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## The images of woman in France on the eve of the Loi Camille Sée, 1877-1880.

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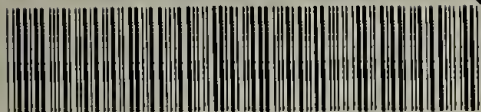
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THE IMAGES OF WOMAN IN FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THE  
LOI CAMILLE SÉE, 1877-1880

A Dissertation Presented

By

LILLIAN JANE WAUGH

Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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History

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A Dissertation Presented

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## ABSTRACT

The Images of Woman in France on the Eve of the  
Loi Camille Sée, 1877-1880

February 1977

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Misogyny in the early Third Republic vitally affected educational legislation. The Loi Camille Sée, signed into law December 21, 1880, incorporated contemporary prejudices against women and was designed to preclude female entry into the professions. Employment statistics did not support fears that women with degrees would engulf male purviews. The politics of prejudice evident in passage of the law were heightened by partisan politics, although French legislators shared more as men when dealing with female education than they disputed as ideological enemies. Revival of the classics and the Catholic heritage played an important role in French misogyny.

Primary sources selected for this study include the works of Félix Dupanloup and pseudo-feminist Ernest Legouvé; articles on women and education, plus short stories from the moderate Catholic monthly Le Correspondant; debates on the Loi Camille Sée as reported in the Journal Officiel; the feminist monthly the Droit des Femmes; and the works of major 19th-century Republican educational theorists Octave Gréard, Gustave Compayré, and Paul Rousselot.

It was found that, with the general exception of Droit des Femmes publicists, French attitudes toward women combined ambivalence,



fear, and hostility. These attitudes were consciously enshrined in government policy and rationalized as being fully consonant with women's nature and the public good. The Saint-or-Sinner model of woman, so obvious in the seminal works of Fénelon, dominated all publications reviewed as well as the debates on female secondary education. One facet of this model was the presentation of women as the perpetuators and shapers of mores and of the men who ran (or mis-ran) the State. National preoccupation with order and unity after the débâcle of the Franco-Prussian War, predisposed those in charge of forming public opinion or making public policy, to endorse existing misogynist stereotypes - most often articulated as the femme libre and Amazon - and portray women as destroyers or saviors of France. This preoccupation led to reiteration of female seclusion in the home and enhancement of the mystique of the foyer as means to ensure the public good and restore national glory. Women who did not adhere to the mystique or the life style were, in essence, presented by Republicans and anti-Republicans alike as traitors and unnatural monsters.

The rhetoric of chivalry used during the debates accentuated national anxieties, capitalized on views of women as "other," and underscored consensus in the legislature that women of all classes constituted a new and dangerous proletariat. French feminists disagreed vehemently with prevailing views of women, their nature and their proper sphere. But they exploited what seemed like favorable stereotypes, i.e., women as natural teachers, to push for broadening female opportunities for employment. Like their detractors, the feminists considered the woman question a problem of morality.

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## P R E F A C E

With the rebirth of the women's movement in the last decade, historians have begun to acknowledge the failure of traditional scholarship to, in Abigail Adams' words, "remember the Ladies."<sup>1</sup> The "Ladies" and their less affluent sisters are now being considered, and to historians falls the task of defining what indeed should be remembered. Each academic profession has need of historians' research as its own theses are re-examined in light of the new perspective. Thus, to the historian qua historian falls the ultimate responsibility of sounding, then beginning to fill, the cultural lacunae which exist because of centuries of neglect of the records of half the human race.

Every generation reconstructs history to some degree. But this generation of historians is faced with a construction project hitherto unprecedented in its scope. Routine tasks of asking the right questions of past and present, of digging into supposedly familiar territory for clues which might shed light on old and new "woman questions," turn out to be anything but routine. Where does one start a re-codification of culture? Is there any one aspect of the problem which sheds maximum light on myriad excavation sites beginning to dot the historical landscape? Modern usage of the term "woman question" indicates that problems of basic definition and reflected images - the building blocks of prejudice - might serve as useful tools for the historian. Perusal of titles

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<sup>1</sup>Letter of Abigail Adams to John Adams, 31 March 1776, as cited by Alice S. Rossi, ed., in The Feminist Papers: From Adams to de Beauvoir (New York: Bantam Books, 1974), p. 10.



in Women Studies Abstracts suggests that one path of exploration, the study of prejudice against women, or "sexism,"<sup>2</sup> has been particularly exciting during the early stages of historical reconstruction. Central to the study of sexism are the many images which surround the topic "woman."

The importance of cultural images to history was keynoted by Joseph N. Moody of the Catholic University of America a full decade before those responsible for the rebirth of feminism<sup>3</sup> rephrased sex prejudice as "sexism." In prefatory remarks to his Church and Society (1953), Moody addressed the question of images in a manner which prompted this writer to see the study of sex images as a sturdy cornerstone for the study of women in history. Moody expressed the hope that "the whole process of image formation might become increasingly interesting to historians, for it operates at the vital nerve center

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<sup>2</sup>As used in this paper "sexism" is understood to be both the fact and the system of thought associated with prejudice based on sex. Although used primarily in discussion of prejudicial assumptions about females, it implies correlative stereotyping of males. A functional working definition of "sexism" was developed by Dr. Jo-Ann Evans Gardner for a December 16, 1970, presentation at the Open Plenary Session of the White House Conference on Children. Sexism is: (1) a belief that the human sexes have distinctive makeups that determine their respective lives; usually involving the idea that one sex is superior and has the right to rule the other; (2) a policy of enforcing such asserted right; (3) a system of government and society based on it. To this concept has been added the descriptive term "sexist," one who believes in or practices sexism.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Fourier coined the term "feminisme" in the second edition of his Théorie des quatre mouvements (Paris, 1841). Fourier posited equality of the sexes before the law and adopted a single morality for both. Following this train of thought, anyone who believed in a double standard, such as Ernest Legouvé, could only be termed a "pseudo feminist," if he/she claimed to be an advocate of women's rights.

vital nerve center of social experience."<sup>4</sup> The intensity of responses, both positive and negative, to the recent growth of feminism in the United States and abroad attests to Moody's insight. It further indicates that assessment of the nature and weight of images of women<sup>5</sup> at various times and places is of critical importance to understanding women's history. This writer has accordingly been drawn to investigate the images of woman in France during the first decade of the Third French Republic.

The Loi Camille Sée (see Appendix A), passed 21 December 1880, offers a convenient focal point for the study of women in the early Third Republic. Until its passage, the French government had not offered French girls secondary instruction. Thus, the law was singularly important to the considerable population - daughters of the classes dirigeantes (businessmen, professionals, civil servants) - it was designed to serve. The National Assembly itself was reasonably representative of the diversity of French opinion in 1880, at least of the opinion of those who were empowered to shape the thought and institutions of the young republic.

In late 1880 the influx of amnestied communard(e)s had not yet appreciably affected the tenor or composition of the Assembly, although fear of what the returnees represented did enter into the debates on fe-

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<sup>4</sup>Joseph N. Moody, Edgar Alexander et al., eds., Church and Society: Catholic Social and Political Thought and Movements, 1789-1950 (New York: Arts, Inc., 1953), p. ii.

<sup>5</sup>Correlative images of man are assumed as a by-product of such investigations.

male secondary education.<sup>6</sup> Seize mai (16 May) 1877 was selected as the earlier time limit of this study because it signaled the launching of the last major Republican offensive against remnants of the Old Regime and occasioned yet another round of partisan argumentation focussing, among other things, on educational policies and the role of education in French life. Resolution of the 16 May crisis resulted not only in permanent Republican control of the National Assembly, but in the ascension of Jules Ferry to power. Ferry's comprehensive educational reforms and the bitter controversy surrounding them formed the milieu within which the Loi Camille Sée was first proposed, then considered, then finally signed into law.

The Loi Camille Sée served as a major primary source for this study.<sup>7</sup> Selection of the Correspondant and the Droit des Femmes as the remaining sides of a triangular comparative study was somewhat more arbitrary than obvious suitability of the debate transcripts. Both papers were selected for the contrast they offered to the Republican norm. On advice from Professor Moody,<sup>8</sup> the Correspondant was singled out as a

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<sup>6</sup>See below, Chapter V, and the Journal Officiel, 20 November and 9 December 1880.

<sup>7</sup>The debates were reproduced in the Journal Officiel, a privately printed paper reflecting the sympathies of the governments which oversaw it from 1869-1880. The Journal was charged, as a condition of its franchise privilege, with carrying officiel reports, documents and verbatim coverage of the Assembly debates. For a full account of the history of official publications in the Third Republic, see Bellanger et al., Histoire générale de la presse française (Paris: Presses universitaires de France), Vols. II and III.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with Dr. Moody, Catholic University, April 1973.



solid piece of journalism representing moderate Catholic thought, a publication which could be expected to deal in a fairly sophisticated manner with contemporary issues. The Correspondant, a bi-monthly journal, appealed to a select population which, though partisan, prided itself on balanced consideration of important social issues. Equally important, its numerous novella and serials contained much indirect, unguarded testimony pertinent to prevailing images of woman. In addition, the intimate, domestic, nature of these stories - similar in many ways to those found in contemporary French and American press - indicates that they were included in the Correspondant especially for its female readers.<sup>9</sup>

In contradistinction to the Correspondant, the Droit des Femmes was selected for study because of its focus on women and women's problems, and because, as an almost totally ignored but impressively important resource tool, it deserves resuscitation.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Evelyne Sullerot, La Presse féminine (Paris: Armand Colin, 1963) has written a most useful work on French women's magazines in which she makes the helpful distinction between works addressed to "dames", those carrying homilies and short stories, and those from 1830 which were addressed to "femmes" and occasionally commented on women's rights.

<sup>10</sup>A good example of the disuse into which the Droit des Femmes fell after Dzeh-Dzen's 1934 thesis, La Presse féministe en France, is the failure of compilers to include it in the recent Histoire générale de la presse française. The Histoire shows similar lack of concern for all feminist journals. It gives only cursory mention to Saint-Simonian and Fourierist publications of the July Monarchy period, and only footnote reference to Marguerite Durand's influential La Fronde. The Droit's long life (10 April 1869-20 December 1891) alone belies its exclusion from the Histoire as an ephemeral publication. Though the authors of the Histoire cite Sullerot when dealing with the female press, they pass up her coverage of the Droit entirely and fail to give even passing mention to Dzeh-Dzen's seminal work.

## C H A P T E R I

## HISTORIANS AND HISTORICAL IMAGES

In the last year of her life, wearied by the legacy of discord left France by the Revolution and Napoléon, disheartened by the repressions of Charles X, Claire de Rémusat turned her failing energies to educating French women. De Rémusat hoped to reorder French society by fostering maternal ministrations to future citizens and statesmen. Her faith in the benefits of good education and fervent belief in domestic education<sup>1</sup> of children aligned Rémusat squarely with her predecessor Fénelon, especially in respect to girl's education. With her successors, including those who debated the Loi Camille Sée, De Rémusat shared the conviction that the futures of the nation and girls' education were inextricably intertwined.<sup>2</sup>

Claire de Rémusat's posthumously published Essai sur l'éducation des femmes (1821) showed the mark of exposure to arguments about women's nature which had typified the "Querelle des Femmes."<sup>3</sup> The Essai also

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<sup>1</sup>As used by French pedagogues, "éducation" encompasses the learning of morality, religion and ethics, as well as specific knowledge necessary to acquiring life skills. "Instruction," on the other hand, pertains only to the knowledge necessary to mental acuity, acquisition of trade skills or preparation for a profession. "Domestic education" is here used as an umbrella term for educating and instructing children in the home. Unless the French term is implied by context, "education" is used below as the omnibus English term for all learning.

<sup>2</sup>V. especially, remarks of Émile Keller and Camille Sée, 20 January 1880, Chamber.

<sup>3</sup>The "Querelle des Femmes" was a protracted, passionate, frequent-scurrilous dispute about equality of the sexes. It spanned the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, surfaced briefly during the French Revolution, and was raised sporadically thereafter. Poulain de la Barre's proto-femi-

debates. In her work de Rémusat implicitly criticized French educators for their neglect of female schooling. Although socially conformist, she was, as a woman, disturbed by questions of female potential and asked when woman would be able to:

. . . s'étudier elle-même, d'interroger son expérience et sa nature pour connaître les caractères, les facultés, les droits de ses pareilles, pour établir enfin plus nettement qu'on ne la fait encore, ce que sont les femmes et ce qu'il semble qu'elles pourraient devenir?<sup>4</sup>

Passage of the Loi Camille Sée by the National Assembly on 21 December 1880 initiated the first concerted effort by a French government to reply to de Rémusat's query. The law mandated the founding of state-sponsored girls' secondary schools and served as the "female" plank in Jules Ferry's educational platform. It functioned as the starting point from which he and other left-center Republicans launched their final campaign for the secularization of French education. Speaking for the bill in the Senate on November 20 of that year, Henri Martin (Aisne) grappled with the possible impact of non-passage on secularization.

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nist De l'Égalité des deux sexes: Discours physique et moral où l'on voit l'importance de se défaire des préjugés (1673) vied with treatises by Bossuet and others in its use of superlatives. The former praised women; the latter derogated them. For fuller discussion of the dispute, see: Paul Rousselot, Histoire de l'éducation des femmes, 2 vols. (New York: Burt Franklin Reprint, 1971), Vol. I, Ch. IV; and Gustave Reynier, La Femme au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: ses ennemies et ses défenseurs (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1933), especially Ch. XII.

<sup>4</sup>Claire de Rémusat, Essai sur l'éducation des femmes, new edition (Paris: Charpentier, 1842), p. 32. Hereafter cited as Essai. For almost identical sentiments see Ernest Legouvé, Histoire morale des femmes (Paris: G. Sandré, 1848). Legouvé's Histoire appeared in 1848, the same year it was delivered as a series of lectures to students at the Collège de France. For still stronger seconding of Rémusat, see letter of Roman correspondent to Dupanloup, Ch. II below.



Asked Martin of his colleagues:

Croyez-vous que notre France puisse redevenir ce qu'elle doit être, si la femme française ne partage pas les sentiments, ne s'associe pas aux idées de l'homme? Si vous avez la discorde au foyer, comment voulez-vous avoir l'unité dans l'État?<sup>5</sup>

Senator Martin did not, properly speaking, address himself to what women were or could be. Rather, he recast the question of female identity in terms of what a woman ought to be qua citoyenne, answering in effect that she should be a Republican. Martin's inability to sustain a sharp focus on women as individuals was endemic among legislators.

The linking of France with "la femme française" and the prescriptive "ought" ("doit") which lay the foundation for Martin's building a case for passage of the Loi Camille Sée, raises the question of what place the concept of moral obligation had in the formulation of nineteenth-century French images of woman.<sup>6</sup> Why, too, did Martin and his contemporaries so naturally link the idea of country to the question of female education? Why, in brief, was a question of institutional expansion - ie., the extension of the lycée system to girls - generally approached so obliquely?

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<sup>5</sup>Henri Martin, Journal Officiel de la République française: Sénat, 21 Nov. 1880, p. 11313. Hereafter cited as J.O. Senate or Chamber. Martin also stated, *ibid.*, that women should share the same patriotic ideals as their husbands, sons and brothers. The following day (J.O., 22 Nov.) he juxtaposed the State to the Catholic Church as a moral entity, giving short shrift to discussion of the bill's particulars.

<sup>6</sup>For precedents linking the question of morality with female education, see Legouvé's Histoire morale, de Rémusat's Essai and Marie E. Cavé's La Femme aujourd'hui; la femme autrefois (Paris: Plon, 1863). For feminist treatment of the same topic, see below, Chapter IV.

Other questions raised by study of the Loi Camille Sée debates and contemporary French thought on woman are: why did the French government lag so far behind other European and Western countries in providing public secondary institutions for girls?<sup>7</sup> And, what, if any, aspects of Third Republic French thought on women were peculiarly French? Following Moody's cue, to what "vital nerve center" of the French social experience did the late nineteenth-century French image of woman lead? How did that image, or images, affect formulation and implementation of the Loi Camille Sée? Lastly, how did French feminist views on women differ or compare to prevailing mainstream views, and did these views in any way contribute toward the relative failure of the French woman movement?

Interest in female education during the early Third Republic ran sufficiently high to prompt scholarly consideration of the topic.<sup>8</sup> It is probably correct to see such interest as one aspect of the general French preoccupation with education, a preoccupation characterizing Republican regimes in particular. Two politician-educators, Octave Gréard and Gabriel Compayré, wrote extensively on female education and were intimately involved with the development of Republican curricula and institutions during the Third Republic. A third educator, Paul Rousselot, never en-

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<sup>7</sup>A touchy subject for Martin's contemporaries, although no European government was exceptional in its haste to promote secondary and post-secondary female education.

<sup>8</sup>Third Republic debates on the topic were in part a product of the Dupanloup-Duruy controversy of 1867. Dupanloup's opposition effectively blocked widespread acceptance of Duruy's proposed conférences, public lectures which were designed to lay the groundwork for nationwide secondary instruction for girls. See Sandra Horvath, "Victor Duruy," Chapter VII.

joyed his more political colleagues' reknown, but wrote the major work on French female education, the two-volume Histoire de l'éducation des femmes en France (1883).<sup>9</sup> Gréard, who was forced by ill health to abandon the rigors of scholarly life for more routine employment as an educational administrator, put out a memorandum on secondary instruction for girls after passage of the Loi Camille Sée and dealt with principles of female instruction in his summary Éducation et Instruction (1887) and in the monograph Éducation des femmes par les femmes (1887).<sup>10</sup> Compayré wrote primarily on educational philosophy and pedagogy, paying particular attention to child psychology and morality. His opus was the Histoire critique des doctrines de l'éducation en France depuis le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, published in 1879. Compayré enjoyed a good measure of notoriety in 1880 because of publishing his Manuel d'instruction civique et morale, a work which fanned partisan discussion of education by outlining an "independent," i.e. non-sectarian, course of morality to be taught by lay instructors throughout the University system.<sup>11</sup> Compayré was elected to the

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<sup>9</sup>The Larousse Grande Encyclopédie makes no mention of Paul Roussetot (1833 - ?). However, his position as "inspecteur d'Académie" suggests he moved in the same circles as Compayré and Gréard.

<sup>10</sup>Part II of the Education et Instruction, "Enseignement secondaire," contains Gréard's overall views on female secondary education. His published works on female education were based on memoranda and studies written during his long career as an educational administrator based in Paris (1865-1879). He edited an edition of Fénelon's Education des filles (1885, 1886) at the time of his election to the Academy (1886). This tract was placed on girls' lycée curriculum.

<sup>11</sup>For reflections of the controversy on independent moral instruction, see Keller's keynote speech in the lower house and Sée's reply (J.O., 20 Jan. 1880); and Jules Simon and Henri Martin (J.O., Senate, 22 Nov. 1880).



National Assembly in 1881 as Deputy from Tarn. He served in that capacity until 1889.<sup>12</sup>

Gréard, Compayré, and especially Rousselot, share the distinction of having had their works remain essentially unduplicated, if for no other reason than failure of scholars to attempt revisions of their particular texts. All three delve more deeply into the role of prejudice over time in the inhibiting of female education than do later scholars, although Rousselot clearly outdistances his peers in this respect. Twentieth-century works have amplified the factual knowledge about the Loi Camille Sée, for example Gaston Coirault's Cinquante premières années de l'enseignement féminin, 1880-1930 (Tours, 1940); and have delved into public opinion and a Masonic connection (Evelyn Acomb, The French Laic Laws, 1879-1889) as it related to the law, but with few exceptions, recent scholarship has failed to link prevailing male supremecist views with educational policy.<sup>13</sup>

Volume II of Louis Capéran's Histoire contemporaine de la laïcité française (1960) offers an excellent straightforward account of the debates and notes the importance of the measure to Church-State relations, but goes no further in analyzing the social goals of the Loi Camille Sée's creators.<sup>14</sup> Mona Ozouf's more recent (1963) L'École, l'Eglise, et

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<sup>12</sup>Compayré received the Prix Bordin in 1877 for his Histoire critique. He also helped organize the normal schools for female lycée teachers at Fontenay-aux-Roses (1881) and Saint Cloud (1882) and taught at the latter.

<sup>13</sup>Acomb, French Laic Laws, p. 117.

