |
| 15. Mlle la baronne R. de Bieberstein, Bruselles | 1 |
| 16. Doctor Elisabeth Blackwell, Hastin (England) | 1 |
| 17. Mlle Blandin (Z.), Paris | |
| 18. Mme Bloch (Simon) | 3 |
| 19. M. Bodin, Paris | 1 |
| 20. Mme Bodin, Paris | 1 |
| 21. Mme Bogelot (Isabelle), directrice de l'Oeuvre des
Libérées de Saint-Lazarre, Paris | 1 |
| 22. Mme Bonnaire | 3 |
| 23. Mme Bonnemain (L.), Hanoi (Tonkin) | 2 |
| 24. M. Boudeville (Ch.), ancien deputy, Méru (Oise) | 2 |
| 25. Mme Boudeville (Ch.), Méru (Oise) | 2 |

¹The number in the right hand column indicates the number of francs donated by the individual or group to the Congress. The number after the name indicates the issue of le Droit des Femmes that published the person's adherence. Both Deraismes and Richer compiled lists, which were published in separate columns. Richer's lists included residence and occupation information; Deraismes' did not. The number after the name corresponds to the following issues of le Droit des Femmes: 1 Richer's list of 17 March 1889; 2 Richer's list of 21 April 1889; 3 Deraismes' list of 21 April 1889; 4 Richer's list of 5 May 1889; 5 Deraismes' list of 2 June 1889; 6 Richer's list of 2 June 1889; and 7 Richer's list of 16 June 1889. Altogether Richer submitted 118 names and Deraismes 65. "Adhérents sympathiques" (AD) were announced on 17 March 1889.

| | | |
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| 26. | Mme Boussuat-Robertson, Auteuil (Seine) 1 | 5 |
| 27. | M. Breton 5 | 20 |
| 28. | Mme Cazamajor 5 | 10 |
| 29. | Mme la Cécilia (Marie), Yseure (Allier) 1 | 10 |
| 30. | Mlle Chevalier, Paris 1 | 5 |
| 31. | Mme Christin, Paris 1 | 8 |
| 32. | M. Colfavru, député, Paris 1 | |
| 33. | Mme Collard, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 34. | M. la Dr. Couturier (h.), senator, Paris 1 | |
| 35. | M. Cuif 3 | 10 |
| 36. | M. Davenne (R.), publiciste, Bordeaux (Gironde) 1 | 10 |
| 37. | Mme David 5 | 20 |
| 38. | M. David 5 | 20 |
| 39. | Mme Dallet, Familistère de Guise (Aisne) 1 | 10 |
| 40. | Mme Day-Falette 3 | 10 |
| 41. | Mme Feuve Depaulis, Lyon (Rhône) 1 | 5 |
| 42. | Mlle Deraismes (Maria) 3 | 100 |
| 43. | Mme Deroin (Jeanne), Vve Desroches, London (England) | 3 |
| 44. | Mme Deschamps (Alix) 5 | 10 |
| 45. | Mme Desportes, Paris 1 | 5 |
| 46. | Mlle Desroches (Cécile), Deroin's daughter, London 1 | 3 |
| 47. | Mlle Didier, Paris 1 | 1 |
| 48. | Diétrich (Auguste), publiciste, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 49. | M. Dufilhol, officier supérieur en retraite, Marseille 6 | 10 |
| 50. | Mme Dupuis-Vincent, La Testede-Buch (Gironde) 1 | 5 |
| 51. | Mlle Durand, Troyes (Aube) 1 | 5 |
| 52. | Mme Vve Durand, Dourdan (Seine-et-Oise) 1 | 5 |
| 53. | Mme Dusautoy 3 | 200 |
| 54. | Mlle Duval (Charlotte) 3 | 10 |
| 55. | Mlle Edwards (Blanche), doctor, Paris 1 | 5 |
| 56. | Mme Féresse-Deraismes 3 | 100 |
| 57. | Mme Ferrand, institutrice at La Rochelle (Charente-Inférieure) 2 | 10 |
| 58. | Mme Fonsèque 3 | 10 |
| 59. | Mme Garnier 3 | 10 |
| 60. | M. de Gasté, ancien député 5 | 35 |
| 61. | Mme Gatineau 5 | 50 |
| 62. | Mme Gaucher 3 | 10 |
| 63. | Mme Giraud-Bouttier 5 | 10 |
| 64. | Mme Vve Godin, Familistère de Guise (Aisne) 1 | 10 |
| 65. | M. Goron, Nantes (Loire-Inférieure) 1 | 5 |
| 66. | Mme Goudchaud 5 | 100 |
| 67. | Mme La Grand, Paris 1 | 50 |
| 68. | Miss Greatorex, London (England) 1 | 12 |
| 69. | Mlle Greeck 5 | 10 |
| 70. | Mme Griess-Traut, vice-president of l'Amélioration 5 | 10 |
| 71. | Mlle Grulher, Bruselles 1 | 5 |
| 72. | Mlle Haaz, Barr (Alsace-Lorraine) 1 | 10 |
| 73. | M. Herbert, Rennes (Ill-et-Vilaine) 1 | 1 |
| 74. | Mme de Hérédia 5 | 50 |
| 75. | Mlle Louise Heutte, chateau de Monthiers (Aisne) 1 | 10 |
| 76. | Mme Houry 5 | 10 |
| 77. | M. le docteur Huguet, Paris 1 | 20 |
| 78. | Mme La Forgue (Amélia), Neuilly-Plaisance (Seine) 1 | 5 |