<sup>14</sup>Capéran, Vol. II, pp. 47-63.



la République, contains extensive and useful reactions of the press, educators and politicians to the Camille Sée proposal. Furthermore, Ozouf leads her readers to conclude that sex prejudice functioned in all segments of society to inhibit advances in female education by opposing the law. But, Ozouf's republican sympathies prevent detailed treatment of republican prejudices against women.<sup>15</sup> Taken as a trio, the works of Capéran, Ozouf and Acomb yield a wealth of background material for the study of women's image in the era of the Loi Camille Sée. In addition, Capéran sheds some light on Ernest Legouvé's essential conservatism.<sup>16</sup>

With the exception of Gaston Coirault's monograph on the first half-century of female secondary education in France and the very recent work done by Sandra Horvath on the Duruy controversy,<sup>17</sup> however, the topic of female education per se has been generally glossed over by scholars purporting to write comprehensive histories of French education. Antoine Prost, who gives the greatest attention of the group

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<sup>15</sup>Ozouf, L'École, l'Eglise et la République, 1871-1914 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1963), pp. 104-107.

<sup>16</sup>Capéran, II, p. 62 cites Legouvé's memoirs on his tenure as inspector general at Sèvres, noting that Legouvé was taken aback by the appointment of a female director and institution of the internat, or lay boarding school, as well as disconcerted by the broad scope of teacher training, which approximated that at male écoles normales. Although his statement that Legouvé at 74 was not the same man who wrote the Histoire morale is open to question in re Legouvé's views on women, Capéran's general evaluation of Legouvé's social conservatism is correct.

<sup>17</sup>S. Horvath, "Victor Duruy and the Controversy over Secondary Education for Girls," French Historical Studies, 9(Spring 1975), pp. 83-104. Jean Rohr, Victor Duruy, Ministre de Napoléon III: Essai sur la

to female secondary education, touches only briefly on the tradition of neglect which prompted Rousselot to write his comprehensive work.

Both Prost and P. Chevallier et al.<sup>18</sup> touch on the influence of prejudice on female education only tangentially, spending much more time on the spread of the kindergarten movement than on innovations in the lycée system. They may simply have been reflecting societal expectations of females when they wrote on the nineteenth century, but they should have paid homage to Coirault's work and to the implications for society and education of advanced female instruction.

Similar criticisms apply to the work of Félix Ponteil and Paul Gerbod.<sup>19</sup> Ponteil, in his Histoire de l'enseignement en France: Les grandes étapes, mentions reforms pertaining to female instruction without discussing the underlying predisposition of hommes politiques and educators to slight female schooling, especially in the upper grades. Gerbod's institutional emphasis seems to have precluded examination of

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politique de l'instruction publique au temps de l'Empire libéral (Paris: R. Pichon et R. Durand-Auzias, 1967) briefly examines female secondary education while discussing the Duruy-Dupanloup controversy, but fails to note the precedent-setting omission of Latin and Greek from the conférence curriculum.

<sup>18</sup> Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'enseignement en France, 1800-1967 (Paris: Colin, 1968); and P. Chevallier, B. Grosperin, J. Maillet, L'Enseignement français de la Révolution à nos jours, 2 vols. (La Haye: Mouton, 1968-1971).

<sup>19</sup> Paul Gerbod, La Condition universitaire au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1965) and La Vie quotidienne dans les lycées au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: Hachette, 1968); and Félix Ponteil, Histoire de l'enseignement en France: Les grandes étapes, 1789-1964 (Paris: Sirey, 1972). For more detailed criticism of current scholarship on French female education, see Chapter V below.

the reasons why such educational facilities were not considered for girls until the late 1870's. Furthermore Gerbod ignores the female lycées after their institution. Coirault's thesis remains the single best critical record of the Loi Camille Sée's development, passage and implementation.

Biblical precedents. There is little direct mention of Hebraic or Old Testament thought on women by publicists considered in this study. But the patriarchal family was specifically endorsed - in tandem with the Roman paterfamilias - on at least one occasion as the optimum social building block.<sup>19</sup> On that occasion a contributor to the Correspondant called for a return to strict paternal authority in a rural setting in order to recapture the presumed secret of the longevity of the Old Regime in France. "The Law," he wrote, "equals the Ten Commandments plus the supreme teachings of the father as guide. . ." <sup>20</sup> Behind this explicit reference to Jewish teachings, strained, it must be added through the Gallo-Roman tradition, lay the pervasive myth of origin found in the second and third chapters of Genesis. Central to the Genesis II and II tale of the Creation was the story of Eve's secondary creation from Adam's rib, her cause of the Fall, and her subsequent

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<sup>19</sup>René Lavollée, "La Vieille France," Correspondant, 108(10 July 1877), pp. 77-78.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 77. Throughout his article Lavollée stressed a male chain of command in the family and society. Power flowed, according to this view, from God the Father to man as husband and father, thence to matured son. No mention was made of daughters and mothers were considered only implicitly in conjunction with honor owed parents. Lavollée noted the debt he and his contemporaries owed LePlay in refurbishing patriarchal codes of behavior.



subordination to Adam.<sup>21</sup>

An opposing tradition, based on Genesis 1:26-31, is essentially egalitarian.<sup>22</sup> It places the sexes on the earth simultaneously and commands them simply to be fruitful and multiply. In the more familiar guise of inalienable natural rights, this tradition is implicit in all Western feminist writings, but nineteenth-century French feminists were generally anti-clerical and most unlikely to quote scripture directly.<sup>23</sup> Both Genesis traditions were incorporated into the New Testament, embodied in Church doctrine, and made part of the whole cloth of European culture.<sup>24</sup> In the New Testament the Pauline epistles furnished argu-

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<sup>21</sup>Lavollée promoted this idea in a rather crude form. A more subtle variant can be found in Compayré's Histoire critique. On p. 341, Compayré railed against "excessive subordination" of women, but had no problems reconciling the doctrines of spiritual equality with social inequality. Speaking of the female-male relationship he wrote: "En droit naturel, elle est son égale, bien qu'il soit juste et nécessaire que, dans la vie sociale et en fait, elle lui soit subordonnée" (p. 343).

An important corollary of Eve's or "woman's" subordination to man was the idea of eternal enmity between the sexes after the fall (Genesis 3:15). For nineteenth-century French versions of the battle of the sexes, see Richard Bolster, Stendahl, Balzac et le féminisme romantique (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1970), Ch. I; the remarks of Jenny Touzin, Ch. IV below; and Camille Sée on the "two Frances," Ch. V. below.

<sup>22</sup>"Then God said, "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness; . . . So God created man in his own image, in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them. . ."

<sup>23</sup>For typical French feminist anticlericalism, see Maria Deraismes, "Lettre au clergé français" (Paris: Dentu, 1879). This work also falls under the rubric of rationalism, noted by Edwin R. Hedman, "Early French Feminism From the Eighteenth Century to 1848" (NYU, Doctoral Thesis, 1954), p. 4; as a major feature of French feminism.

<sup>24</sup>A good, though highly selective, overview of the development of ideas toward women in Western Civilization, can be found in Julia O'Faolain and Lauro Martines, eds., Not in God's Image: Women in History From the Greeks to the Victorians (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).



ments for either view. Galatians 3:28 laid the basis for secular democracy by positing the equality of souls in Christ.<sup>25</sup> But pronouncements similarly attributed to Paul<sup>26</sup> upheld the dogma that women's proper place was subordination to man in all matters.<sup>27</sup> The premise of women's natural inferiority therein espoused was used by clerical and anti-clerical alike during the Third Republic's consideration of female secondary education.<sup>28</sup>

The Classical legacy. Rousselot began his Histoire de l'éducation des femmes en France with apologetic discussion of the positive

<sup>25</sup>"There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

<sup>26</sup>In all fairness to Paul, theologians disagree on what he actually wrote or said himself and what is pseudo-Pauline, or simply attributed to Paul.

<sup>27</sup>The most notable are found in the Epistles. I Corinthians 11 contains the doctrine that women are subject to husbands. Husbands are wives "heads" just as God is the "head" of Christ. The same chapter states that woman is the "glory of man," not the reverse, because woman was supposedly derived from man's rib. Thus, woman was created for man in an altogether different spirit than he for her. Yet the same passage suggests all are reborn in Christ.

Ephesians 4:21-24 reiterates the idea of "headship" by admonishing: "Wives, be subject to your husbands." A command that all be subject to one another out of "reverence for Christ" is translated into examples of wively subjugation and husbandly love and sacrifice.

I Timothy 2: 8-15 forbids women to "teach or have authority over men," after ordering them to be silent in Church. It also contains the statement that women are to be saved through childbearing, if they keep the faith and remain modest and holy.

<sup>28</sup>E.e.g., Ch. II, below; Compayré, loc. cit; the pre-1880 work of Alexandre Dumas, fils; and the debates on the Loi Camille Sée, Ch. V below. Félix Dupanloup's theories on female pedagogy also serve as a prime example of the careful perpetuation of earlier Judaeo-Christian-Classical myths of female inferiority. For detailed discussion of Dupanloup's thought on women, see Ch. II, below, "Dupanloup."

influence of Christianity on the condition of women and on female education.<sup>29</sup> But, properly speaking, the Christian complex of ideas on woman was grounded in Greco-Roman and Jewish thought. The whole inter-related system of thought became the educational legacy of those men - politicians, clergy, pedagogues and scholars - who were raised in the Catholic seminary or University systems of 19th-century France. With qualifications according to the double standard, it was also the tradition within which women were raised.<sup>30</sup>

Gabriel Compayré demonstrated his familiarity with classical thought on women when he labeled Xenophon's 4th-century treatise, The Economist, a "charming sketch of family life,"<sup>31</sup> and suggested, in essence, that its precepts were as applicable to the Third Republic as

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<sup>29</sup>Rousselot, I, pp. 4-5.

<sup>30</sup>Gréard, for example, wrote extensively on Plutarch and Seneca. In his Éducation des femmes par les femmes, p. 2, he demonstrated a thorough familiarity with Roman and Greek thought on women by noting that Musonius and Plutarch made no distinction between moral instruction of the sexes. Gréard also praised Plutarch for encouraging men to pass on the "best", i.e. most ethical, parts of their studies to their wives. Émile Deschanel, publisher and politician, also considered Plutarch pro-woman. V. Deschanel's Le bien et le mal qu'on a dit des femmes, 4th ed. (Paris: Michel Lévy frères, 1858), pp. 124-126. Deschanel called Homer, Plutarch and Sophocles exceptions to the general rule of Greek misogyny, *ibid.*, p. 124.

<sup>31</sup>Compayré, Histoire critique, pp. 34-35. Fénelon may have had Xenophon's Economist in mind when he praised the Greeks and Romans for spending so much time instructing women in "economy." Rousselot introduces Fénelon's remarks to this effect with the remark that Fénelon, "est allé plus loin que ses précurseurs et que ses contemporains, en insistant sur le rapport qu'il y a entre la prospérité ou la ruine des familles due aux femmes, et la ruine ou la prospérité de l'État tout entier. C'est pourquoi il compte 'l'économie;' au sens large du mot, parmi leurs plus essentielles obligations" (Rousselot, Vol. I, pp. 412-413). Compayré never takes issue with Fénelon - or Rousselot's - assessment of the relationship between domestic and national housekeeping.

they presumably had been to ancient Greece. Xenophon's influential mise-en-scène deserves citation, for it seems as appropriate for the students of Mme. de Maintenon and Mme. de Campan as to his Attic bride, although its suitability for their upper-class sisters has been disputed.<sup>32</sup> Isomachus, a well-established young man, speaks in the Economist to his child-bride of fourteen, recalling that she:

. . . had been under careful supervision and meant to see, hear and ask as little as possible. . . She had been taught to moderate her appetites, which to my mind, is basic for both men's and women's education.

He then advised her on her role as wife:

. . . it seems to me that God adapted women's nature to indoor and man's to outdoor work. . . As Nature has entrusted women with guarding the household supplies, and a timid nature is no disadvantage in such a job. . . It is more proper for a woman to stay in the house than out of doors and less so for a man to be indoors instead of out.<sup>33</sup>

Not only did Xenophon uphold separate spatial spheres - interior and exterior respectively - for women and men, but he extrapolated a code of social morality from the dichotomy. It was, he said, a positive "disgrace," for men to be concerned with household matters.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup>For a thorough study of the impact of young marriage on women of the upper classes, see Dorothy Anne Liot Backer's Precious Women: A Feminist Phenomenon in the Age of Louis XIV (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), especially the sections on Mme. de Rambouillet and Mme. de Sévigné.

<sup>33</sup>Xenophon, The Economist, Ch.I, as cited in O'Faolain and Martines, p. 20.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.*, Ch. VII, p. 16. What Xenophon described was, essentially, the institution of the gynaeceum, or domestic seclusion for respectable Greek women. Since the gynaeceum has been a pivotal focus for later evaluations of Greek attitudes toward women, its treatment by scholars and publicists is a good index for authors' attitudes toward women. An interesting example of how the gynaeceum question affected histori-



Like his contemporary Xenophon, Plato (ca. 427-347 B.C.) discussed female education. His emphasis seems to have been essentially the same as his peer, i.e. women should be raised solely to fulfill domestic duties. Like Xenophon, Plato was concerned about a "predisposition" to "weakness" in females, a weakness which fostered "undue secrecy and craft" and led Plato - and later Fénelon and Michelet - to discuss the "management" of females.<sup>35</sup> When Plato addressed himself to general educational precepts in the Republic (Books I-IV), he was somewhat more generous to the "home" sex. "The same education which

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cal interpretation can be found in H.D.F. Kitto's The Greeks (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1951). Kitto asked his readers not to take too literally the Greeks' own remarks on the "interior" life of women. He noted that community-minded Greeks were prone to address themselves more to affairs of the polis than to domestic matters [why not, if women were excluded from the polis and written records were set down by men?] and that Greek women attended the theater and played a vital role in an economy not favored with pre-packaged goods. Furthermore, according to Kitto, Greek vases testify to many touching family scenes, to the fact that Greek women were often much loved by their husbands and that, no doubt, that love was reciprocated (pp. 219-236). Yet, Kitto overstates his case. He protests too much. For, after acknowledging that real political, legal and social discriminations existed against Greek women, he yields to a "vague uneasiness" about his own conclusion that "in a pre-eminently masculine society women moved in so restricted a sphere" that they could be "reasonably regarded. . . as a 'depressed area'!" Kitto's reason for self-doubt? What was wrong with the picture of the Athenian woman is "the picture it gives of the Athenian man" (p. 222). He makes similarly unscholarly comments when indulging in club humor at the expense of haeterae (p. 235) and discussing the Economist (p. 206).

<sup>35</sup>Plato, The Laws, Book VI, as cited in O'Faolain and Martines, p. 7. Plato criticizes Spartans for leaving women "unregulated." Fénelon's feminine psychology addressed the need to control female weaknesses such as curiosity, imagination and passion (v. Rousselot, I, p. 394). Michelet, in his vitriolic Romish Confessional (Philadelphia: T.B. Peterson, 1851), used the term in quotes to describe Jesuit control of women and suggested by implication that Republican control would be better for women, men and France (p. 41-43 and pp. 179 ff.).

makes a man a good guardian will make a woman a good guardian; for their original nature is the same."<sup>36</sup>

Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) dispensed with Plato's civility toward women when discussing formal education. He would grant schooling only to citizens, i.e. to propertied men.<sup>37</sup> He also added a new twist to Xenophon's analysis of female capabilities when he developed his theories of social politics, i.e. control, by linking slaves, women and children as objects of (free male citizens') management.<sup>38</sup> Aristotle posited that:

Rule of mind over body is absolute, the rule of intelligence over desire is constitutional and royal. . . as between male and female. The former is by nature superior and ruler, the latter inferior and subject. And this must hold good of mankind in general. . .<sup>39</sup>

Plato's star pupil recommended any well-run state should institute the office of "controller of women or children," which would, among other things, supervise life in the gynaeceum.<sup>40</sup> He considered it futile to attempt to regulate lower class women, a judgment that implies such females were beyond the pale of civilization.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Plato, Utopia, in Bertrand Russell, A History of Western Philosophy (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1945), p. 111.

<sup>37</sup>Aristotle, The Politics. Trans., intro. by T.A. Sinclair (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1962), p. 26.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-27.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 33.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 244. Lack of interest in either proper upbringing, i.e., "education," or literacy among lower class females was a marked feature of educational literature until well into the modern era and lagged behind recognition of the need to school males from similar socioeconomic circumstances. For examples of the education gap, see Dupanloup and the Loi Camille Sée debates on comparative male-female education.

The haetera tradition. Alongside mother and daughter in the gynaeceum and the relatively unsheltered slave or lower-class woman, there existed a third type of female recognized by Greek society — the haetera or courtesan. Alone among Greek women the courtesan, or upper-class prostitute, was well-educated. She was trained to be a fit intellectual as well as sexual companion for men.<sup>42</sup>

The courtesan, or mistress, as she is more familiarly known to 20th-century minds, received special attention from 19th-century French publicists, both in her highly educated Grecian phase and as the less intellectual maîtresse of the Second Empire. Alexandre Dumas, fils', Dame aux camélias (1848) romanticized the institution of mistress by immortalizing his own model, Marie Duplessis, as a beautiful victim of circumstances and tuberculosis. Émile Deschanel, normalien and later professor of Greek Literature at the École normale supérieure, took a more scholarly approach to the topic than did Dumas, although he, too, indulged in a bit of romantic overstatement from time to time.

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<sup>42</sup>Sappho of Lesbos (fl. 6th century B.C.) remains the model of sophisticated female sexuality. Scholarly and critical literature on Greek women is scarce. Most of what is generally available today dates from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. E.g., James Donaldson, Woman: Her Position and Influence in Ancient Greece and Rome and Among Early Christians (London: Longmans Green, 1907). Donaldson's more recent Roman Women (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962) and Slater's The Glory of Hera (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968) rely heavily on literary and legislative sources. Vern and Bonnie Bullough provide a useful summary of attitudes toward women in their Subordinate Sex (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1973). In his introduction, Vern Bullough provides a good overview of theorists who have disputed patriarchal ideologies in the last two centuries and Ch. II contains helpful comparative sketches of philosophical, religious, legal and social views on women in the early Near Eastern and Mediterranean cultures. He reaches the same evaluation of Kitto as did I (independently).



In his Courtisanes grecques (1855), Deschanel concluded that, unlike her socially proper sisters in the gynceum, the courtesan of Sappho's day was free to pursue the life of the mind. The price she paid for this privilege - prostitution of her body - was no greater than that surrendered by the wife, who bartered her soul and body for economic security, Deschanel implied. Forced to choose between narrowly defined virtue and the intellectual life, the courtesan opted for the latter.<sup>43</sup>

Deschanel buried his most explosive commentary in footnotes, wherein he spoke through Eugène Pelletan<sup>44</sup> for reforms which would "join the courtesan (hétaire) to the wife." Upgrading female education and instruction would, according to Pelletan, who tended to skirt inno-

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<sup>43</sup>E. Deschanel, Les Courtisanes grecques, pref. Jules Janin (Paris: Michel Lévy, frères, 1855), p. 195. Deschanel (1819-1904) taught at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand and the École normale, in the years from 1845-1850. He was suspended from his teaching duties for writing "Catholicisme et socialisme" in 1850 and expelled from France the following year (2 December 1851). Amnestied in 1859, he returned to his native land and became editor of the Journal des débats. Elected Deputy from Seine in 1876, he became one of the 363 voting no confidence in the Broglie government after Seize mai. Reelected in 1877, he served in the lower house until being elected lifetime Senator in 1881. Deschanel supported the Loi Camille Sée, but did not figure prominently in the debates. Besides books on the "bien" and "mal" said of women, he wrote La question des femmes et la morale laïque (1876).

<sup>44</sup>Pelletan (1813-1884) was a publicist and politician. He campaigned for universal suffrage and freedom for teachers, was once editor-in-chief of Lamartine's Le Bien Public, and was one of a group of influential Protestants in the late Second Empire. As a Senator, Pelletan was a major force behind the liberal publication law of 1881, among whose provisions was the striking of the requirement that all journal or periodical directors be male. For more on Pelletan's career as a publicist, see Bellanger et al., Histoire générale de la presse française, vols. 2 and 3.

vation, destroy an "unmentionable something" (sex discrimination? estrangement of the sexes?) which had subsisted from the old into the modern world.<sup>45</sup> Pelletan's analysis of education available to women in France was somewhat at odds with Deschanel's more freethinking approach. Pelletan was primarily interested in preparing young women for future domestic and maternal duties,<sup>46</sup> while Deschanel envisaged educating women for the sake of education itself. Pelletan wrote:

La véritable éducation de la femme à l'heure qu'il est. . . ne consiste pas précisément dans le plus ou le moins des connaissances qu'elle peut donner à son esprit pour la vocation sévère de la maternité. . . Notre éducation apprend surtout à la jeune fille à tenter un fiancé. . . Notre siècle corrigera, je l'espère, cette éducation de passage. . . La femme doit recevoir une instruction qui rayonne également sur toutes les heures de sa destinée.<sup>47</sup>

Pelletan concluded that French mistresses might well fit Proudhon's stark description of women as "courtisan ou ménagère," if only because they gave their bodies to men for want of anything else to give.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>Deschanel, Courtisanes, p. 195.

<sup>46</sup>Pelletan's views on women remained essentially unchanged two decades later. Writing in the Avenir des femmes of 3 June 1877 he reiterated the idea that women should be raised for the careers of wife and mother.

<sup>47</sup>Pelletan in Deschanel, op. cit., pp. 197-198.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. Prostitution in France rose with industrialization as factory labor for women returned increasingly low relative wages, forcing many young women into prostitution to make ends meet. A major work on prostitution, De la Prostitution dans la ville de Paris, was first authored by A.-J.-B. Parent-Duchâtelet in 1836 and expanded in 1857. Julie Daubié, the first Frenchwoman to receive the baccalaureat degree made similar points, with more biting feminist criticisms, in her doctoral thesis, La Femme pauvre au XIXe siècle (1866). Michelet's romantic solution to lower class prostitution was to remove women from factories and marry them off to husbands who brought home enough pay to support a legitimate family, La Femme (1859), Ch. II. Like Deschanel, Michelet wrote about women as a political exile, a fact which may have alerted him to female alienation in modern France.

The Church Fathers updated. Although his ecclesiastical station predisposed Félix Dupanloup of Orléans (v. Ch. II below) to cite Christian sources when discussing woman, he too felt compelled to comment on the gynecium. But he linked it to the harem to cover the full pagan scene in his indictment. Dupanloup felt that the two institutions might serve some social-control function in pagan societies, but were totally useless for the "femme chrétienne." For him they symbolized utter depravity of the human spirit.<sup>49</sup> Dupanloup was in many ways typical of those who published on women, who generally - be they pro-clerical or anticlerical - discussed female history in exceedingly simplistic terms. They tended to ignore the Roman experience, except as it touched on the family structure, until the Christian Era. From that time forward they chronicled female saints, talked of martyrdom, and presented women in a monotonously dualistic style: woman as saint (Mary) or sinner (Eve).<sup>50</sup> Within this formula some latitude existed - espe-

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<sup>49</sup>F. Dupanloup, Lettres sur l'éducation des filles et sur les études qui conviennent aux femmes dans le monde (Paris: Chas. Douniol, 1879), p. 114. Dupanloup had keynoted his Femmes savantes et femmes studieuses (1867) with a citation from Tennyson's "The Princess," penned in 1847: ". . .For women, up til this/ cramped under worse than South-Seas' Isle Taboo,/ Dwarfs of the gynecium." More favorable reference to the gynecium - as an alternative to liberated women - was given in the Correspondant of 25 December 1878, "Les femmes et le baccalauréat."

<sup>50</sup>A superb example of the "either-or" typology of woman may be found in Jean Darche's Feminiana: éducation, influence, caractères et devoirs des femmes, 4th ed. (Paris: Librairie de Ch. Blériot, 1874?), Bk. III, which lists fourteen categories of woman, among them: "la femme parfaite, la femme imparfaite; la femme pieuse, la femme impie; la femme douce, la femme colère; la femme dévote, la femme bigote; la bonne mère, la méchante mère."



cially for pre-conversion Gallic heroines, but even a "moderate" like Dupanloup succumbed to the either-or-interpretation of female nature.<sup>51</sup>

Work needs to be done on the relative views of women held by celibate and non-celibate populations to see if celibate bodies, priest-hoods in particular, have been more predisposed to misogyny than their non-celibate contemporaries. But undoubtedly one of the most destructive invocations of patristic misogyny was that given by Father C.A. Ozanam (older brother to the founder of the Society of Saint Vincent de Paul) in a series of public lectures published in 1870 as the Femme chretienne et la société moderne. Ozanam relied heavily on Saints Jerome and Chrysostom.<sup>52</sup>

In the twelfth lecture of the series, "L'Instruction qui doivent recevoir les jeunes filles: les cours publics," Ozanam lashed out at the remnants of Duruy's conférences. Reminding his audience that men were made for public, women for private or interior concerns, the good Father disavowed any intent to actually ban women from intellectual pursuits and then went on to second de Maistre's fatherly advice to a studious daughter: make your mission the creation of children, not literature or philosophy. Aspire to those careers, i.e. maternity and home-

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<sup>51</sup>V. below, Ch. II, "Dupanloup."

<sup>52</sup>Published in Paris: V. Palmé, 1870. Works by the Church Fathers were reissued with some regularity during the nineteenth century in France. E.g., the Oeuvres of St. John Chrysostom, translated by Jeannin Bar-le-Duc (Nantes: L. Guérin, 1866). Translation from the Latin or Greek made a work like this quite accessible to any literate layperson or priest. Works like Deschanel's "Le bien ou le mal qu'on a dit des femmes" furnished handy compendia to challenge - or uphold - patristic misogyny.

lectual work and even take a "certain part" (researcher, clerk, copy editor, ghost writer?) in it.<sup>53</sup>

Ozanam cited New Testament sources to remind his listeners that good women acted as "auxiliaries" to Saints Peter and Paul, visiting the sick and teaching religion at home to women, i.e. "personnes de leur sexe," thus sparing aspiring celibate men some degree of temptation! The women whom he cited for having "une sorte de passion" for learning were widows (e.g. Paula), their daughters (e.g. Eustochia), and virgins (e.e.g. Fabiola, Asella) who had banded together to embrace the monastic, celibate life. Ozanam, true to his patristic models, devoted much of his lecture to virginity, chastity and the related "virtue" of womanly silence.<sup>54</sup> He castigated Empress Eugénie of France for setting the dangerous precedent of accompanying her daughters to the Duruy courses. Ozanam ended his presentation by reading a letter from Pope Pius IX on the Dupanloup-Duruy controversy. Writing to a French bishop, the Holy Father stated that "la modestie du sexe le plus délicat" would be irreparably compromised by exposure to the University curriculum.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>C.A. Ozanam, Femme chrétienne, p. 116 . Ozanam praised Fénelon and Dupanloup for their strict advice on raising girls, p. 120. He also revealed a kinship to his republican opponents when he suggested educating women to understand and aid husbands' intellectual pursuits.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 129. Letter dated 25 November 1868 to Bishop Francis of Montpellier. Ozanam suggested his middle and upper class audience use their energies in the good work of Christianizing servants and ouvrières.

The advent of Christianity was interpreted by 19th-century French historians of education much as it was by their ecclesiastical compatriot, Dupanloup. Rousselot spoke for his colleagues when he claimed that Christian doctrine, by recognizing the co-equality of souls, immeasurably improved female social status by guaranteeing women qua Christians the respect of the Christian community.<sup>56</sup> But, Rousselot distinguished quite clearly between abstract theory and concrete social practice when he discussed the bleaker side of Patristic thought, i.e., Chrysostom and Origen's view of woman as carnal temptation, personification of sin and original sinner.

Rousselot criticized the premium placed by early Christians on virginity, noting that the celibate ideal demeaned wives and mothers.<sup>57</sup> Chrysostom and Paul were most stringently criticized, however, for their views on female education. Rousselot took issue with Chrysostom's allegation that Eve's only piece of advice to Adam was "catastrophic," and that women, therefore, should not be allowed to teach. And he took exception to the related idea (Paul in II Timothy) that neither should woman be taught, except in the home by their husbands.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Rousselot, I, pp. 9-20. V. also Dupanloup, Lettres, 8th Letter, "Les grands principes."

<sup>57</sup>Rousselot, Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., The full text of Chrysostom's "9th Homily on I Timothy 2:11-15," is available in F. Quéré-Jaulmes, La Femme: Les grands textes des Pères de l'Eglise, preface by Françoise Mallet-Joris (Paris: Editions du Centurion, 1968), pp. 178-184. This work contains no critical commentary on patristic misogyny, a fact which leads one to believe the Church Fathers judgments on women are sanctioned by the book's editors.



The French and female education. The Christian connection between salvation and learning, i.e. the study of Christian doctrine and its exegesis, as the main body of instruction for females, persisted from Jerome's day to Dupanloup's. Indeed, Rousselot demonstrated that with very few exceptions Church hegemony over female instruction characterized the French experience in particular. In addition to determining content for female instruction, the Catholic Church established a virtual monopoly on the site of that instruction. Up to and including the greater part of the 12th century, wrote Rousselot, the spirit, aim and procedure of feminine education was "exclusivement religieuse" and cloister-centered. The central image inspiring female instruction was, as Michelet noted, "l'imitation de la Vierge."<sup>59</sup>

Rousselot accounted for the single-mindedness of female education not only by its grounding in the celibate asceticism of the early Church fathers, but by the perpetuation in Christian doctrine of the Greco-Roman idea of woman as an essentially private person. Writing about the *Chanson de Roland* and its paucity of references to females, Rousselot reached the intriguing conclusion that despite the fact that Christian doctrine provided women with greater spiritual status than they may have enjoyed as Greeks or Romans, in social practice the Christian woman "ne compte pas encore comme être social."<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 36. Rousselot believes that Michelet did not exaggerate the influence of the Church on female instruction in the Gallo-Roman and Medieval eras. Instructed women were almost always of the aristocracy and received tutelage from a highly restricted book list. V. p. 17.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

Rousselot posited that Christian doctrine "separated" woman from man, thus freeing her from spiritual bondage. Yet the idea of separation, he went on, was "excessif et incomplet tout à la fois." For to it was added the Germanic ideal of woman as "extra-féminin. . . , étrange, presque un homme, et finalement. . . un homme inférieur." The Celtic ideal, to which Rousselot opposed the Germanic devolution, added the ideal of the secular lady sometime in the 12th century according to Rousselot. Rousselot described the new woman, or "dame" of the Troubadour as allied to the Marian ideal according to which "la femme non-seulement est l'égale de l'homme, mais lui devient supérieure."<sup>61</sup> During the high Middle Ages, believed Rousselot, the exalted tradition of Lady and Knight was debased with general manners as secular institutions supplanted ecclesiastical as arbiters of taste. At that point the great universities arose, an event of drastic consequence to female education. Monks deserted cloisters for the new scholarship. The level of instruction at female monasteries dropped with their exodus. Women were excluded from the universities and the penetration of their cloisters by the vernacular spelled the end to a female scholarly, i.e. Latin, tradition. An attempt, ca. 1307, by Pierre duBois, to reform female schooling by training a cadre of female religious to follow the Crusaders and peaceably complete the conversions their male compatriots had forced at sword-point, failed miserably.<sup>62</sup> Only with the mushrooming of religious orders

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., pp. 37-39.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 41-43. DuBois (ca. 1250 -?), scholar of the law and retainer to Phillipe-le-Bel, spoke of such a plan in a "Mémoire sur le recouvrement de la Terre Sainte," written before the death of Edouard I

during the Reformation and Post-Reformation eras, did duBois' idea find any fruition,<sup>63</sup> but it may be possible to trace the idea of women as saviors of a country (in this case God's kingdom through France) to DuBois' project.

Through the Renaissance and Reformation cultural rejuvenation in Europe was accompanied by the expansion of schools and universities, but the vast majority were designed to educate males who could pay their own way or were preparing for Church offices. Rudiments of instruction were available to urban French girls in the 14th and 15th centuries, but again, the price of instruction limited the clientele to aspiring bourgeois families or to children of the nobility.<sup>64</sup> Segregation of the sexes was universally enforced by the Catholic Church. Even when Martin Luther prompted Europeans to educate the bourgeoisie as well as the aristocracy, the question of female instruction continued to be ignored outside elementary catechism. Erasmus and Juan Vivès offered the only exceptions to the rule of omission which Rousselot, writing from a 19th-century vantage point, found "astonishing."<sup>65</sup>

Although the mainstream of Renaissance and Reformation intellectuals ignored female education, some few lesser-known thinkers wrote

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<sup>63</sup>V. especially the Ursulines, founded in 1606 by Anne de Xainctonge, and the religious trained at Port-Royal by the Arnauld family. Missionary activities were predominantly domestic, geared to combatting Protestantism, but later spread overseas.

<sup>64</sup>Rousselot, I, p. 294.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 113. Petrus Ramus disdain for instructing females beyond essentials of religion and domesticity was commonplace. Women were not banned from universities because they were not expected to attend.



expressly on that topic.<sup>66</sup> Jean Bouchet (late 15th c.-ca. 1557) and Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535) were representative of that small coterie. The unpopularity of their cause is evidenced by the fact that they wrote as defenders of female literacy and not as educational theorists. Bouchet, a Frenchman, composed a eulogy to a literate woman's husband, Le Panégyric du chevalier sans reproche (ca. 1557), and used it to justify female education as a safeguard of feminine virtue and an aid in childrearing. The more cosmopolitan Agrippa wrote a celebrated work - the Déclaration sur la noblesse et la précellence du sexe féminin (1529 - and dedicated it to Margaret of Austria. His arguments were echoed by Bouchet. Agrippa touched on the sanctity of the human spirit and the imperative to use God-given talents as well.<sup>67</sup>

Erasmus and Vivès<sup>68</sup> followed their predecessors in seeing study as a preservative against women's tendencies to stray from the straight and narrow path of Christian virginity and chastity. They added little except intellectual status to Bouchet's central thought:

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<sup>66</sup>The "invisibility" of female education as a topic is apparent from Fénelon's lack of familiarity with his predecessors. A century after Bouchet and Agrippa Fénelon could write that "nothing was so neglected as the education of girls," and omit reference to his two fellow writers. V. Gréard, Éducation et instruction, II, p. 91.

<sup>67</sup>Rousselot, I, pp. 108-113, discussed Bouchet and Agrippa in detail. Gabrielle de Bourgon, wife of Louis de la Trémoille, the "chevallier sans reproche," authored works herself on devotion. They were circulated at court.

<sup>68</sup>V. especially Erasmus' colloquium, "The Abbé and the Learned Woman," in Rousselot, I, pp. 129-157 and Vivès' Institution de la femme chrétienne, written for Mary Tudor. Loc. cit.

upper-class ladies, freed from manual labor by servants,

. . . doivent mieulx appliquer leurs esprits, et employer le temps à vacquer à bonnes et honnestes lettres, concernant choses morales qui induisent à vertus et bonnes moeurs, que à oysiveté, mère de tous vices, ou à dances, convis et banquets.

Bouchet reflected the contemporary academic scene when he advised that "curious" theological questions should be left to prelates, rectors and doctors of philosophy, i.e., to men. The ultimate aim of ladies' education was not, according to Bouchet, simply female morale improvement, but also proper childcare:

. . . les enfans nourris avec telles mères sont volontiers plus éloquens, mieulx parlans, plus saiges, et mieulx disans, que les (uns) nourriz avec les rustiques, parce qu'ils retiennent toujours des conditions de leurs mères ou nourrices.<sup>69</sup>

The chivalry of Bouchet and Agrippa notwithstanding, not all Renaissance and Early Modern women were content to sit back and let men fight their intellectual battles for them. Christine de Pisan (ca. 1364-ca.1430) was the first major female apologist for her sex's right to education. Like her 17-century successor, Anne-Marie Schurmann (1607-1678), Christine adopted France as her intellectual homeland.

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 109. The issue of maternal breastfeeding ("l'allaitement maternel") has frequently become entangled with all aspects of the woman question. Though it would seem to be a matter of health and hygien, it crops up in discussions of female "éducation," e.e.g., Rousseau and Bouchet. Rousselot interjected (pp. 116-120) a section on maternal nursing in his first volume, noting: "prèsque tous ces écrivains [Piccolomini, Roger Asham, Cardinal Sadolet et al.], et avec eux les moralistes et les publicistes dont nous avons déjà parlé, Charron, Bodin, Marnix. . . , ils reprennent après Favorinus et Plutarque la thèse de l'allaitement maternel." Feminists in the 19th century acknowledged the superiority of breast over artificial feeding but cautioned that development of artificial feeding was vital to lower-class women who worked outside the home.

It was from France that Christine de Pisan addressed herself as champion of women's education to Jean de Meung (Roman de la Rose, 1377).

Pisan anticipated later Enlightenment arguments against privilege and prejudice when she opposed misogyny with reason. Writing in the Cité des Dames (ca. 1400), she observed:

Je me merueille trop fort de l'opinion de/s/ aucuns hommes, qu'il ne vouldroient point que leurs filles, femmes ou parentes, aprenissent science, et leur/s/ moeurs en empireroient. Par ce peuz tu bien veoir que toutes opinions d'hommes ne sont pas fondées sur raison et que ceulx ont tort; car il ne doit mye être présumé que de sçavoir les sciences morales, et qui apprennent vertu, les moeurs doivent empirer, ains/i/ n'est point de doubte que ils anoblissent. Comme doncques est-il à penser que bonnes leçons et doctrines les peut empirer? Cette chose n'est pas à soustenir. Je ne dis mye que bon fust qu'aucune femme estudiaste es sciences de sorts et défendues [i.e. the occult], car pour néant ne les a pas l'Église ostées du commun usaige; mais que les femmes empirer de sçavoir du bien n'est pas à croire.<sup>70</sup>

Though the 17th century saw an increase in the dimensions of the debate on female education, no really new elements were added to the standard arguments for or against women's instruction. The element of reason, the need for females to be rational, did however take on new importance as women began to participate in French intellectual life through their sponsorship of salons.

Catherine de Vivonne (1588-1665), the Marquise de Rambouillet, was largely responsible for the development of the peculiarly feminine institution of préciosité, a phenomenon which Dorothy Anne Liot Backer has studied as a proto-feminist attempt to fashion a lifestyle within which women were able to be relatively free of male domination.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>Rousselot, I, p. 76.

<sup>71</sup>D.A.L. Backer, Precious Women (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1974)



Préciosité was essentially a secular phenomenon, but co-existed with mushrooming girls' convents and the founding of female teaching orders dedicated to instructing children in Christian doctrine, to nursing, and to good works.<sup>72</sup>

Although scholars remember practitioners of préciosité, the spectacular précieuses, primarily for their refinements of taste and language and their affectations of speech and dress, the salons they inhabited were the breeding ground for the Querelle des femmes (cf. footnote 1, above). The Querelle spilled over into Boileau, Racine and Molière's works as affectation and female pedantry were satirized. From there the terms "femme savante," and "bel esprit" spread into the vernacular as pejoratives along with the derogatory "précieuse."<sup>73</sup> They furnished men debating the Loi Camille Sée with a ready-made set of references for learned women, to which was added the relative latecomer, "bas-bleu" (Bluestocking) which became current in England in the last half of the 18th century. By the last quarter of the 19th century any one of these terms was employed only with extreme caution by defenders of female education, so great had become their pejorative burden.

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<sup>72</sup>See Howard C. Barnard, The French Tradition in Education: Ramus to Mme. Necker de Saussure (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press Reprint, 1970), Ch. II for the history of the French female teaching orders.

<sup>73</sup>Molière's "Précieuses ridicules" (1659) struck a damaging blow to préciosité. His satirizing of their excesses became in itself a cause célèbre and the play's opponents almost succeeded in preventing its staging. By the time his "Femmes savantes," which contained favor-

Fénelon, master pedagogue. The main thrust of the Querelle's anti-woman faction was not simply the question of female tutelage, but of allowing females entry into post-primary instruction. The century of Françoise d'Aubigné, Marquise de Maintenon (1635-1719), founder of the girls' convent school of Saint-Cyr (1686) and of Fénelon (1651-1715), the first major theorist of female education, generally offered upper class girls some opportunity for schooling. However, Fénelon clashed with his pupil the Marquise over the particulars of the female curriculum at Saint-Cyr and vigorously objected to its students' staging of Racine's "Esther" (1689) and "Athalie" (1691) on the grounds that the plays were dangerous to female morality and modesty. The Marquise fought Fénelon, but eventually followed his will and submitted to extensive revamping of the curriculum. Secular elements like the plays and contemporary literature were excised, to be replaced by more religious instruction and wider offerings in the domestic arts.<sup>74</sup> Fénelon remained the undisputed theorist of female pedagogy throughout the next two centuries. His seminal treatise, De l'Éducation des filles (1687) held stage center even after Rousseau developed Sophie as an alternate

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able as well as negative comments on female erudition, was staged (1672), the stereotype presented in the first play could be ridiculed with impunity. V. Backer, op. cit., pp. 259-263. The Grand Larousse de la langue française, Vol. 3, p. 1742, attributes initial pejorative use of "bel esprit" to La Bruyère (1645-1696), and notes that Rousseau later used the term to describe women who aspired to great learning, calling them the scourge of their husbands, children, friends, etc.