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| 79. | Mme Leboeuf (Amélie-Paul) 5 | 10 |
| 80. | Mme Lecomte, usine à gaz de Charleval (Eure) 1 | 5 |
| 81. | Mlle Lemoine (Eudoxie), Vincennes (Seine) 1 | 20 |
| 82. | M. Letermelier, Constantine (Algerie) 1 | 2 |
| 83. | Mme Lientier (Nelly), Paris 2 | 10 |
| 84. | Mme Lingé 5 | 10 |
| 85. | Mlle Longchamp (Marie), Poligny (Jura) 1 | 1 |
| 86. | Mme veuve Loré, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 87. | M. le Dr. Lutaud 5 | 10 |
| 88. | M. Magé (Jean), senator, Paris 1 | 20 |
| 89. | Mme de la Madelene 3 | 10 |
| 90. | Mlle de la Mairie 5 | 10 |
| 91. | Mme Margain, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 92. | M. le Dr. Martin (Georges), senator, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 93. | Mme Martin (Maria), director of <u>La Citoyenne</u> , Paris 1 | 5 |
| 94. | Mme Martin, mother 5 | 10 |
| 95. | M. Martini 3 | 10 |
| 96. | M. Marcil (René), Paris 1 | 10 |
| 97. | Mme Massor 3 | 10 |
| 98. | Mme Maugeret, Mureaux (Seine-et-Oise) 1 | 2 |
| 99. | Mme Mauriceau 5 | 10 |
| 100. | Mlle Mesnard, medical doctor, Bordeaux 1 | 5 |
| 101. | M. Millet (Charles) 5 | 10 |
| 102. | Mme Morsier (Emilie de), Paris 1 | 5 |
| 103. | Mme Mouchet, Vincennes (Seine) 1 | 1 |
| 104. | M. Moureu (Léon), Bordeaux 1 | 5 |
| 105. | M. le Dr. Murllet, Alger (Algérie) 1 | 5 |
| 106. | Mme Murllet, Alger (Algérie) 1 | 5 |
| 107. | Mme Moutier, Caen (Calvad.) 1 | 5 |
| 108. | Mme Naudin, Rouen (Seine-Inférieure) 1 | 10 |
| 109. | M. Nicolle, Mayor of Sartrouville 3 | 25 |
| 110. | M. Nielly (A.), Alger (Algérie) 1 | 5 |
| 111. | Mme Olivetti-Modona (Italienne), Paris 1 | 1 |
| 112. | M. Pagny (Jules), Bruxelles 1 | 10 |
| 113. | Mme Parpalet 3 | 10 |
| 114. | M. Passy (Frédéric), deputy, Neuilly (Seine) 1 | 5 |
| 115. | Mlle Pérot (Jeanne), Paris 1 | 15 |
| 116. | M. Petti (Georges) 3 | 15 |
| 117. | Mme Petit 5 | 10 |
| 118. | Mme Pillouse 5 | 10 |
| 119. | Mlle Popelin, lawyer, Bruxelles 1 | |
| 120. | Mme Potonié-Pierre (Eugenie), Vincennes (Seine) 1 | 1 |
| 121. | M. Potonié-Pierre, Vincennes (Seine) 1 | 1 |
| 122. | M. Poupin (Victor), deputy, Paris 1 | 20 |
| 123. | M. Puteaux, former municipal councillor 3 | 25 |
| 124. | Mme Quéroy, Parc-Saint-Maur (Seine) 1 | 100 ¹ |
| 125. | Mme Ragon (Amélie), Paris 1 | 15 |
| 126. | Mlle Regnault (Léontine), Courbevoie (Seine) 1 | 10 |
| 127. | Mlle Reutz (Anna), chateau de Monthiers (Aisne) 1 | 10 |
| 128. | M. Richer (Léon), Paris 1 | 10 |
| 129. | Mme Richer (Léon), Paris 1 | 10 |
| 130. | M. Richer (Paul), Paris 1 | 3 |

¹Corrected to 50 francs in le Droit des Femmes, 21 April 1889.