<sup>74</sup>For a detailed account of Fénelon's influence on pedagogy at Saint-Cyr, see Rousselot, II, pp. 3-16. Rousselot agrees with Fénelon that "pride" ran rampant at the school because of reception of the plays and notes that after 1693 the institution became regrettably monastic.

model for female behavior in the Émile (1762).

Rousselot was typical of his colleagues in turning to Fénelon as the major theorist of "feminine psychology," of - as Rousselot put it - "the delicate and profound" in the female soul.<sup>75</sup> Fénelon fell easily into the ranks of those interested in children as natural innocents,<sup>76</sup> if one discounts his multiple allusions to the natural depravity of female beings. He shared with Mme. de Maintenon a compassionate concern for the plight of upper-class women, who were raised haphazardly for their predetermined vocation as mothers. And, he was genuinely interested in the spiritual health of his charges. But, for all his positive attempts to ameliorate women's lives by upgrading their instruction, Fénelon must be placed in the mainstream of Judaeo-Christian misogyny. He echoed and refined the Aristotelian tradition, transmitted through Aquinas (1225-1274), that the relative physical strength of the sexes corresponded to like differences in

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<sup>75</sup>Rousselot, I, pp. 385-389. Rousselot, befitting his republican sympathies, was distressed by ecclesiastical cloistering of girls. But he endorsed Fénelon's pedagogy, as did Gréard and Compayré. The latter took issue with the wisdom of offering girls Latin, as did Fénelon, preferring to second Rollin's restriction of Latin to the instruction of nuns, virgins - spinsters - or widows.

<sup>76</sup>On the child as natural innocent, see Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood (New York: A.A. Knopf & Random House, 1962), pp. 118 ff. Ariès also treats the emergence of the idea that children must be taught to be reasonable, a concept possibly related in its application by teachers to women to the need to conform to sex-role expectations to secure one's personal future by a good marriage. Jane Abrey, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *AHR* 80:1, p. 45, notes that Mme. de Genlis urged "women's education be organized to prepare them for 'a monotonous and dependent life.'" Claire de Rémusat wrote essentially the same thing in 1821.



spiritual and moral aptitude.<sup>77</sup>

Fénelon's students and admirers learned from their mentor that female children were born defective. Fénelon wrote that at "birth they possess a violent desire to please."<sup>78</sup> As tots and little girls, he noted, females were correspondingly "artificial" in manner because they were naturally "feeble and timid." That is, only the strong - men - were naturally direct in thought, manner and action. The prime object of educating females, according to Fénelon, was then the minimization of natural female defects. Especially, the elimination of the "artificial" which tended to manifest itself in manipulating others, turning a weakness into unfair "advantage!"<sup>79</sup> The specific advantage of which Fénelon spoke was, of course, power over men, who supposedly possessed greater physical, moral and intellectual powers.<sup>80</sup> Solid

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<sup>77</sup>See, for example, Hippocrates' unflattering theories of male vs. female generative abilities in O'Faolain and Martines, pp. 118, 123-124 for the classical precedent. Aristotle likewise considered women defective and deemed the female state as a whole "deformed. . . on account of the female inability to concoct semen." He added that women were "passive" and men "active" agents in creation. Ibid., pp. 119-120. Aquinas argued against the semen theory but came out with the same judgment on women. Women were in his view passive but still important, as important as the field to the seed, in creation. He preferred to cite Genesis to prove female inferiority. V. Bulloughs, pp. 174-5. Michelet in La Femme held similar views, despite the fact that Leeuwenhoek had earlier established the complementary relationship between ovum and sperm.

<sup>78</sup>Rousselot, I., p. 396.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>80</sup>Fénelon in Rousselot, I, p.399. Rousselot also accepted the idea that female minds were inferior to male. Citing Malebranche (1638-1715), he wrote that: "Les femmes ont les fibres du cerveau infiniment délicates, comme les enfants." Rousselot concluded that women were born "ni pour la science, ni pour la philosophie, ni pour les grandes choses." Ibid., pp. 254-255.

intellectual sustenance, he hoped, would undercut female dissimulation by leading female curiosity and "constantly wandering imaginations" away from "vain and dangerous things."<sup>81</sup>

Apart from improving female honesty and morality by curbing what he considered excessively excitable imaginations in girls, Fénelon prescribed two practical goals as the chief ends of female education. The first was ecclesiastical: salvation of female souls, which like male, were "bought with the blood of Jesus Christ and destined to life eternal." The second was essentially identical to Molière's "pot-au-feu" argument:<sup>82</sup> earthly life would be improved by the production of women who would fulfill their duties to "regulate their houses, make their husbands happy and raise their children."<sup>83</sup> An added benefit to Catholicism would be the strengthening of orthodoxy by combatting the "too credulous" tendencies of females, tendencies, Fénelon feared, which predisposed women to accept heresies.<sup>84</sup>

The curriculum which Fénelon prescribed for girls underwrote his goals of salvation and domesticity. Reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, a smattering of law and religion head his subject list, with piety considered the over-arching concern. Some literature, carefully selected from classical translations, religious readings, and equally limited historical texts (to guard against females' credulity),

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<sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 389.

<sup>82</sup>From the "Femmes savantes," wherein Chrysale complained that his stomach would not be empty if women's heads were emptied of schooling, if the "pot-au-feu" were well tended. See Chapter V below.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 398.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 411.

plus enough Latin to understand the Mass, rounded out the intellectual gruel Fénelon served his female students as spiritual health food. A touch of music and painting were added as dessert, but the master added that exposure to the arts should be limited, lest sensuous passions be unbecomingly aroused in virgin breasts.<sup>85</sup>

Two hundred years after Fénelon's seminal treatise, Compayré, Gréard and Rousselot repeated his female curriculum with minor changes reflecting their increased secularization. It goes without saying that the domestic arts Fénelon included in his study plan were retained by his latter-day colleagues.<sup>86</sup> All three 19th-century pedagogues criticized Fénelon's plan as somewhat inadequate to the greater knowledge of their own time, although Rousselot was more industrious in amplifying the curriculum than his two colleagues. More a partisan of Enlightenment doctrines which elevated the individual to a hitherto unprecedented status, Rousselot criticized Fénelon for a sin of omission. The bishop, he said, instructed women in their duties as Christian wives and mothers, but he neglected their "personnalité distincte et indépendante de la qualité d'épouse et de mère."<sup>87</sup>

Rousselot here placed his finger on the feminist's raw nerve: the stereotyping of women according to biological and spousal roles. Yet,

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<sup>85</sup>Rousselot, I., p. 398.

<sup>86</sup>See Compayré, History of Pedagogy, pp. 174-241; Gréard, Éducation des femmes par les femmes, pp. 15-49; and Rousselot, I, pp. 384-341.

<sup>87</sup>Rousselot, I, p. 412.



he himself endorses what he theoretically criticizes by constantly reiterating in his own work that the prime consideration of both females and their educators should be preparation of all females for domesticity, a process he fears may be threatened by a "regrettable excess" of intellectual training in France of his own time. Rousselot concluded his Histoire by borrowing the encomium "femme instruite" from Dupanloup and defining their mutual model as:

. . . ce qu'on appelle la femme essentielle, celle qui entend le ménage et les affaires; la femme agréable, celle qui plaît dans le monde; la femme d'esprit, celle qui sait lire et causer.<sup>88</sup>

The French Revolution: "Plus ça change. . ." There had been little theoretical or institutional innovation in education since Fénelon which could have produced an alternate model for 19th century educators to follow when dealing with female schooling. For, although Jean-Jacques Rousseau revolutionized general educational theory by focussing so heavily on natural innocence in the case of Émile, he did nothing to specifically advance female pedagogy. In fact, the contrary seems to be the case. Rousseau reached into contemporary culture for prejudicial images, polished them a bit, and inculcated them into Sophie, the model female in Book V of the Émile.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>Rousselot, II, p. 439.

<sup>89</sup>Rousseau was roundly criticized for his attitudes toward women, even by those who embraced his general educational philosophy. See, for example, Claire de Rémusat's indictment of Rousseau for creating the "perfect" woman and then allowing her to dishonor Émile by lapsing into infidelity. The Essai, pp. 33-39. V. also Legouvé, Moral History, p. 21; and Gréard, Éducation et instruction, pp. 171-172 for similar criticism.

Rousseau paid lip service to Enlightenment theories of Natural Rights in the Émile, but he managed to endorse the double standard with no remorse and preached inequality of the sexes.<sup>90</sup> Rousseau paid rather less attention to women's mission as childbearer than did those later writers who were distressed by a shrinking birthrate. On balance, he paid more attention to producing docile, pleasing, dependent women than did other major theorists of education from Fénelon to Compayré.

The only major 18th-century intellectual who contributed significantly to discussions of female education was Condorcet. He, alone of the philosophes, could be allowed into the fold of feminism.<sup>91</sup> In her examination of feminism in the French Revolution, Jane Abrey notes the "almost total failure" of revolutionary feminism in face of overwhelming societal and political opposition.<sup>92</sup> Her observation is particularly appropriate to the history of female instruction. A stalwart group of women had joined Condorcet in calling for educational

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<sup>90</sup>Rousseau fits easily into the main body of the philosophes in this regard. Peter J. Miller proposes that Enlightenment theories of human perfectibility were applied imperfectly to womankind. Consequently, the philosophes reinforced prejudice by endorsing "restrictive" naturalistic theories for woman. They endorsed a double theory of Natural Law: one "nature" applied to men, another to women. "Nature, Education and the Natural Woman," Paed. His., 14:2 (1974), pp. 385-403.

<sup>91</sup>Jane Abrey, "Feminism in the French Revolution," AHR, 80:1 (February 1975), p. 44. Abrey notes that the vast majority of those involved in feminist and anti-feminist debates during the Revolutionary era have passed into obscurity exceedingly quickly. Rousselot disapproved of what he considered Condorcet's extremism.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

rights for females,<sup>93</sup> but their hopes were dashed to the ground when his plan for mixed primary and secondary schools was rejected.<sup>94</sup> In their stead Talleyrand's 1791 proposals were accepted for debate. The plan for primary schools which resulted, but was never put into effect, consigned women to "soins intérieurs."<sup>95</sup> Talleyrand admitted his proposition was prejudicial to women, but dismissed possible accusations of unfairness with the thought that it was good public policy, simple scruple, to ensure the greatest good for the greatest number by restricting women to the private sphere and denying them the vote as well as full instruction.<sup>96</sup>

The Loi Lakanal of 27 Brumaire, Year III (17 November 1794), which was set aside by Robespierre, mandated schools with separate sections for boys and girls be established for each town of 1,000 inhabitants. It was supplanted by the Loi Daunou of 3 Brumaire, Year IV (24 October 1795), which omitted any reference to girls! Lakanal managed to append a Rousseauian formula to the law as its last para-

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<sup>93</sup>Notably Mary Wollstonecraft, whose Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) made her an overnight celebrity and one Mme. Mouret, who spoke to the Assembly in 1790 on that issue. On Mouret and feminist agitation during the Revolution, see Abney, op. cit., p. 47 and in passim. For a complementary look at early French feminists, see Olwen Hufton, "Women in Revolution," Past and Present, No 53 (November 1971), pp. 90-108. Hufton notes that women could attend and occasionally participate in legislative discussions until they were banned from parliamentary meetings on 23 May, 1794, shortly after women's revolutionary clubs were disbanded.

<sup>94</sup>Rousselot, II, pp. 303-320.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., pp. 299-300.

<sup>96</sup>Rousselot, II, pp. 297-303 reproduces almost entirely the Talleyrand report, including Talleyrand's cutting indictment of women who would supposedly sabotage society by insisting on the rights granted men. He asked: "Autorisent-elles à déranger le plan général de la nature?"



graph read: "Les filles apprendront à lire, écrire, compter, les éléments de la morale républicaine; elles seront formées aux travaux manuels."<sup>97</sup>

Daunou's law succumbed in turn to political turmoil, and followed the Condorcet, Talleyrand and Lakanal propositions to the scrap pile of history. But, the Revolution had proclaimed the principle of freedom of instruction, according to which private schools could be opened for both sexes.<sup>98</sup> All that was required of prospective directors were certificates witnessing to their patriotic spirit ("civisme") and morality. Mme Jeanne Genest de Campan (1752-1822), an impoverished noblewoman, took advantage of the legal loophole implicit in the "freedom to learn" decree to open a private school (pensionnat) for girls on 28 July, 1794. Her Saint-Germain facility attracted two of Napoléon Bonaparte's nieces. They brought the school to his attention and he was so impressed with Campan that she was placed at the head of the school he founded at Écouen in 1808 to prepare daughters of dead or disabled légionnaires for careers in marriage. Mme. de Campan remained director of Écouen from 1808-1814. It and her private school in Saint-Germain became the models for lay schools for girls founded after 1795. Most pensionnats resembled convents. Students were usually boarders, although some day students were accepted.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 335.

<sup>98</sup>Decree of 2 December 1793.

<sup>99</sup>I.e., the schools were "internats." "Externats", or "externat" status applied to the institutions servicing day students or to the students relationship to the school. Both concepts were of utmost importance to the Loi Camille Sée debates. See Chapter V, below.

Internats and convents generally provided post-primary instruction geared to producing future wives and mothers to the more affluent classes. Campan emulated the Saint-Cyr curriculum, recommending that girls be taught until the age of 18 subjects like religion, domestic arts, French, history (highly censored), geography, reading aloud and mathematics. Although life in the pensionnats à la Campan was highly structured, teachers were enjoined to act as affectionate surrogate parents. Campan added one curricular innovation - competition for prizes - which became a prominent and controversial feature of girls' schools during the 19th century.<sup>100</sup>

Compayré noted that Campan once entertained the notion of pursuing a sterner intellectual curriculum for women, toying with the idea of "a university of sorts for women" similar to boys' lycées. She was, according to the same authority, dissuaded from such a project by none other than Napoléon.<sup>101</sup> Mme. de Campan did, however, recognize the right of all children to some degree of literacy. Thus she addressed herself to educating lower-class girls in a series of little tracts outlining the duties and responsibilities of those girls by the trade in which they were employed. Her advice ran as following:

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<sup>100</sup>V. Rousselot, II, pp. 338-359 on Campan. See also Ch. III below for conservative criticism of girls' academic competitions; and l'Avenir des femmes, 156 (5 August 1877), p. 135 for the opposite view.

<sup>101</sup>Compayré, History of Pedagogy, p. 486; Prost, p. 268, Document 60 note Napoléon's relationship to female education. Prost cites documentation substantiating Napoléon's misogyny, i.e. female education should be suited "to the weakness of their brains," and their social destiny of "wife and mother."

On peut, mes chers enfants, dans tous les états, s'attirer la bénédiction du ciel et mériter la considération du monde; mais, il faut, en prenant un état, se pénétrer de tous les devoirs qu'il impose. . .<sup>102</sup>

With these tracts in mind, Rousselot credited Mme. Campan with conceiving the ideal "femme moderne," a woman he described as being "in harmony" with the needs of the 19th century.<sup>103</sup>

If Mme. Campan was responsible for initiating the "modern woman" type, Claire de Rémusat, according to Rousselot, "understood" and "defined" modern woman's role and place in society:

Compagne de l'homme, elle existe cependant pour son propre compte; elle doit être au second rang, mais elle a un rang; elle n'est pas un reflet, elle est un individualité, à laquelle le demi-jour convient mieux que la pleine lumière, mais qui n'est pas faite pour les ténèbres.<sup>104</sup>

Rémusat's portrayal of women as figures in a bas-relief overshadowed by more fully-sculpted males, as it were, repeated centuries of predecessors in its message: the destiny of a woman is to be wife and mother. Rémusat added "mère d'un citoyen" as a qualifier and insisted that

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<sup>102</sup>Rousselot, II, p. 355.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., pp. 378-380. De Rémusat seems to have resigned herself to seconding Mme. de La Fayette's: "le caractère d'une femme est de n'avoir rien qui puisse marquer." The persistence of this ideal of womanly behavior in France is obvious from Lanson and Tuffrau's use of La Fayette's observation to keynote their analysis of her life and work. They refer to the sentiments it reveals as indicative of the "réserve exquise" and "jugement très sûr" possessed by her. G. Lanson, P. Tuffrau, Manuel illustré d'histoire de la Littérature française (Paris: Classiques Hachette, 1953), p. 227. Backer, Precious Women, p. 281, notes that the character of the author of the Princesse de Clèves "eludes us," a related observation. But La Fayette's production of a famous novel did "mark" her as a singularly outstanding participant in the literary life of her time. Her actions spoke louder than her words.



women lay some residual claim on existence for themselves.<sup>105</sup> She did, therefore, move beyond the minimal female pedagogy of her time and tacitly question the spirit of the Code Napoléon, whose central ruling on male-female relationships, Article 213, read: "Le mari doit protection à sa femme, la femme obéissance à son mari."<sup>106</sup> But Rémusat accepted the ideal of dependence immured in the Code's restrictive clauses as a social ideal. A few of her contemporaries and successors refused to follow suit. It was their more feminist actions and theories which completed the intellectual mise-en-scène of the Loi Camille Sée debates.

Although the term "feminism" was not coined until 1841, the phenomenon and theory were afoot in the preceeding decades. Both developed in the context of failures of the French Revolution and repressions of the Code Napoléon, and both were part and parcel of the evolution of socialism.<sup>107</sup> Charles Fourier (1772-1837), had as

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid., p. 280. Rémusat did so as a criticism of Rousseau, who excluded women entirely from public life.

<sup>106</sup>Alain Decaux, Histoire, II, pp. 609-699, dwells at length on the evolution and effects of the Code Napoléon. Briefly, the Code greatly restricted divorce [it was outlawed to all intents and purposes in 1816]; sealed female dependency on males by Article 213; forbid separate domiciles, excluded women from joint administration of common property; disallowed female administration of dowered goods; and forbid women to appear in court without their husbands' authorization, unless they were criminally charged. Women became legal minors under the Code. Feminists considered the Code Napoléon their bête noire, v. Ch. IV below.

<sup>107</sup>There were two socialist traditions, one theoretically pro-woman - i.e. that of Saint-Simon and certainly Fourier's; and the other-Proudhon's - misogynist. The latter enjoyed more currency with the French labor movement in respect to women, a fact bitterly noted by feminists involved in lower-class causes.

early as 1805, theorized that the status of women in a given society served as an accurate measure of that society's progress or decadence.<sup>108</sup> Fourier also believed in the liberating influence of human passions and urged demolition of the double sexual standard. The idea of the "femme libre," that ideological thorn in feminists' flesh, can be traced to Fourier's theory of passions as well as to his views on the rights of women to choose their own professions and to receive equal wages for equal work. The key to the success of Fourier's socialism was to be full implementation of the principle of organization. Riazanovsky notes a direct influence of Fourier on French education, which, in turn, ties him directly to feminists connected with the Droit des femmes.<sup>109</sup>

If Charles Fourier's theories of rational reorganization of society were the main building blocks of modern feminist thought in France, the chief architects of French feminism were Flora Tristan (1803-1844), the redoubtable and flamboyant pioneer labor organizer, and Henri de Saint-

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<sup>108</sup>For a thorough exposition of Fourier's teachings, see Nicholas V. Riazanovsky, The Teaching of Charles Fourier (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969). Riazanovsky doesn't give the date of this theory, but notes it was a major feature of Fourier's philosophy of social change. Evelyn Sullerot, Woman, Society and Change (N.Y: World Univ. Library, 1971), p. 14 gives the date "1805."

<sup>109</sup>Ibid., p. 210, citing J. Dautry, "Fourier et les questions d'éducation," Revue internationale de philosophie, 60 (1962), Riazanovsky notes that the first modern preschools in France were initiated by Elisa Lemonnier "and her friends of Fourierist inspiration." These were the écoles maternelles. Eugénie Niboyet, feminist publicist from the 1840's on wrote warmly on Lemonnier and her family, the Morellets, whose daughter associated with Lemonnier to found a professional school for girls. Mme. Jules Simon and Émile Deschanel were members of the same social circle.

Simon (1760-1825) and his followers, notably Prosper Enfantin.<sup>110</sup>

Tristan is noted mainly for her extraordinary insights into the relationship of women and the lower classes, whom she linked as a proletariat in her journal, l'Union ouvrière, which documented the rigors of the workers' lives and lay the basis for all-encompassing feminist ideology.<sup>111</sup> As a woman who almost died from an assassination attempt by her husband, she knew whereof she spoke when she inveighed against institutionalized male tyranny. As a member of the proletariat, gathering her copy firsthand, she spoke and wrote convincingly of the need for radical social reform.

Enfantin headed the shortlived communal experiment at Ménilmontant in Paris in 1832. The forty "brothers and sisters" in his experiment in life styles lived the doctrine of free love, outside the bonds of holy or civil matrimony. They so shocked their contemporaries that the epithet "femme libre" haunted feminists thereafter by equating female liberation with sexual promiscuity. Decaux disputes

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<sup>110</sup>On Saint-Simonism, Fourier and French feminism, see Decaux, op. cit., pp. 764-766. Decaux doesn't note that early French feminists were not as anti-clerical as their successors. Saint-Simon posited a Nouveau Christianisme in 1825, and feminists didn't openly challenge political institutions until the late 1840's. Thereafter they mirrored Left Republican sentiments in respect to the Catholic Church and went beyond their brothers in invective against institutionalized Catholicism.

<sup>111</sup>On Tristan, see Decaux, op. cit., pp. 770-773; and Tristan's own life story as chronicled in her Peregrinaciones de una paria, trans. notes by Emilia Romero. Intro. by Jorge Basadre (Lima: Edition cultura antártica S.A., 1946). Tristan set a precedent apparent in the relative recognition by middle and upper-class French feminists of the ties between women and economics. Her class analysis of social oppression predates Marx's.



Enfantin's claim that women were equal to men within Saint-Simonian communities, noting that no woman ever advanced to a position of leadership co-equal with a male.<sup>112</sup> Yet, if fact did not approximate theory within the Saint-Simonian fold, the contrast between the "free" status of women inside the movement and those living under the double standard and the Code without, attracted enough female converts and fellow travelers to considerable stir in a disapproving France in the 1830's and 1840's.

George Sand embodied the free spirit of this brand of Saint-Simonian radicalism. An underwriter of Tristan, refugee from marriage, and free spirit, she furnished her era with a real heroine, herself, and enough fictionnal personnae to give new and scandalous meaning to the term femme savante.<sup>113</sup> Sand died in 1876, but continued to inspire generations of feminists, both political and literary. Her image as an outrageous femme de lettres merged with memories of female political activists of 1848 (those women Honoré Daumier satirized with acid pen)

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<sup>112</sup>Decaux, pp. 765-766. Decaux makes the interesting observation that Fourierist feminists were more outspoken on issues related to women than their Saint-Simonian counterparts, a theory that S. Joan Moon upholds in her "Social Relationship and Sexual Liberation Among the Utopian Socialists," paper read at 3rd Berkshire Conference, June 1976. Perhaps the looser structure of Fourierist groups allowed less domination of women by men. Of Fourierist feminists Decaux writes: "Elles savent très exactement ce qu'elles veulent." He notes that they were particularly intent on achieving economic self-sufficiency, a trait shared with feminists on the Droit des femmes.

<sup>113</sup>E.g., Agathe Périer Audley's disapproving portrayal of Sand in her serial, "Frédéric Chopin" (Correspondant 1878), Ch. III below. The Droit des femmes, on the other hand, broke precedent and printed a picture of Sand with her obituary.

and the pétroleuses<sup>114</sup> of the Commune, to create a symbol of the female activist which horrified or inspired the onlooker, according to her/his social ideology. Sand was the very antithesis of the resigned woman proposed by Rémusat as a "realistic" object of female emulation. She was also the logical result of the self-education of which Claire de Rémusat wrote, and perhaps dreamed.

Two of George Sand's contemporaries, Ernest Legouvé (1807-1903) and Félix Dupanloup (1802-1879), addressed a significant part of their lives and work to sifting out ideal types of woman from the various models furnished them by tradition and their own times. They represented main currents of 19th-century thought on women and education. It is to their diagnoses of women's condition and to their personal perceptions of female destiny that most persons involved in dispute and legislation on women and their education turned for guidance on the eve of the Loi Camille Sée. It behooves us to do the same.

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<sup>114</sup>The pétroleuses were women who mounted the barricades during the Commune, fought "like men" and, like men, demanded rights. See, Édith Thomas, Les Pétroleuses: La Suite du temps (Paris: Éditions Galimard, 1963). They loomed large as examples of "free" women republicans in the minds of conservative politicians. V. Chapters III and IV below.

## CHAPTER TWO

## A MORALIST AND A BISHOP: ERNEST LEGOUVÉ AND FÉLIX DUPANLOUP

Comparative biographies. Ernest Legouvé (1807-1903) and Félix Dupanloup (1802-1878) served as sources of inspiration and authority figures for those who deliberated or sought to influence deliberations on the Loi Camille Sée in the late 1870's. Both men brought a lifetime of writing and rhetoric to the grist mills of public and political opinion on the eve of the debates.<sup>1</sup> Earlier in the century Dupanloup, as Bishop of Orléans (from 1849), and Legouvé, as author of the Histoire morale des femmes (1848), had shared in the honor of presenting female education to the general public as a matter worthy of serious discussion, both in its own right and in relation to broader topics such as the family, social welfare and the national future. The two publicists sustained their earlier interests in female education over the decades

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<sup>1</sup>Dupanloup's major work was his De l'Éducation (Paris: Chas. Douniol, 1850-66), of which Vol. II, "De l'Autorité et du respect dans l'éducation," is of particular importance to his views on women. Works specifically dealing with female education include: La Femme savante et la femme studieuse (1867); M. Duruy et l'éducation des filles (1868), first published in the Revue Catholique (Dec. 1867); and the retrospective Lettres sur l'éducation des filles et sur les études qui conviennent aux femmes dans le monde, published posthumously in Paris in 1879. Excerpts from these and other works on female education can be found in Dupanloup's Nouvelles Oeuvres choisies, Book III, "Controverse sur l'éducation des filles" (Paris: E. Plon et Cie, 1874); and Henri-Édouard Dutoit's Dupanloup: Les meilleurs textes, Part VIII, "Éducation des femmes" (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer & Cie, 1933).

A cross-section of Legouvé's thoughts on education, the family and woman may be obtained from perusal of his Histoire morale des femmes; his Les Pères et les enfants au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle (Paris: J. Hetzel et Cie, 18670; and his Soixante Ans de souvenirs (Paris: J. Hetzel et Cie, 1888). Legouvé produced innumerable plays, poems, homilies and speeches pertinent to the image of woman in 19th-century France, all of which remained true to the sexual ideology expositied in the Histoire morale.



spanning the Second Republic, the Second Empire and the early Third Republic.

During the mid-19th century the names "Dupanloup" and "Legouvé" became synonymous with discussions of education and the family, topics of vital interest to contemporary France. Both publicists were recognized for their work in education by election to the French Academy; Dupanloup in 1854 for his De l'Éducation, Legouvé the following year for the earlier Histoire morale des femmes and his historical dramas. Of the two men, Dupanloup enjoyed greater fame, both in his own time and after his death, a fact explained in part by his greater taste for controversy and his ecclesiastical career. Yet, despite Dupanloup's reknown, source material - with the exception of Christianne Marcilhacy's excellent monograph on his episcopal reign -<sup>2</sup> is partisan rather than scholarly. It reflects institutional affiliations of its Catholic authors to the detriment of objective inquiry.<sup>3</sup>

In contrast to Dupanloup, Ernest Legouvé's star declined rapidly after his death and both he and his works fell into general ob-

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<sup>2</sup>Christianne Marcilhacy, Le Diocèse d'Orléans sous l'épiscopat de Mgr. Dupanloup, 1849-1878. Sociologie religieuse et mentalités collectives (Paris: Plon, 1962). Marcilhacy's study offers little on Dupanloup's views of women, though it deals with the campaign to canonize Joan of Arc.

<sup>3</sup>See, for example, Eugène de Mirecourt's Mgr. Dupanloup (Paris: A. Favre, 1867); Emile Faguet's Mgr. Dupanloup (Paris: Hachette, 1914); Charles Émile de Vineau's Bishop Dupanloup's Philosophy of Education (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic Education Press, 1930); and Sister Mary Albert Lenaway's Principles of Education According to Bishop Dupanloup (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1949). No comparable body of work exists on Ernest Legouvé.

scurity by the First World War.<sup>4</sup> During his exceedingly long lifetime, however, Legouvé became known not only as author of the Histoire morale, but also as the creator or co-creator of a prodigious number of plays, poems and books. Most of the Legouvé opus deals with family life and is reminiscent of earlier morality plays, although some first works written in collaboration with other dramatists (for example, the play "Adrienne Lecouvreur" co-authored with playwright Eugène Scribe in 1849), had overtly political overtones.

Biographical material on Ernest Legouvé is available in standard pre-1914 reference works, but it generally lacks the flavor of commentary accorded him by his greatest admirers, persons associated with the French woman movement. Nor does standard reference material convey the impact Legouvé's work and public speeches had on partisans of female emancipation. Li Dzeh-Dzen, in her chapter on the Droit des Femmes, indicates the true dimensions of Legouvé's impact when she recalls that Léon Richer selected the Academician as a major contributor to the initial issue of the Droit.<sup>5</sup>

General reference works note Legouvé's work as not only author but public servant, citing his appointment as Director of Studies and

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<sup>4</sup>I am indebted for this observation to Karen Offen, "Patriarchal Feminism in 19th-century France: the Case of Ernest Legouvé," paper delivered at 3rd Berkshire Conference, Bryn Mawr, 1976. I do take issue with Ms. Offen's use of the term "patriarchal feminism" as a contradiction in terms.

<sup>5</sup>Li Dzeh-Dzen, La Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914 (Paris: Librairie L. Rodstein, 1934), p. 51. Hereafter cited as Presse féministe. In the years 1877-1880 articles or letters by Legouvé appeared in the Droit in issues No. 146 (Jan. 1877); No. 156 (Nov. 1877); and No. 161 (Apr. 1878).

Inspector General at Saint-Sèvres, a normal school established in 1881 to train teachers (institutrices) for the new female lycées. Scholars like Gabriel Compayré, Octave Gréard and Paul Rousselot cited Legouv  frequently. Rousselot, author of the comprehensive Histoire de l' ducation des femmes en France, named Legouv  as one of a trinity - with Jules Simon and Jules Ferry - of "apostles" of female instruction, and granted him just slightly lower status than what he accorded Dupanloup as theorist par excellence of female education.<sup>6</sup>

Both Legouv  and Dupanloup enjoyed notoriety as well as fame. Legouv  capitalized on his father Gabriel's reknown as author of the controversial poem Le M rite des femmes (1801). The M rite argued women's cause at a time when Napol onic misogyny set the tone for diminishing discussions of the woman question. It went through 40 editions in the 19th century, the vast majority within the first decade of its publication. Young Legouv  took pride in his father's achievements as a member of the Academy, but also felt the sting of criticism directed at the M rite as extravagant in its praise of women. Legouv  p re died in 1812, two years after Mme. Legouv , leaving Ernest a lean inheritance in addition to a dubious literary heritage and a mission: the vindication of the Legouv  name and the M rite. Reminiscing in his later years about his difficult childhood, Legouv   fils recalled that publication of his own Histoire morale des femmes and

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<sup>6</sup>Paul Rousselot, Histoire, II, p. 437. Despite his republican sympathies, Rousselot considered Dupanloup's appreciation of the "danger" of popular education greater than that of his republican peers. Rousselot promoted a strict religious education for women, stressing female duties.



and other writings on women were in part an act of filial piety, a "difficult work" in whose doing he was "upheld" by feeling himself the "son and heir" of Gabriel Legouv  .<sup>7</sup>

Like Legouv  , Dupanloup suffered from parental deprivation. The bastard son of a Savoyard woman, he never knew his father, although his mother followed local custom in giving him his father's surname.<sup>8</sup> Through sympathetic relatives, Dupanloup's mother found a position in Paris with a wealthy Catholic family and took her son to live in the capitol city when he was 7 years old. Young F  lix eventually found his way to the   cole Sainte-Barbe, a free Catholic school. There his intellectual talents were quickly recognized and, sponsored by interested priests and the Duc de Rohan, his mother's employer, the adolescent Dupanloup decided to enter the priesthood.

As a young priest F  lix Dupanloup distinguished himself while a teacher of catechism at the Madeleine in Paris (1826-1829). Thereafter he moved swiftly upward in the Church's administration, becoming Father

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<sup>7</sup>Ernest Legouv  , Souvenirs, p. 251 and Ch. IX, "Mon P  re," pp. 238-251. Legouv   may have sought to immortalize his father, too, in the theory that all the "revouvellements" of the 19th century were dwarfed by the changing parent-child, especially father-child, relationship from authoritarian to more tender parenting. Legouv   could also have been describing his own sense of loss of fathering. V. especially P  res et enfants, pp. 1, 171-211.

<sup>8</sup>Some dispute exists over Dupanloup's origins. Catholic sources skim over the question of his legitimacy and differ on who raised F  lix immediately after his birth. Faguet claims Dupanloup p  re was Fran  ois Dup  nloup, tailor and son of a singer at the Cathedral of Annecy. Fran  ois was, to quote Faguet, "un assez mauvais sujet." All sources agree that in 1809 Anne Dechosal moved with F  lix to Paris and into the employment of the illustrious Rohan-Chabot family. Anne later spurned a marriage offer from Fran  ois and took "Dupanloup" as her own name.

Superior of the École St. Nicholas du Chardonnet in 1837. The next year Dupanloup established his credentials as a spiritual advisor to the upper classes - where his clientele was predominantly female - by achieving the death-bed conversion of Talleyrand. By the 1840's Dupanloup was also becoming widely known for his criticisms of Voltaire and for his work with Montalembert, Ravignan and other Catholics on the liberalization of government attitudes toward Catholic participation in French education. Dupanloup's efforts in the latter cause were rewarded by passage of the Loi Falloux in 1850, the year after he was elevated to episcopal rank.

By mid-century Dupanloup's association with liberal Catholics had gained him access to the revised Correspondant (1849), a vehicle which he used to combat Louis Veuillot's more vitriolic Catholicism. Dupanloup made a grand entry into academia at the same time with the publication of his De l'Éducation and the essay, "La Haute éducation intellectuelle." During the Second Empire and the first decade of the Third Republic, the Bishop of Orléans was consistently first into the breach against secular education. Because of this opposition in 1867, Victor Duruy failed in his attempt to initiate secondary education for girls through state-sponsored conférences or public lectures.<sup>9</sup>

There is general consensus that Dupanloup's activities on behalf of Catholic education did as much or more than those of the less

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<sup>9</sup>For full treatment of the Duruy-Dupanloup controversy, see Sandra Horvath, "Victor Duruy and the Controversy over Secondary Education for Girls," French Historical Studies, 9:1 (1975), pp. 82-104.

influential Veuillot to deepen Church-State misunderstandings and hatred.<sup>10</sup> Dupanloup's career in the National Assembly - he was elected Deputy in 1871 and Senator in 1875 - carried his advocacy of Catholic interests into the National Assembly and direct opposition to equally adamant Republicans led by Jules Simon and Jules Ferry. Within the Assembly the moderating voice of Legouvé was muted, as the peaceable Academician declined requests to stand for election to the Senate in 1876. Thus, debates on female education took place against the backdrop of decades of gathering political storm centered on the general topic of Catholic vs. State control of instruction.

Given Dupanloup and Legouvé's prominence in political and educational circles in the 1870's their views on women are useful tools with which to define contemporary images of women. Dupanloup's direct connections to the National Assembly, coupled with his ecclesiastical position make his views on women vital to the study of the Loi Camille Sée debates. His death on the eve of the debates helped focus pro-clerical disputants' attentions on his particular contributions to the discussion at hand.<sup>11</sup>

The bulk of this chapter will be devoted to critical analysis of both publicists' major works on women and education. Definition of

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<sup>11</sup>See especially, the review of Dupanloup's Lettres sur l'éducation des filles, by the Comte de Champagny, Correspondant, 114 (25 March 1879), pp. 1112-1121; Senator Richemont's invocation of Dupanloup in the Senate on 20 November 1880; and Deputy Camille Sée's remarks of 20 January 1880. Death of their chief spokesman at such an inopportune time must have brought home to Catholic Loyalists the extremely precarious nature of their position. They could not hope that Ferry would yield to them as Duruy had yielded to Dupanloup.



their respective positions on female education will necessarily raise questions which go beyond simple description to treat substantive issues. For example, what judgments should be made of Dupanloup's and Legouvé's typologies of womankind? Are there any significant differences or similarities between these typologies? Does the quality of Legouvé's thought on woman merit Jenny d'Héricourt's lyrical description of the Histoire morale as a work from "whence exhales a perfume of purity and love which refreshes the heart and calms the xoul?"<sup>12</sup> Can Legouvé really be considered a feminist? Does Dupanloup's thought shed any light on the vehement anti-clericalism of 19th-century French feminists, a trait which was noticeable by its relative absence from contemporary American feminists' thought?<sup>13</sup>

Ernest Legouvé on woman. Legouvé initiated a long career as a teacher and public speaker by accepting an offer to lecture at the Collège de France in 1847. During the tumultuous spring of 1848 he

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<sup>12</sup>Jenny 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: Carleton, Publ., 1864), p. 154. Published first in Brussels, 1860 as La Femme affranchie etc., because of interdiction in France. D'Héricourt appealed directly to Napoléon III and the interdiction was lifted. D'Héricourt (1848-1914) was a major figure in the woman suffrage movement in France and the inspiration for Maria Basillevna Trubnikova. On d'Héricourt's contribution to Russia's woman movement in the 1860's see, Rochelle Goldberg Ruthchild's paper, "The Russian Women's Movement," paper read at 3rd Berkshire Conference (June 1976).

<sup>13</sup>Note especially, the close ties between the American women's movement and the Society of Friends; the career of Rev. Antoinette Blackwell Brown; and the loyal opposition of Elizabeth Cady Stanton in her 1898 Woman's Bible.

delivered the series of lectures on women that was published later that year as the Cours d'histoire morale des femmes. There is nothing in Legouv  's later works, be they plays, one-act dramas, public lectures, articles or monograph on the family and woman, that betrays an essential shift in his thoughts on the woman question. Legouv   took on the less flowery style of professional feminists like Richer and d'H  ricourt and shortened his prose to accomodate the press, but he always retained the stance of sympathetic advisor, looker-on and spiritual counselor when he dealt with others. Legouv   maintained his distance while sharing his prestige.

During the three months he lectured at the Coll  ge de France,<sup>14</sup> Legouv   furnished his young male students with a weltanschauung for their future wives. He impressed France's future leaders with the fact that the home was the primary teacher of morality, and noted that women as arbiters of the home were the nation's first teachers. Females, according to Legouv  , were to be raised as domestic missionaries to preach enlightened patriotism to their families once their own education provided them with the means to achieve a measure of civic equality with men. They would in the hoped-for future be able to teach John's dictum that we love one another as God loves us (I John 4:7) as "fraternit  ." Women would thus unify France, completing the great work begun in 1789,

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<sup>14</sup> Legouv   had Jules Michelet (1798-1874) as a colleague at the Coll  ge de France. Michelet's La Femme et la famille (1845) and, more importantly, La Femme (1859) can be profitably read as a contrast to the more liberal Histoire morale. Both, however, reveal a romanticized view of women. On both authors, see d'H  ricourt's imaginary dialogue, Woman's Philosophy, pp. 200-208.

once they attained civil emancipation and fully realized expression of the generic female self.<sup>15</sup> Legouv  's definition of what was "female" will be treated more fully below, but it is here appropriate to note that the paradigm fostered by Legouv   as domestic teacher-missionary too closely parallels Saint-Simonian and Fourierist theories of the female role in social reorganization to discount the influence of socialist thought on Legouv  's own work. M. le professeur Legouv   might rival at the femme libre and sternly remind his audiences that Saint-Just's "All who love each other are married,"<sup>16</sup> was missing the sanctifying element of Christian duty, but he shared the socialist vision of harmony between the sexes. Furthermore, Legouv   internalized the Saint-Simonian-Fourierist doctrines which S. Joan Moon has succinctly paraphrased as "domestication of the public sphere" and "socialization of the domestic sphere."<sup>17</sup>

In the preface to his Histoire morale, Legouv   protested vigorously that he did not subscribe to social revolution and disclaimed

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<sup>15</sup>Legouv  , Moral History, pp. 18-19.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., Ch. VII, "Free Love," pp. 208-211 discusses the femme libre at some length. Legouv  's earlier statement that the husband had the duty to teach the wife "liberty" was accompanied by the corollary that women could exercise a salutary influence over men only in marriage and that marriage was necessary to complete men. There was no place in his schemata for the unattached femme libre. He also, p. 19 op. cit., proposed that the femme libre was by definition slave to her own "body."

<sup>17</sup>S. Joan Moon, "Social Relationship and Sexual Liberation Among the Utopian Socialists," p. 3. Paper read at 3rd Berkshire Conference (June 1976). Moon notes the perpetuation of sex roles in utopian thought and practice.



any intent to threaten male life styles.<sup>18</sup> But his protests were ambivalent. On the one hand he called for female emancipation and on the other he upheld the existing patriarchal order. Examination of the interrelated disclaimers in the preface serves as a useful yardstick against which to measure Legouv  's image of woman and to evaluate his relationship to French feminism; for both the Histoire and the preface remain unchanged in later editions of the Histoire morale.