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| 131. | Mme Rivet-Minguet, Nantes (Seine-Inférieure) 1 | 2 |
| 132. | M. Rodrigue (Hippolyte) 7 | 40 |
| 133. | Mme Roncier (Lefèvre) 5 | 25 |
| 134. | Mme Rouyer-Barbier, Vrécourt (Vosges) 1 | 5 |
| 135. | Mme Rouzade 5 | 10 |
| 136. | M. Roy (Émile), Poligny (Jura) 1 | 5 |
| 137. | Mlle Sandstein (A.), Stockholm (Suède) 1 | |
| 138. | M. Sealter (Eugénie), Saint-Mandé (Seine) 2 | 25 |
| 139. | Mme Schmal 3 | 10 |
| 140. | M. Schneider 5 | 10 |
| 141. | M. Schoesing (Emile), Marseille (Bouches-du-Rhône) 1 | 20 |
| 142. | Mlle Schoug (Thalia), Stockholm (Suède) 1 | |
| 143. | Mlle Schultz (Caroline), medical doctor, Paris 1 | 5 |
| 144. | Mlle Térissse, Genève (Suisse) 1 | 5 |
| 145. | Mme Thibaud 5 | 10 |
| 146. | M. le général Thibaudin 3 | 25 |
| 147. | M. le Dr. Thulié (H.), Paris 1 | 20 |
| 148. | Mme Vaillant, Troyes (Aube) 1 | 5 |
| 149. | Mme Valette, Paris 1 | 2 |
| 150. | Mlle Van-Diest, medical doctor, Bruxelles 1 | 25 |
| 151. | Mlle Verenet, château de Monthiers (Aisne) 1 | 20 |
| 152. | M. le Dr. Verrier 5 | 10 |
| 153. | Mme Vattier 5 | 10 |
| 154. | Mme Viggshoff 5 | 25 |
| 155. | Mme Villemin, Pargots (Doubs) 1 | 3 |
| 156. | Mme Vincent 5 | 10 |
| 157. | Mlle de Virte (Luisa), Pise (Italie) 1 | 18 |
| 158. | Mme Viviani (Hélène), Sidi-Bel-Abbès (Algérie) 1 | 10 |
| 159. | M. Viviani (René), lawyer, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 160. | Mlle Wild (H.), Paris 1 | 10 |
| 161. | Mme Ziélinstra (Iza) 3 | 10 |
| 162. | Mme de A. 5 | 10 |
| 163. | M. Ch. B., Paris 1 | 1 |
| 164. | M. le baron L..., (Als.-Lorr.) 1 | 5 |
| 165. | Mme L.-J., Paris 1 | 1,000 |
| 166. | Mme S. L. 5 | 10 |
| 167. | Mlle L. P., Versailles (Seine-et-Oise) 1 | 5 |
| 168. | Mme Vve R..., Paris 1 | 20 |
| 169. | Une anonyme de Bruxelles (Belgique), par l'intermédiaire de Mlle Van Diest 6 | 100 |
| 170. | Un anonyme 3 | 100 |
| 171. | M. Boureau (Henri), Paris AD | |
| 172. | Mme Vve Boureau, Paris AD | |
| 173. | Mlle Brette (Anna), Paris AD | |
| 174. | Mme Deutz (Esther), Paris AD | |
| 175. | Mlle Formstcher (Bertha), Paris AD | |
| 176. | Mlle Hess (Elise), Paris AD | |
| 177. | Mlle Morel (Alice), Paris AD | |
| 178. | Mlle Théo (Jeanne), Paris AD | |
| 179. | Comité parisien de la Ligue Française pour le Relèvement de la Moralité Publique, Paris 1 | 10 |
| 180. | Le Comité régional marseillais de la Ligue Française pour le Relèvement de la Moralité Publique, Marseille 1 | 30 |
| 181. | Conseil municipal de Paris 3 | 500 |
| 182. | Fédération des groupes de Libre-Pensee de Seine-et-Oise 4 | 10 |