Legouv   opened the Histoire morale with the statement that his chief source of inspiration in designing the Coll  ge de France course was his firm belief in the "religion of the family." He hoped, he said, to reconstitute French society on the basis of families whose women had been upgraded by education to enjoy greater participation in family affairs and in the community at large. But, he begged men's pardon before spelling out his program, for he didn't wish to slight men as he defended the "rights and interests" of women.<sup>19</sup> Legouv   talked, he claimed, not so much of women's rights as of "men's duties."<sup>20</sup> The shift in gender from woman to man continued when Legouv   chanced to raise the question of women's mission, which he defined negatively. Woman was "not to depose man," but to "aspire to vacant places," and to represent female influences (again a vague term) in the community.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Legouv  , Moral History, pp. 13-14.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 25. On p. 26 Legouv   stated women's mission more positively as "missionaries of the word," the word being fraternit  .

Still, the course was on women, so between talk of men's duties and females' aspiring to "vacant places" Legouvé summed up his preface by restating his original demand for women's rights - with a twist. "The hour has come, " he wrote, "to demand for women their rights, and above all their duties."<sup>22</sup>

From women's rights to men's rights to men's duties to women's duties, "above all." Does this progression faithfully mirror Legouvé's conceptions of woman or that of the contemporaries he sought to mollify in the preface? The answer to this question as well as the evaluation of Legouvé's feminism lies in the text of the Histoire morale, and in later speeches and publications dealing with women and the family.

L'Histoire morale des femmes. Some remarks in Legouvé's preface indicate that the course and the book were intended for general consumption. For example, he expressed concern that some subject matter (gynecological, sexual, obstetrical) might verge on the "indelicate," a fear he allayed by noting that honorable intentions would permit broaching topics that otherwise might offend "modest" women.<sup>23</sup> In actuality very few "delicate" topics, i.e., sexuality in any form, were treated in the Histoire morale. The two major concerns of its author were the

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-15. Delicate and its variations were used to veil discussions of sex and sexual morality in the 19th century. Legouvé was particularly offended by suggestions that women participate in the sex education of their sons. Ibid., p. 245. Dupanloup carried fears of sexuality into fears of coeducation and argued that such would jeopardize respect for females. "M. Duruy et l'éducation des filles," p.1.

exposition of the condition of women in contemporary France and the examination of female roles, both actual and ideal. Elucidation of the condition of women entailed occasional digressions into female history (in Pre-Christian, Christian and Modern eras), and a more detailed examination of women's legal status and educational opportunities.<sup>24</sup>

Legouvé was particularly interested in present and future conditions for women, which he hoped to influence by a gradual elimination of existing prejudices and legal strictures (i.e. the Code Napoléon).<sup>25</sup> His reformist program was first outlined in 1848 in general terms, then restated more succinctly for the initial issue of the Droit des Femmes in 1869, when he advised women in France to set as their primary goals:

- 1- une série de majorités pour la femme qui l'initie peu à peu au gouvernement de ses affaires, et des affaires de la communauté;

and

- 2- la création d'un conseil de famille auquel la femme aurait droit d'en appeler contre l'impéritie, la tyrannie, la brutalité et parfois l'avarice d'un mari ou d'un père.<sup>26</sup>

As he approached his reforms in the Histoire morale Legouvé divided his work into five books. The first four recapitulated female growth from childhood to maturity. In keeping with his purpose of discussing female

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<sup>24</sup>V. especially pp. 20-22 of the Preface and Ch. I-IV of Book I.

<sup>25</sup>Legouvé's analysis of the Code Napoléon may well have inspired Léon Richer's "Programme du Droit des femmes." See Appendix II for the Program.

<sup>26</sup>Legouvé, Droit des Femmes (10 April 1869), p. 1, as cited in Presse féministe, p. 51.



roles. Legouv   entitled his sections in Book I, "Daughter," "In Love," "Wife," and "Mother." Chapter V of Book I, "Woman," was designed to summarize women's progress through history, a companion piece of sorts to recapitulation of female ontogeny.

Generally speaking, the different lifestage-roles received equal treatment in the first four parts, with one notable exception. Chapter II, "In Love," was granted a mere 14 pages, as opposed to the 6-80 pages granted the other four topics. Legouv   perceived adolescence as the period of emerging female sexuality and became bogged down in "In Love" in opposing the courtesan, whom he abhorred as much as the femme libre, to Dante's Beatrice. Caught between the Scylla of female sexuality run wild and the Charybdis of the unfulfilled young woman, Legouv   exited swiftly into Chapter III, where he reconciled flesh and spirit in Christian matrimony. "Inamorata" and "mistress" were both allowed their due in the young wife.<sup>27</sup> The most positive aspect of Legouv  's young girl's sexuality was that it precipitated her engagement and marriage. Interestingly, Legouv   first referred to his girl as "woman" when she pledged her troth, signaling her initiation of the rite de passage into wedlock.<sup>28</sup>

Legouv  's use of history was similar to Michelet's: both vindicated the triumph of "Libert  , Fraternit   and   galit  ." Legouv   expected his own century to witness the full flowering of the Revolution as eradi-

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<sup>27</sup>Legouv  , Moral History, p. 129.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 116

cation of restrictive clauses in the Code Napoléon freed women from undue bondage to men.<sup>29</sup> Enlightenment themes, faith in reason, natural law, were invoked by Legouvé in a key passage dedicated to female education (Chapter I):

The woman of our time still bear traces of the intellectual servitude to the past. . . but when once the potent breath of liberty shall have passed over the race, and quite regenerated it; when, the exception of today becoming the rule of tomorrow, science shall be the dower of some, instruction the portion of all, then daughters and wives, throwing off, without even knowing it, those displays of pedantry, which are but the airs of slaves become masters, and moving freely in the new ways as in their natural paths, will bring science to the support of their delicacy, and perha;s, lend the support of their delicacy to science.<sup>30</sup>

If Legouvé's stated aim in the Histoire was didactic, i.e., the exposition of female progress through history, and his stated desire was the reconstitution of society through female emancipation, his means to social reform was education. In that respect he was most certainly a man of his time and a republican.

It is not surprising, then, that the most significant section of the Histoire morale is Book I, wherein the development or morale education of girls is treated. Legouvé firmly agreed with Dupanloup that the bending of the twig determined the lifelong posture of the tree, and frequently interjected commentary to that effect during the

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 21-22.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 61. "Delicacy" in this context refers both to supposed female physical debility and ineffable spiritualism. The reference here to "slaves" and "masters" is a bit more cryptic. The passage may reflect Legouvé's penchant for dramatics - he was noted as a speaker - or it may have been designed to convey mastery of self, of knowledge, or of family and family members.

course of the Histoire lectures.<sup>31</sup> His continual projection forward of the implications of each facet of female education thus furnishes excellent raw material from which to fashion an image of woman. It also serves to explain the brevity of Chapter II. For, if all that is necessary to complete female preparation for maternity is the addition of reproductive capability to "éducation" and schooling, and if that capability is developed in a relatively brief puberty, there is no need to dwell at length on female adolescence.

Legouvé's theories of female education were developed in the context of what he termed the Law of Differences, a concept appropriated from popular culture and academic tradition hailing back to Xenophon. In essence Legouvé espoused the naturalistic double standard which Peter J. Miller discusses in "Nature, Education and the Natural Woman." Legouvé's version of the law was first proposed in the Histoire morale in Chapter III, "Education," of Book II and recapitulated at some length in the sexual typologies presented in Book II, Chapter V.<sup>32</sup> As promulgated to students at the Collège de France, the law read:

Just as two beings do not assimilate the same substances from the same articles of food, but seem to take from them only that which agrees with their respective constitutions, so the woman and the man will not profit in the same manner from a lesson. . .

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<sup>31</sup>See Dupanloup, Lettres, Part I, 8th Letter, "Les grands principes," and 12th Letter, "À une religieuse institutrice dans une bourgade." Legouvé's strongest statement about training girls in the ways they should go as women is found in Chapter II of Book I, pp. 57-58.

<sup>32</sup>Legouvé, Moral History, Book V, Ch. II, pp. 284-299. For example, Legouvé considered courage "external" in men, "internal" in women; women as sovereign over the heart and soul and possessed in love, men as superior in intelligence and possessors in love.



That the Law of Differences was itself based on traditional sex role stereotypes common in Greco-Christian dualism is evidenced by Legouv  's expansion of the idea that men and women are constitutionally incapable of deriving the same intellectual sustenance from identical studies:

. . . she will not learn from them [history and sciences] the same things; that which in his case will be converted into reason and strength will cultivate in hers sentiment and refinement.

Lest any lingering doubts be left as to the possible blurring of sex roles by female education, Legouv   restated his Law yet a third time: "Women," he taught, "will be so much the more women as they shall have been more masculinely educated."<sup>33</sup> No equal and opposite law was posited for men who might be "femininely" educated. Legouv  's rationalization of the Law of Differences left the way open for his endorsement of female lyc  es.

The mechanism used by Legouv   to expound his theories of education for women was a dialogue between the enlightened father of a pubescent girls and the backward conservatism of an aristocrat. Legouv  , as third party to the conversation, supposedly witnessed the conversation. The father's girl, or "Host" functioned, however, as Legouv  's personna, allowing him to expound without hesitation the theme of female emancipation he had gingerly raised at the beginning of the Coll  ge de France course. In the dialogue the aristocrat, or "Count," is cast as a disbelieving antagonist of female instruction. He is, predictably, converted

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 59.

to the Host's point of view. It is not difficult to see the Host-as-Legouv   projected forward as the father, if not the grandfather, of the Loi Camille S  e, for his ideas are mirrored quite faithfully in the project to which Camille S  e dedicated a great part of his own life.

Legouv   set the scene for confrontation between conservative and more liberal theories of female education, as did Rousseau in his Emile, on a country estate. There a friend is raising his children, among them a fourteen year old girl. Legouv   repairs to the estate one day, "preoccupied with the delicate question of the education of girls." He walks into the garden just as the girl "springs" into her father's presence to ask him a question about measuring the distance between Saturn and Uranus. The girl's mother, too embarrassed to admit ignorance of the calculation, has sent the child on an intellectual errand.

The Count, a "born enemy to every idea of reform," is astonished that his friend encourages the girl's interest in astronomy. He quickly learns, to his increasing distress, that the girl not only studies the stars ( a fact which conjures up visions of Moli  re's Femmes savantes) but she also eagerly devours texts on history, philosophy and chemistry! Not to mention Latin, at which she is so proficient - though still a beginner - that she understands the Mass perfectly. The Count is horrified by this last revelation and declares that Latin, with its "infinitives and supines" will deform "the most delicate work of nature," i.e, "womanly character." He asks, most serious-

ly, "Can a woman who knows Latin love?" To which the Host replies in essence, "Héloïse did." Legouvé ducks the implied sexuality of the Count's query, however, as he notes that Héloïse "wrote to Abélard only in Latin." The Count persists with his protestation that conjugal love, not conjugations, should be the primary goal of female instruction. He dismisses Mme. de Sévigné as a "writing mother."

Legouvé-as-Host posits that if women write it is better for them to base their works on knowledge rather than on imagination. He moralizes à la Fénelon that instruction is a cure for natural female defects of mind. Imagination, he notes while elaborating a dark corollary of the Law of Differences, is all-powerful when associated with natures "too strong and active" (i.e. male minds); but it is "fatal" when associated with natures too "fanciful and feeble" (i.e. female minds). Continuing this depressing thought, the father speaks, saying that an imagination gone wild could destroy his daughter, entering as she is on her teenage years, a period replete with "the lightnings of the stormy soul of women."<sup>34</sup> The father prefers to discover in his daughter the malleable "soul of daughters, of wives, and mothers.," and avoid making of her a woman who would appeal to a "man who dreams only of "pleasure and seduction." He reiterates Legouvé and Fénelon: "Because woman is a mobile creature, impressible, with qualities easy to turn to good or to evil, she needs as a counterpoise an earnest and solid education."<sup>35</sup>

Faced with this either-or image of woman the Count begins to

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid., pp. 56-57.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 58.



reconsider his stand on female education and asks just how much the Host is willing to allow women to study. His friend replies in a manner which allows him to permit differences among individual women but group all women as generically other than men in respect to intellectual capacity. Legouv   permits to women "all the sciences and all the arts" according to "the particular bent of each mind." The Count objects strenuously:

That is likening women to men, and disregarding the law of difference, which makes all the charm of life and all the opulence of nature. How can you believe that the same studies can be suitable for two beings so different? That delicate and graceful head, can it contain the same brain as this masculine forehead and bearded face? . . . One of two things is certain: either the young woman will not be benefitted by your education, or she will be; if she is not benefitted, she will be rendered stupid by it; if she is benefitted, she will cease to be herself, so that in either case she will perish.<sup>36</sup>

Then follows full exposition of the Law of Differences, introduced by the stirring declaration that education will cause women to be "born again," a statement which casts the father (Legouv  ) as midwife for generations of born-again Frenchwomen. Swept up by his own hyperbole, Legouv   continues, claiming that a woman needs all the sciences "in order to be a woman at all."

The particular science in point, chemistry, cements Legouv  's curriculum to the production of wives and mothers as follows. Health and beautiful linens demand a knowledge of chemistry, for bleaching and preserving the flavor of janes is applied chemistry. So, too, is the administration of antidotes to poison. Another science, geometry, posits

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<sup>36</sup>Legouv  , Moral History, pp. 58-59

Legouv  , provides a corrective to that "general defect" in women, i.e., lack of "force in logic and solidity in argument." Natural history, for its part, teaches the domestication of animals, an art "natural" to women, who are said to possess powers of observation of the concrete, practical minds, neatness, patience, gentleness, and an "instinct" for education of others. Medicine should be studied to produce a "nurse" for every home and a very few widows and single women to practice the unnamed specialities of obstetrics and gynecology.

To the Count's objection that teaching women sciences would produce pedants and "destroy" women, Legouv   replied that that point could not be demonstrated and asked the stirring question: "Is woman herself yet?" A lengthy exposition on the history of womankind as unfulfilled potential followed, leading into yet another case in point to prove the Law of Differences. This time the subject matter was astronomy, the contemplation of the infinite. A sister and brother were described gazing on a chart of the heavens for the very first time. Both contemplated the same material but reacted to it in totally different ways. The boy "wished to comprehend" the heavens, while the girl "could only feel." Explained Legouv  , faced with infinity the girl

. . . pale, with nostril quivering, and eyes filled with tears. . . arose in spite of herself and advanced towards the master, as fascinated by the very terror [of the infinite]. . . The lad looked for God; she saw Him.

Legouv   concludes from this scenario that women have the "pious mission" of being "apostles of reason and apostles of the heart." They will, in

short, inspire a nation of men to action.<sup>37</sup>

What Legouv   described in this passage approximates the mystical experience in which reason is transcended or transmuted into purely spiritual comprehension. He grasped at the union of reason and spirit in the female, a gesture which could be seen as an attempt to end the schism between body and soul which had epitomized Christian thought since the Early Christian Era. Yet, seen in another light, Legouv   entrusted the educated female with both exemplifying the unity he sought for France and teaching it to others. He continued the story of the girl who saw God by noting that the "peculiar genius of woman" suffused everything with "inspiration and sensibility." For women, he said, "every scientific study is one step nearer heaven." Thus to them fell the task of maintaining religious ideas by "arming their faith with reason."

In essence, Legouv   relegated women to a lifetime of   ducation, of forming civil souls and moral beings. This theme of the m  re   ducatrice dominates the remainder of the dialogue and develops into a defense of women's right to intellectual and domestic emancipation as a precondition to fulfillment of her "pious mission." The Count interjects one last protest with talk of women's rights. He anticipates the "pot-au-feu" arguments common in the Loi Camille S  e debates by asking who will watch the children and the kettle if women gaze at the stars.

At this juncture Legouv   steps into the dialogue in the first person, accusing the Count of "immolating the victim with a sacred brand."

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 63.



In the name of the home and the "venerable titles. . . of wife and mother" Legouvé declares that education of women is a social necessity and that it will not produce female astronomers and physicians, but instead "render their minds vigorous. . . and prepare them to participate in all the thoughts of their husbands and all the studies of their children." In short, female education would unify, not destroy the family by ordering the female mind according to reason rather than to the dictates of fashion and vanity.<sup>38</sup>

Legouvé anticipated arguments in the National Assembly against the pot-au-feu logic when he translated female schooling into healthier, happier homes and marital bliss. He also preceeded Sée and other proponents of female secondary education by arguing for public female tutelage as a matter of simple justice. Justification for development of the female mind had been previously expounded in terms of use of God-given potential and was not unique to Legouvé or to his era, but the lyrical formulation of the rights of females to education apparent in the following passage could only endear Legouvé to feminists.

Above the titles of wife and mother, titles transitory and accidental, which death forfeits, obscures, and suspends, which belong to some and do not belong to others, there is for woman one title, eternal and inalienable, which precedes and governs all the rest. It is that of HUMAN BEING.<sup>39</sup>

Nowhere else in the Histoire morale did Legouvé state as clearly the idea that women were first of all people and secondly females. But if the idea was not clearly articulated elsewhere it did pervade the work to a decent degree. The remainder of the work developed or reiterated

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<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., pp. 65-66.

in Book I. Much of Book III, which focusses on the young married woman, criticizes male tyranny and patriarchal theory.<sup>40</sup> The either-or approach apparent in so much of previous discussion of female education is continued in Book III as the disadvantages of wedding slave (female) to tyrant (male)<sup>41</sup> are juxtaposed to a more egalitarian relationship between spouses. Marriage is seen by Legouv   as yet another school of life, a "school for mutual improvement," in which woman is usually cast as teacher and man and children as students, all in the domestic environment.<sup>42</sup>

Books IV and V treat the maternity for which the girl is educated, although throughout the books Legouv  's use of the term "daughter" to refer to the grown woman reflects his general difficulty in clearly delineating the concept of "female" from the parenting situation. Evelyne Sullerot, in her Woman, Society and Change (1971) speaks to Legouv  's general problem of separating individuals in a sex group from the concept of social sex. She labels as "generic fallacy"

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<sup>40</sup>As Legouv   qualified his remarks on women's rights with remarks on men's duties and rights, so, too, he qualified remarks on inequities in the Code. Although he noted that it was patently unjust for women to bear the brunt of punishment for crimes of passion, he concluded that unchastity in a woman was more degrading than dishonesty in a man. In addition, he said that women's role in adultery was worse than man's, partially because women "believe and know themselves" to be more culpable.

<sup>41</sup>"Slave" in this context means one lowered by law and custom to a position of subservience, not a slave to physical passions.

<sup>42</sup>Legouv  , op. cit., p. 174. The husband, for his part, is to teach the wife "liberty," p. 191. This concept is restated with a feminist difference by Jenny Touzin in her exposition of greater male apprenticeship to freedom. V. Ch. IV, below.

the predisposition to treat men as individuals and women as part of an undifferentiated whole. Her thesis bears citation as it admirably describes Legouvé's own ambivalence toward women. Writes Sullerot,

Man is always seen and recognized as an ambivalent being, torn between freedom and conformity, between pleasure and morality, between his spiritual and his animal nature. Each individual is both Jekyll and Hyde; his impulses are diverse and often contradictory. On the other hand, it is womankind, and not the individual female, who is considered to be divided in two; wives and mothers are distinguished from goodtime girls so that both aspects of man's nature can be satisfied. In most countries each woman must be one or the other — and it is almost impossible to pass from the latter to the former category.<sup>43</sup>

Legouvé struggled in the Histoire morale to categorize women more humanely than did his contemporaries. But his results were mixed. For example, he could proclaim women first and foremost human beings and term the titles "wife and mother" transitory, but go on to promote the single title "mère de famille" as semi-divine, a "public and private" career, and to praise self-effacing devotion to the family and husband as woman's greatest merit, her "most beautiful destiny." He could on the one hand clamor for women to fully develop their own minds as girls, and on the other to subordinate the self to one man as women, allowing the self to disappear

. . . in a glory or a virtue of which she is the spirit, to shed blessings and conceal the benefactor, to learn that another might know, to think that another may speak, to seek for light that another may shine.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Evelyne Sullerot, Woman, Society and Change (New York: World University Press, 1971), p. 38.

<sup>44</sup>Legouvé, Morale History, pp. 301-304.



Legouvé was no trendsetter in this respect. He merely kept up with a large group of writers on women who engaged in similar stereotypical rhetoric.<sup>45</sup> Interestingly, no similar statement was made about the title "père de famille" although Legouvé did promote humanization of male parenting in his long lifetime.<sup>46</sup> He may have used himself as a model when he noted that men were more eager to see their daughters emancipated than their wives.<sup>47</sup>

Although Legouvé duplicated much of his previous sentiments on women and maternity in Book V, he also used that segment of his work to raise the question of female participation in public life, thus posing the problem of how to integrate women into extra-domestic activities. Legouvé posited, somewhat speciously, that the only theater for women's development in the past had been the family. Men, on the other hand, he saw as ruling outside the home throughout history, a fact that according to him demonstrated not female inferiority, but again "differences." Woman, he concluded, without offering a complementary masculine thesis, are "other than man." That "otherness" he explicated in a rather benign manner (he would have been shocked by the vehemence of Simone de Beauvoir on the same topic). Legouvé granted the sexes similarities in the nature

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<sup>45</sup>See, for example, Michelet in La Femme; Aimé Marin in his 1834 De l'Éducation des mères de famille; and Claire de Rémusat, in her Essai sur l'éducation des femmes.

<sup>46</sup>E.g., the Pères et enfants, pp. 171-211.

<sup>47</sup>The idea that fathers favor daughters' emancipation and husbands oppose their wives emancipation was voiced in the Moral History, p. 131; and in Avenir des Femmes (7 April 1878), p. 61.

of their immortal souls and relative (intra-sex) physical strengths and weaknesses.<sup>48</sup> But he developed the differences to the exclusion of basic similarities, reviving the Law of Differences to rebuke those who would try to emancipate women to be more like men.

The following elaboration of different manifestations of the same generic quality complements Legouv  's earlier exegesis of the idea that women assimilate different intellectual elements from tutelage than do men. In the weaker sex, argued Legouv  , Reason manifests itself as practicality, the ability to deal with day-to-day problems. While, on the other hand, in the stronger sex it manifests itself as speculation.<sup>49</sup> Women, he claims, are motivated by sentiment and "passion" (whether sexual or spiritual he does not declare); men, spared domination by passion because of a ruling rationality, are motivated by calculation and personal interest.<sup>50</sup> Men, therefore, are better able to deal with the "species," i.e., understand generalities and abstractions; whereas women being intuitive deal better with particulars, with individuals.<sup>51</sup> "Metaphysical systems, abstractions, generalizations and political ideas of country and equality" are, according to Legouv  , comprehended by women in their "hearts" but not their heads. The author of the Histoire morale cannot see his way clear to discussing woman suffrage or the politicization of women because of his polarization of mental-sex capacities. Like some later American suffragists, Legouv   could countenance sending women out to domesticate the public sphere and to maintain the ex-

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 285.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 286.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 288.

terior world, but not to tread paths which were convergent to those walked by men.<sup>52</sup>

The Law of Differences applied to temperaments as well as to intellects. Women's temperaments, according to the ironclad rulings of Nature à la Legouvé, were "unequal" because of a native deficit of synthetic powers of mind, a theory alluded to when the Host proposed education as a corrective to female imagination. The implication of this theory of temperament (or mind, or body) is that no "norm" for female behavior or morality can be derived from female behavior qua female except that of difference from males. Legouvé thus found himself echoing Proudhonian misogyny: "Women," he concluded, "are either much better or much worse than men."<sup>53</sup>

The relative superiority or inferiority of the sexes and the moral judgment it implied were the kernel of the morality explicated in the Histoire morale. Social application of such a morality was spelled out in Book IV, wherein Legouvé proclaimed that marriage made men and women generally equal by furnishing each strengths and qualities - or access thereto - inherent in sexual natures. His theory of complementarity approximated the Saint-Simonian formula paraphrased by Moon

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<sup>52</sup>Thus Legouvé promoted maternity as the female career and marriage as the best female profession.

<sup>53</sup>Moral History, p. 295. Legouvé made this statement in the course of a discussion on sexual dispositions, a discussion itself found within consideration of the theory that moral vigor in women flourished as did training of the will. Training of the will he believed possible only as the female imagination was curbed and directed to domestic application of knowledge.



as the socialization of the domestic sphere and the domestication of the social sphere. It also echoed the utopian idea that one woman plus one man equaled one social individual, a romanticized version of love's healing powers at the most and probably at the least, an adjustment of theory to the facts of female dependency in post-Napoleonic France. This pre-1950 version of togetherness served for Legouvé as a partial rationale for censoring married women working for wages outside the home. Only "incomplete" women, single women, widows, divorcees, were accepted as wage-laborers outside the home by the author of the Histoire morale.<sup>54</sup>

Legouvé's early domestic emphasis was continued undiminished in his later works. In the 1876 one-act morality play "Autour d'un berceau," Ernest Legouvé drew his audience's attentions to bear on the overwrought imagination of a young wife, without, it is interesting to note, speculating on how education might be employed to correct his star's shortcomings. The play revolved around a fake love letter written by the wife's (Marie) husband to expose his spouse's jealousy and give her an object lesson in wifely trust.

In "Autour d'un berceau," Marie is presented as child-like, ethereal, mercurial being, totally preoccupied with tending her son and anticipating her husband's needs. The child is the silent star of the picture. Called "monsieur" by a doting and anxious mother, he is a good example both of the respect Legouvé promoted for children and the era's preference for sons. Legouvé presents the male child as the

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<sup>54</sup>Moral History, pp. 310-311.

more desirable of the two sexes. He has Marie note that she always envisioned the child she carried as a boy. Marie voices too the sentiment that women are "incomplete" without children as she solemnly declames to "Monsieur le bébé," "Je ne sais comment font les femmes qui n'ont pas d'enfants."<sup>55</sup> The play ends as Marie beguilingly seeks her husband's forgiveness for her unfounded jealousy at the child's cribside.

Legouvé did occasionally use the morality play format to present the question of women's inferior condition to academia and to the general public,<sup>56</sup> but he continued throughout his life to sustain the major tenet of the Histoire morale: women belong to and in the home. Correlative changes sought by Legouvé - expanded rights for women within marriage - were designed to shore up the family by upgrading woman as its chief architect and maintainer. He envisioned no changes in the male breadwinner role, although he strongly urged men to demonstrate more open affection - especially toward sons - to family

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<sup>55</sup> Legouvé, "Autour d'un berceau," from Théâtre de Campagne, 6th edition (Paris: ?, 1877), p. 154. Title and setting probably taken from Michelet. V. Eugénie Pierre, Part IV of "L'Institutrice," Droit des Femmes (2 March, 1879), citing Michelet: "Il y a des spectateurs autour d'un berceau, et cependant la scène est solitaire, tout entr'elle et lui." Legouvé hoped to cut down on parental abuse of authority by use of titles for children. In Pères et enfants, "Messieurs les enfants," he revealed more respect for the male than the female child. Were his title truly democratic, he would have written, "Mesdames et messieurs les enfants." The term "mademoiselle" was used for girls.

<sup>56</sup> E.g., the play "Ma Fille et mon bien," in the Théâtre de Campagne. An abbreviated version of the play, "À propos d'une dot," was read to the French Academy, no date given. V. Théâtre, p. 57.

members. Though he never really articulated it, Legouv   did grope toward the feminist doctrine of humanizing both sexes by encouraging the development of characteristics in each thought - even by Legouv   - to be exclusive to the other's nature (reason in men, affections in women). Yet, he was so uncomfortable dwelling on intra-species similarities that he routinely fell back on the Law of Differences.

Legouv   as a pseudofeminist. Legouv  's traditionalistic adherence to the Law of Differences opened him to serious criticism by more radical theorists of female emancipation. For example, Caroline de Barrau, an outspoken feminist, educational theorist, and director of the Society for Released Female Prisoners of St. Lazare, called Legouv  's thesis ~~that~~ similar education of the sexes would result in dissimilar learning patterns, "purement gratuite,"<sup>57</sup> Speaking to issues raised by Legouv   in a public speech ("Les Filles   la maison) delivered in 1869, de Barrau argued that he, F  nelon, Dupanloup and others, spoke too much of women's duties and too little, if at all, of their rights. She saw the Law of Differences as part of the pattern of female subordination within both the home and society. Wrote de Barrau: "Il faut renoncer absolument   f  miniser pour la femme la nour-

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<sup>57</sup> Caroline de Barrau, La Femme et l' ducation (Paris: Librairie Jo  l Cherbuliez, 1870), pp. 23-24. De Barrau's comments were mirrored in the later judgments of Th  odore Joran, an anti-feminist. Joran termed Legouv  's ideas on women "reasonable," and reminded his female admirer's that Legouv  's vision of women did not admit them "limitless possibilities." Joran, Les F  ministes avant le f  minisme, 2nd series (Paris: G. Beauchesne et ses fils, 1935), p. 173. Joran spoke to the Academy of Moral Sciences against woman suffrage in 1913. Ibid., p. 162. De Barrau refers to Legouv  's talk at Marcy in 1869 in the above-cited passage.



riture intellectuelle qu'elle doit s'assimilier; la science n'a pas de sexe. . ."<sup>58</sup>

Beyond Legouv  's version of complementarity of the sexes within the home, de Barrau saw a "profound immorality" of prostituted individuals. Sex, she said, was swapped by women for financial security within marriage. Under the Law of Differences, women were unjustly denied access to development of their individual talents. De Barrau did not share d'H  ricourt's unqualified endorsement of Legouv   as a defender of women's rights. He was, she allowed, an "eminent professor," to whom "women were otherwise indebted."<sup>59</sup> But, she could not forgive him for promulgating the Law of Differences as an antidote to the Code Napol  on. Nor could she square her ideas of wholeness of life with Legouv  's theories of the eternally parallel lives of the sexes, lives which converged in the home alone, but even there rarely partook of true equality. De Barrau's critique of Legouv   is feminist and according to her critique Legouv   cannot be considered a real feminist. His theories of social justice and legal capacity suggest he might fit the category of "pseudo-feminist." His belief in the equality of souls gives some basis for placing him on a feminist spectrum. But his trans-

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<sup>58</sup>De Barrau, p. 28.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26. De Barrau's views on the state of marriage in France were most likely the reason for Rousselot's labeling her stand on female emancipation "vulgar," though he complimented J. S. Mill's identical arguments for the "vigorous intellect" therein displayed. Rousselot, II, pp. 435-436. As might be expected, de Barrau was very concerned with the lack of wage-labor opportunities for women. On this, see her "  tude sur le travail f  minin    Paris," a memoir written for the economic section of the Geneva Congress of September 1877.

lation of dualist theories of human nature into social sex roles aligns him with anti-feminists. Legouvé's impulses were humanistic, for he was motivated by a love for humankind. But his social theories were tarnished by the misogynist tradition which defines woman as "other," a view he did little to revise.

Still another facet of Legouvé's thought separated him from the mainstream of French feminism. He was not alienated from religion. There is little or no outward anti-Catholicism in Legouvé's works: he simply clothes religious sentiments in republican garb. Similarly, there is little or no anti-clericalism in his opus, a fact which, along with his personal tradition of apoliticism, accounts for his being left unscathed by critics of secular education. Legouvé's praise of religion is so broad that he could be called a Deist, but by the same token, he cannot be considered anti-Catholic. His broad appeal in his own lifetime may be explained by just these factors plus his benign paternalism. Legouvé was a staunch enough republican to strike a resonant chord in the breasts of those who worshipped the ideals of 1789; but enough, too, of a Christian moralist to gain an audience with those whose religious ties defined their socio-political loyalties. He was enough of an advocate of women's rights to catch the attentions and spark the imaginations of women, but enough of a traditionalist to be acceptable to traditionalists of either sex. Legouvé questioned his society's norms, but did not challenge them.

Félix Dupanloup on woman. Despite his death in October 1878, Félix Dupanloup, Bishop of Orléans, Academician and politician, was a living presence during the debates on the Loi Camille Sée. His works

and his political activity (the two were inseparable) are an important primary source for historians of women's image in Third Republic France. Dupanloup is of particular interest to historians of women because of his long career as spiritual director to upper-class Catholic women. There is a bias in his works similar to that in Legouvé's opus: Dupanloup generally ignored lower-class women, although he occasionally expressed strong views on the need for their limited primary and domestic education.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps even more than Legouvé, Dupanloup approached women generically, an approach quite apparent in his admonitions to the director of a pensionnat:

Ne l'oubliez pas, mon enfant, la mère en élevant ses filles ne travaille seulement pour elles; elle fait plus, elle prépare des mères futures qui, à leur tour, perpétueront de génération en génération, la bonne et forte éducation qu'elles auront recue . . . La vocation commune des femmes, . . . est de devenir des mères et des nourrices robustes. . .<sup>61</sup>

If Dupanloup's avocation of spiritual advisor afforded him easy access to upper-class women, his vocation of educator furnished him with a unique perspective on their problems and his priestly vows impelled him to ease their spiritual torment. The women he was most likely to counsel were deprived of formal opportunities for study and locked by custom into the roles of producer of heirs (male), socialite

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<sup>60</sup> E.g., Dupanloup, Lettres, Part I, 12th Letter, "À une religieuse institutrice dans une bourgogne. Des familles populaires."

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., Part II, 8th Letter, "À la directrice d'un pensionnat. Les soins physiques et hygiénique dans l'éducation des jeunes filles," p. 436. In this letter Dupanloup makes much of the supposedly delicate nature of women, referring to members of the female sex, without exception, as "frêles organisations."



and lady bountiful, roles portrayed frequently in the Correspondant.<sup>62</sup> Dupanloup's works mention many more female than male correspondants, especially outside religious professionals. The confidence displayed by his correspondantes in Dupanloup's counseling abilities seems to be merited, at least within the given framework of the Catholic aristocracy. Dupanloup's works reveal occasional extraordinary flashes of insight into women's spiritual problems qua women. His insights at their best fall just short of describing what Betty Friedan has labelled "the problem that has no name," and explained as female alienation from self.<sup>63</sup>

The personal correspondence Dupanloup used as his raison d'être for the Lettres sur l'éducation des filles (1879), poignantly illustrates the needs he filled for his female correspondents and attests to a sincere desire on his part to meet those needs. In an anonymous letter from a Roman woman, dated 1867, the year of the Duruy-Dupanloup controversy, a young matron poured out long-suppressed frustrations. She referred to herself as an "âme glessée" who had been emboldened by Dupanloup's earlier work in the Correspondant<sup>64</sup> to write him concerning

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<sup>62</sup>V. below, Chapter III.

<sup>63</sup>Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique, first published 1963 (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1964), p. 27. Friedan further defines the problem as the voice within women, especially those with access to education beyond high school, which says: "I want something more than my husband and my children and my home."

<sup>64</sup>For example, "Les Femmes savantes et les femmes studieuses," Vol. 70 (April 1867), pp. 745-797; and "Le Mariage chrétien," Vol. 71 (May 1867), pp. 258-261. Dupanloup also wrote widely on aid to the destitute, championing the Irish in particular.

her "réelles et vives souffrances."<sup>65</sup> The Roman woman further identified herself as but one of many "studious women" whose souls had been touched to the very quick by Dupanloup's treatment of "brûlantes questions." She suggested that even Dupanloup didn't realize how much power he had to "vibrer certaines âmes," that is, to quicken the souls of women. The Roman suppliant reached the height of her anguished crescendo of frustrations when she cried:

Il faut être femme, avoit souffert et souffrir encore cette horrible compression intellectuelle dont on nous écrase, pour avoir, dans toute sa plénitude, l'intelligence des misères morales, dont vous n'avez eu, Monseigneur, au'une lointaine intuition.<sup>66</sup>

Having thus humbled the good Bishop in the face of the enormity of his ignorance of the woman problem, the writer generously credited Dupanloup with understanding the frustrations of enforced domesticity. But she went on to plead the inadequacy of traditional Catholic palliatives, palliatives which Dupanloup subscribed to, of prayer and good works, to effect a state of spiritual well-being in women. She wrote:

Vous avez compris que ni les charges d'une maison, ni les caresses des enfants, ni l'amour d'un mari, ni même parfois la prière, trop imparfaite souvent, et les bonnes oeuvres, trop rares ne pouvaient apaiser cette soif de l'âme, qui veut trouver quelque chose de plus grand qu'elle même, pour s'y élever par l'effort et le travail. . .<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>65</sup>Dupanloup, Lettres, p. 16. This story is accompanied by a companion letter from a young American woman, who draws a parallel between Dupanloup's many anti-slavery publications and his defense of female rights to education, referring to his work in the Correspondant.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18. This passage calls to mind Emma Goldman's dictum that women's emancipation "begins in woman's soul." V. Goldman, Traffic in Women (New York: Times Change Press, 1970), p. 15.

Hinging at the price she and others paid for suppression of their intellects, the Roman correspondent continued:

Vous avez compris que le fleuve détourne ainsi de son cours naturel, peut en débordant causer de sinistres ravages, et ces mêmes aspirations si pures et élevées, ne tourvant pas leurs voies, entraîner l'âme à sa perte.<sup>68</sup>

Dupanloup was next asked a question which he and the vast majority of his fellow educators never answered to feminists' satisfaction:

N y-a-t-il donc aucun remède efficace à ces souffrances morales, ni contre ce préjugé qui exclut la femme de tout travail intellectuel, et la laisse s'épuiser seule dans de stériles et impuissants désirs?<sup>69</sup>

Dupanloup's answer to his suppliant's question, his reply to her summary of her studies as a "cause presque désespérée,"<sup>70</sup> was to compile and edit the Lettres sur l'éducation des filles in the last year of his life. The Lettres furnish scholars with a uniquely personalized retrospective view of Dupanloup's life as priest-educator. Their personal aspect, the one-to-one confessional tone which predominates all, results in the projection of an extremely coherent, though multi-faceted, image of woman. This image in turn serves to summarize and pull together previous treatments of women by Dupanloup, treatments which were submerged in general works on education (De l'Éducation) or

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<sup>68</sup>Lettres, p. 18. The sexual misconduct and promiscuity hinted at in this passage and the real problems of repression of sexuality and mind herein alluded to are treated by Phyllis Chesler, Women and Madness (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972), pp. 91-96. Chesler notes that Freud, Reich and Lang described the price women pay for repression of native talents, but did not detect sex-role stereotyping as a major contributor to the psychic toll of repression. Similar remarks could be made about Dupanloup.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>70</sup>Idem.



highly politicized (Femmes savantes, "M. Duruy et l'éducation des filles").

The Lettres also underscore the consistency of Dupanloup's thought and the total integration of his views on women with his interpretation of his role as an ecclesiastic. No part of Dupanloup's thought, be it social, religious, educational, or political, is intelligible outside the Catholic tradition of Christian patriarchy. That tradition predicated social, spiritual and political stability on respect for authority. Authority in turn emanated from God the Father to the Holy Father in Rome, was transmitted from the Holy See to lesser "fathers" within the Church hierarchy, and from thence according to a secular order of correspondence to all males, especially to heads of state and to fathers of families. The keystone of Dupanloup's educational theory was, then, paternal authority in all its manifestations. The cornerstones of paternal authority were respect and obedience.<sup>71</sup> The goal of education was to instill respect and obedience in all persons.

Within the patriarchal schemata for world order Dupanloup displayed considerable sophistication of thought when acting as an educator of females. He internalized the concept of equality of all souls and argued, as had Christine de Pisan, that all gifts of God, among

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<sup>71</sup>Dupanloup's patriarchal philosophy of education is best expounded in De l'Éducation, Vol. II, De l'Autorité et du respect dans l'éducation, pp. 106-150, in which he applies patriarchal theories to familial relations. Pp. 106-107 contain descriptions of the authoritarian father's ideal behavior. For contrast with Legouvé's more loving male parent model, see Legouvé, Nos Filles et nos fils, p. 67, in which God is depicted as the ideal, loving "bon père de famille." For a mirror image of Dupanloup's male parent model, see Abbé Houssaye, "La Femme chrétienne," Correspondant (Feb. 1880), pp. 610-633.

which figured intellect, ought to be cultivated as Christian duty.

Oui, c'est pour les femmes un devoir d'étudier et de s'instruire; et le travail intellectuel doit avoir sa place réserver parmi les occupations qui leur son properes et parmi leurs obligations, dans le mesure où elles en ont la possibilité et l'aptitude.<sup>72</sup>

More significantly, Dupanloup diagnosed important aspects of the suffocating "écrasement" of mind to which women were subjected in his day.