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 183. | Fédération britannique, continentale et général pour l'abolition de la prostitution réglementé (founded by Josephine Butler) 4 | |
| 184. | Le Groupe des Femmes indépendantes de France (Mme Astié de Valsayre delegate) 7 | 10 |
| 185. | La Loge Jérusalem Ecossaise 5 | 10 |
| 186. | Ligue Française pour le Droit des Femmes 4 | |
| 187. | Société l'Avenir des femmes, Nîmes (Gard) 1 | 30 |
| 188. | Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort des Femmes et la Revendication de ses Droits 3 | 500 |
| 189. | Société pour la Protection de la Femme, versé par Mlle Barberousse 5 | 10 |
| 190. | Société Nantaise: Les Droits de la Femme, Nantes 2 | 42 |
| 191. | La Société Suedoise pour ASF de Stockholm 7 | |

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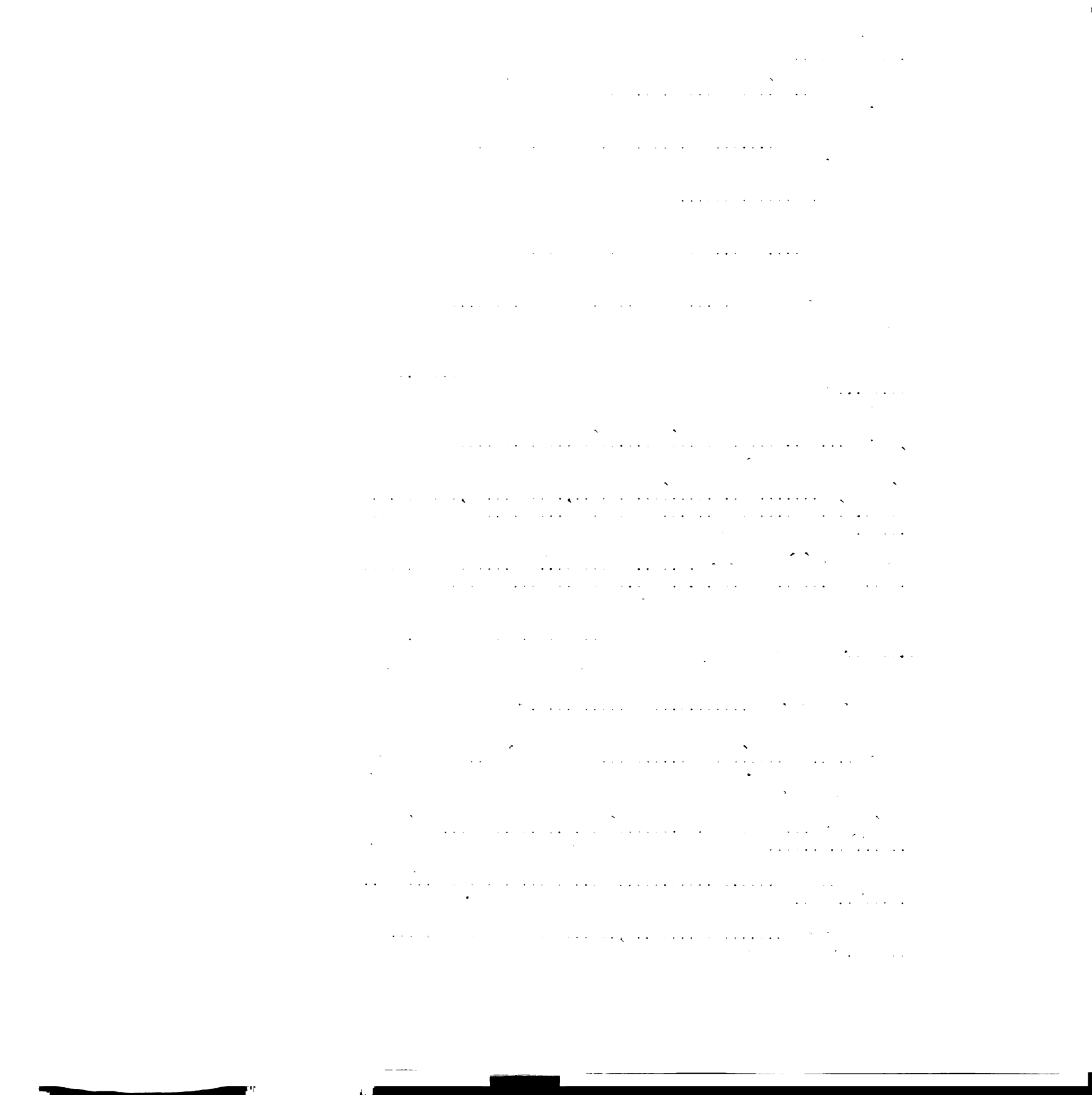
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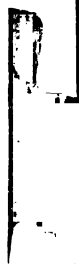
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