Dupanloup's analysis of women's intellectual condition. Félix Dupanloup inveighed against Count Joseph de Maistre for treating women as beings set on earthy only to please men. He protested that to treat women as fascinating creatures to be adored and frivolously used by men was to treat them as though God had no greater goals for one half the human race, as though, in Dupanloup's own words, women had neither "souls, wants, faculties, aspirations, in one word, rights as well as duties." Dupanloup, the celibate, went further and declared Christian woman was created first for God, next for herself and her own soul, and lastly for her husband and children.<sup>73</sup> He objected strenuously to what he termed "absorption excessive de la personnalité de la femme dans son époux," noting that such a spousal relationship was, perhaps, necessary in pagan societies, but useless in lands where Christian doctrines of marriage applied.<sup>74</sup>

If Dupanloup relegated the gynecium and harem to the past, he

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<sup>72</sup>Dupanloup, Lettres, pp. 107-108.

<sup>73</sup>Dupanloup, Studious Women, pp. 20-21 and 133; Lettres, p. 112.

<sup>74</sup>Dupanloup, Lettres, pp. 144 f.

detected some elements of barbarian behavior in contemporary males. Those men who wished to "conserver leur supériorité à bon marché," he considered lazy<sup>75</sup> at best and tyrannical at worst.<sup>76</sup> The Bishop of Orléans was quick to lay the blame for continued suppression of female potential at the doorstep of prejudice. The term "prejudice" occurs frequently in his writings in close juxtaposition to descriptions of the effects of prejudice, effects which Dupanloup catalogued variously as "étouffement," "mutilation," and "repression."<sup>77</sup>

However, lingering barbarisms and prejudice were not sufficient, according to Dupanloup, to totally account for contemporary prejudices against female education. To his mind secularization of French society, starting with degenerate court life in the 18th century, more adequately explained prejudice "against the intellectual elevation of women."<sup>78</sup> Dupanloup's antipathy toward secularization - or more accurately toward decreased ecclesiastical influence - found full expression in his opposition to the University, especially to the Duruy proposition to afford girls some state-sponsored secondary instruction (1867). During the Duruy controversy Dupanloup equated the moral ruin of French women with public lay education and the salvation

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

<sup>76</sup>Such a picture emerged from Dupanloup's comparison between pagan and christian eras, Lettres, pp. 113-116 and criticisms of de Maistre.

<sup>77</sup>E.g., Lettres, pp. 12-15; "Le Plan divin," in Part I, pp. 144-145; and Studios Women, pp. 27-29.

<sup>78</sup>Studios Women, pp. 23-24; Lettres, pp. 117-118.



of France with the re-Christianization of French mothers.

Woman as missionary: la femme chrétienne et forte. Writing to a colleague during the Duruy controversy, Bishop Dupanloup bared his fears that a nation of girls raised according to republican precepts would be the ruination of true, i.e., Catholic, morality. He indicated that "éducation" not "instruction" was what motivated him to oppose the Duruy plan and described girls' convent education as morally superior to that received by their male peers in the lycées, superior because Catholic. The conclusion Dupanloup drew from his comparison of convent and lycée was: "La vérité est que la France est sauvée par les mères."<sup>79</sup>

The development of the idea of mother-priest cooperation in French salvation (woman had to be saved by the Church before she could save France) was not simply a function of Dupanloup's clash with Victor Duruy. It dated from the era of the Éducation and before. In Volume II of the Éducation, Dupanloup had treated the interrelationships of God-family-father-mother-children-social order as aspects of Christian education to respect duly constituted authority.<sup>80</sup> For Dupanloup the family incarnated divine power, wisdom and love. Within the family the father represented power, for he "created and institu-

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<sup>79</sup>Dupanloup, "Duruy," p. 9. Abbé Houssaye, writing for the Correspondant (Feb. 1877), p. 616, echoed this sentiment in his "Femme chrétienne."

<sup>80</sup>In the De l'Autorité et du respect dans l'éducation, pp. 106-150 this series of relationships is ordered on the light of patriarchal theory.

ted" the family.<sup>81</sup> That is, he was the active principle in society. The mother, on the other hand, served the more passive function of acting as a conduit for God's love and being the moral educator of the family. Together the parents represented wisdom, but the actual burden of family care and religious training was the mother's and both these tasks were to be carried out in the privacy of the home.

Specific extra-domestic (école libre, pensionnat or convent) instruction of women, according to Dupanloup, should fit women for the "vie privée," and will be dealt with below as a function of training women to be saviors of Catholic France. Within the family Dupanloup lauded the strong woman of Proverbs 31, the hardworking wife "more precious than jewels," who in 19th-century France became the priest's auxiliary in the reconversion of France. Dupanloup's praise of the "femme chrétienne et forte"<sup>82</sup> might have reflected a fact of French religious life: women were more pious and loyal to the Church than men. But it also reflected his admiration for unstinting maternal love, such as his own mother's, an admiration which

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<sup>81</sup>Dupanloup, De l'Éducation, II, pp. 107-113.

<sup>82</sup>The "forte" in the phrase "femme chrétienne et forte" recurs with great frequency in Dupanloup's writings on women and seems to be based on a text from Ecclesiasticus (26:2): "La femme forte est la joie de son époux, et elle remplira de paix les années de sa vie." Lettres, p. 142. Also in the Letters, p. 142, Dupanloup cites more from Ecclesiasticus and Proverbs to exemplify the femme forte. The 1966 Jerusalem Bible translates Ecclesiasticus 26:2 as "A perfect wife. . . ." thus reinforcing "forte" as a moral judgment. Other passages from the apocryphal writings praise the moral qualities of women, goodness, discreteness, and fidelity. In writings published during the time of the Duruy-Dupanloup controversy one finds the adjective "française" more often than "forte" qualifying "femme chrétienne." The context allows one to see "forte" subsumed in the national assignation, identifying it with Catholic patriotism.

spilled over into Dupanloup's recommendation that priests be mothers as well as fathers in their relations to God's children.<sup>83</sup>

While Dupanloup's views on maternity and the maternal mission might seem to elevate women to heights undreamed of by courtly poets, they were based on an image of woman which revealed a darker side to the Christian mother. France might be saved by women, but women themselves had to be first saved "en mettant des enfants au monde."<sup>84</sup> Dupanloup seconded Paul's precondition for female redemption. By the same token he revealed a misogynist preference for males as the more valuable members of society. The primary earthly aim for women was, he wrote, not only to bear children, but to bear male children.<sup>85</sup> The cross women bore, post partum as it were, was to raise sons within and for the Church and to lead husbands and fathers back to the Faith.<sup>86</sup> But before they could do this, the daughters of Eve had to be so educated themselves that they could not become libres-penseuses.<sup>87</sup> Examination of the natural

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<sup>83</sup>De l'Éducation, II, p. 152.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>Throughout the Stidious Women, as well as in the Education and lesser writings, Dupanloup talks of the female child only in regard to her training to be a mother and correction of "natural" female faults.

<sup>86</sup>Stidious Women, p. 37.

<sup>87</sup>George Sand was Dupanloup's model for the libre-penseuse, Lettres, p. 147. He equated republican education with freethinking, especially in regards to women. Legouvé steered clear of drawing the same relationship between secular tutelage and women. For Dupanloup's development of the libre-penseuse as antitype, see Nouvelles Oeuvres choisies, III, "Conspiration des libres-penseuses contre la femme chrétienne et française," pp. 110-174. See also, "Duruy" for invective on the topic of the libre-penseuse.



heritage of women as Dupanloup perceived it, explains to a great degree his sheer panic and fierce opposition to Victor Duruy's rather modest educational proposal.

Dupanloup's typologies of woman. The doctrine of Original Sin and its consequences for Eve, i.e., punishment through the pain of childbirth, atonement and salvation through childrearing, has already been noted. In the Lettres, "Le Plan Divin. Dessin de Dieu dans la création d'Eve,"<sup>88</sup> Dupanloup recapitulated the story of Eve's creation to an unidentified friend. His first point was that Eve was created out of man and for him in marriage. Eve was "given" to Adam. Made from God's superior creation rather than gross clay, she was destined to greater spirituality than her mate and possessed fewer propensities toward material things. Moreover, as did Legouvé's woman, Dupanloup's Eve more easily ascended toward the "idéal et l'infini" than did Adam and his descendants. Like Legouvé, Dupanloup allowed a measure of likeness to the sexes. Similarly, he perceived a Law of Differences, although he based his educational theories on role only: "elle a en même temps des traits et une physionomie personnelle qui la distingue."<sup>89</sup>

Dupanloup set woman off from man because of a supposedly "delicate" nature. The Bishop of Orléans surmised that men abused female "delicacy" until Christ, through Mary, taught humankind to re-

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<sup>88</sup>Dupanloup, Lettres, pp. 129-249.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 133

spect women, or at least taught practicing Christians to respect women. Yet, for Dupanloup the reverse side of spiritual delicacy was a general "faiblesse." From the thesis of female weakness, "faiblesse," Dupanloup progressed to a cataloguing of all female traits, noting in the process that the essential difference between the natural woman (Eve unredeemed) and the ideal woman (femme chrétienne et forte) was the type of education received, lay in the former instance, Catholic in the latter. The typology given here is fleshed out with traits drawn elsewhere than the Lettres.<sup>90</sup>

Natural Woman

Frivolous  
Weak  
Soft  
Changeable  
Impressionable  
Curious  
Dormant good sense  
Intuition  
Morally frail  
Slothful  
Impious  
Man's slave  
Man's inferior  
Passive, subalternate  
Vain

Ideal Woman

Firm  
Serious  
Grave  
Generous  
Physically weaker than man  
Reflective, reasoning  
Good sense  
Directed intuition  
Delicate, yet strong in character  
Energetic  
Pious  
Man's companion  
Chaste, more spiritual than man  
Long-suffering, enduring  
Selfless

Dupanloup's basic typologies were not purely equivalent, with each good balanced by an equal and opposite evil, or the reverse. Rather, they were somewhat vague, a fact quite in keeping with his general approach to female schooling and consonant with the idea that women were to be educated to serve others than themselves, i.e., the family and the Church. In Studious Women, Dupanloup observed:

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<sup>90</sup>Ibid., pp. 133-139.

The amount of intellectual cultivation which may be necessary to a woman is not defined as in the case of a man, and this makes the especial difficulty in women's education. Their intellectual cultivation ought, when required, to enable them to undertake everything, and to be ignorant of nothing, without having, however, a direct and immediate use [i.e., extra-domestic interests or job] for their attainments as in the education of men.<sup>91</sup>

Women, Dupanloup observed during his struggle with Duruy, "sont élevées pour la vie privée, dans la vie privée."<sup>92</sup> So closely did Dupanloup identify the milieux of home and sanctuary that he never considered convent education as essentially different from domestic education. Both were, after all, supposedly totally female environments. Dupanloup took for granted that the instruction gained under the careful supervision of female religious would, like that gleaned at home from a mother, produce mères de famille who would be a credit to home and Church. Such mothers would be "instruites," but not "savantes." The instructed woman, according to Dupanloup, saw to the particulars of daily life and greased all social wheels. She was the "femme essentielle;"

celle qui entend le ménage et les affaires; la femme agréable, celle qui plaît dans le monde; la femme d'esprit, celle qui sait lire et causer.<sup>93</sup>

In short, the essential woman was the perfect candidate for marri-

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<sup>91</sup>Studious Women, pp. 72-73. This conclusion of Dupanloup's was the "profoundity" noted by Frédéric Godefroy and corroborated by the same with Mme. Guizot's statement that the educated woman should not know how to "vaincre les circonstances," but should possess an "ingénieuse docilité qui sait se plier et s'accomoder à toutes." Godefroy, Histoire de la littérature française (Paris: Gaume et Cie, 1897), pp. 697-698.

<sup>92</sup>"Duruy," p. 27.

<sup>93</sup>Femme studieuse, in Rousselot, II:439.



age, especially if she could produce sons who would lead France back to the Church.

Beyond supervision of the household and participation in social life the benefits to women of schooling were supposedly most apparent in the maternal role of teacher. Good mothers à la Dupanloup helped their children with their lessons and - this point can never be overemphasized when dealing with Dupanloup's educational theories - kept sons (daughters were taken more or less for granted) on the beaten Catholic path, even if they had to temporarily disobey their husbands to do so. Dupanloup expounded on this later point in a letter entitled "Avantages du travail intellectuel chez les femmes, pour la famille, pour la société et pour tous:"

C'est surtout pour les fils que la capacité d'une mère aurait les plus grands avantages, et que son inutilité a de bien plus tristes suites. Pour les garçons, non seulement le mari, sans considération pour sa femme, ne la consulte pas, mais si elle veut faire une objection contre une école impie, on lui répond: "Je veux que mon fils ait une carrière. Vous ne savez pas seulement le premier mot, pas même les connaissances que l'on exige. Laissez-moi donc diriger l'éducation de mon fils."<sup>94</sup>

The advantages of study for women themselves were not treated by Dupanloup in this letter, a fact which may in part be explained by his continual emphasis on the private display of female talents, but which seems more plausibly understood as a function of his strong emphasis on the nature of study as a female

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<sup>94</sup>Lettres, p. 226.

duty and his equally intense desire to preclude any career aspirations for women other than mère de famille (or nun). In his introductory remarks to Studious Women, Dupanloup explained that women achieved status indirectly, through their children, especially through their sons, and more immediately, through their husbands. Citing scripture to his advantage, he went on to say that a woman's education served as a ticket to this status, to assure fame outside the home as "worthy and intelligent companion of a husband. . . . known in the gates when he sitteth among the elders of the land."<sup>95</sup> Fame on her own intellectual merit was allowed woman by Dupanloup only if religious or sainted. Such a female was in direct conflict with the "spirits of darkness," or the libres-penseuses of the modern era.<sup>96</sup> As for the dimensions of contemporary female minds, Dupanloup likened women's intellectual achievements to "little flowers," men's to "forest trees." God, he said, watered both.

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<sup>95</sup>Studious Women, p. 5. This theory of vicarious living for women closely parallels Legouvé's educating women so that men might shine and women reflect their glory.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., Ch. III, "Examples," pp. 8-15 chronicles the intellectuals among Christian female saints, from the patristic era to the Middle Ages. After that period some secular, Catholic, women are added to the list of female notables. E.e.g., Catherine of Pisa, Mary Stuart, Mme. de Sévigné, Mme. de Lafayette. Pp. 15-17 deal with the secular opposites of Catholic women, i.e. the libres-penseuses. Dupanloup may have had Léon Richer's 1866 conferences of libres-penseuses, held in Paris in the Salle du Grand Orient, in mind when he wrote this letter. V. Dzeh-Dzen, p. 11, for more on Richer's relationship to fomenting spirits receptive to anti-Catholicism. Dupanloup never mentions the Droit des Femmes in his major publications on women.

Food for the "little flowers" and future mothers was the Fénelon curriculum, the three R's plus selected translations of pious works, the classics, classical French literature and a smattering of sciences. Novel reading was to be avoided at all costs as a polluter of the mind and corrupter of morals. Household management, domestic and child care skills, arts and music were also sanctioned by Dupanloup.<sup>97</sup> Those women who found the leisure time and possessed native ability were encouraged to continue study of serious pious works in their spare time.<sup>98</sup> Dupanloup concluded that female education could never be too "consecutive," i.e., planned and constant; "too masculine," i.e., too rooted in the classics and logic; or "too serious," i.e., too centered in elevated subjects such as the grand scope of the Greek, Latin and French classics.<sup>99</sup> Above all he stressed that education should strive for the cultivation of piety in women.

Dupanloup's preoccupation with study as duty saved him from having to engage in the type of apologetics for female study as a right which plagued Legouvé at the beginning of the Histoire morale. Speaking to the grand principles of female education, the

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<sup>97</sup>Studious Women, Ch. X, "The Practical Part," contains the basic Fénelon curriculum updated to fit the 19th-century and amplified by students' keeping pious private diaries. Ch. XI, pp. 103-104 suggests women adopt Mme. Swetchine's morning study plans as spiritual preparation for the day's work.

<sup>98</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 76. The general rule of thumb was to be 2-3 hours of daily study. If domestic duties precluded that women were to make use of the "art of utilizing lost moments," an art Dupanloup failed to explain. The side effect of such study was to keep women home, p. 99.

<sup>99</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 22.



Bishop summarily dismissed any discussion of women's rights other than reiteration of the duty of women developping their minds as a means of better service to God and family. Dupanloup wrote:

. . . ne demandons même plus quels sont ici les droits, voyons ce que sont les devoirs, car c'est là le vrai terrain de la question. . . Oui, c'est pour les femmes un devoir d'étudier et de s'instruire.<sup>100</sup>

Dupanloup never strayed from this stand, although his discussion of female education became increasingly doctrinaire in tone as he moved from liberal support of expanding women's educational facilities in the era of the Loi Falloux to active opposition of the same programs when administered by Duruy or by Jules Ferry.<sup>101</sup>

Conclusion. Comparison of Dupanloup with his milder-mannered contemporary Ernest Legouvé reveals that both conceived of women as either saints or sinners, although Dupanloup preached a more somber version of this theory. Consequently both shared the idea that female educational programs should be designed to compensate for "natural" female deficiencies of mind and spirit. Both perceived woman as "other" than man, rather than kin within humankind. And both predicated life roles as much on presumed

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<sup>100</sup> Lettres, I, "Molière. Les Femmes savantes et les femmes studieuses," p. 107.

<sup>101</sup> S. Horvath, "Duruy and Secondary Education for Girls," p. 93, notes this transition and attributes it to Dupanloup's growing - and correct- conviction that convents were the source of those French, Catholic women, upon whom hopes for re-Christianization of France rested. Given that assumption, Dupanloup's complaint that Duruy's program "jaillera au fond des choses" ["Duruy, p. 1] was a statment of fact, not an exercise in hyperbole.

psychic otherness as on biological roles.

Consignment by both publicists of women to the private, men to the public spheres, reflected the contemporary idea that women were and should be alien to men's world. But Legouvé allowed some convergence of activities between the sexes, whereas Dupanloup's more authoritarian weltanschauung did not permit much demonstrative love in fathers or ultimate power in mothers. Dupanloup's spheres were somewhat more clearly drawn than were those of Legouvé. Legouvé, for example, allowed more extra-domestic activities to women and countenanced, albeit with some discomfort, limited enlargement of career opportunities for women.

Dupanloup, on the other hand, was so alienated from the France of his time - a fact that Daniel Halévy has singled out as the Bishop's essential characteristic<sup>102</sup> - that he sanctioned growth for women only within their "proper" domestic sphere. Conversely, Legouvé's delight in his own era fostered optimistic contemplation of female intrusions into the public sphere, at least of unmarried women, and hoped for more male emotional involvement in family life. In the final analysis, however, both educators considered femme, foyer and devoir inseparable and upheld the female status quo.

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<sup>102</sup>Daniel Halévy, La Fin des notables, Vol. II, La République des ducs, pp. 194-195.

## CHAPTER III

WOMAN IN THE CORRESPONDANT

The dominant tone of Correspondant contributors' writings on French political, social and religious affairs in the late 1870's was one of deep malaise, a malaise fully reflected in their comments on women and in their vehement anti-Republicanism. Correspondant observations on women and the Republic were joined in a handful of articles which dealt specifically with female education and in the journal's more plentiful short stories, serialized novellas and historical sketches.<sup>1</sup> The novellas and stories play a preponderant part in the present analysis of images of woman in the Correspondant. They constitute idealized solutions to the woman question through disposition of their characters' own problems.

A major element in conservative Catholic uneasiness during the late 1870's was the feeling that the world, or the particular

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<sup>1</sup>Examples of those articles, in chronological order, are: Abbé Houssaye, "La Femme chrétienne" (25. Feb. 1877); G. d'Hugues, "Une Signe des temps: les Femmes et le baccalauréat" (25 Dec. 1878); le comte Frédéric de Champagny, "Lettres sur l'éducation des filles" (25 March 1879); Auguste Boucher, "Quinzaine politique" (10 July 1879); Abbé Martin, "L'Enseignement en Angleterre" (10 July 1879); H. de Lacombe, "La Liberté de l'enseignement devant le Sénat" (25 July 1879); le père Douhaire, "Revue critique" (25 Aug. 1879); Abbé Sicard, "Les Destructeurs" (10 Jan.-25 Jan. 1880); Sicard, "La Politique dans l'enseignement de 1762 à 1808" (10 July-25 Aug. 1880); Victor Laprade, "La Musique et l'éducation" (10 Nov. 1880). Outstanding examples of historical sketches include: A. Dantier, "Les Correspondantes de Bossuet" (25 Apr.-10 May 1878); and Mathurin de Lescure, "Les Femmes philosophes" (25 Aug. 1878-25 March 1879). Short stories and serials will be treated in the text, below. There was a marked tendency in the Correspondant to draw examples for female behavior from pre-Revolutionary nobles and religious figures.



world so devoutly desired by Catholics in France, was fast being turned upside down with the advance of republican secularization.<sup>2</sup> To a great extent Correspondant writers in the late 1870's shared Dupanloup's frenzied and furious reaction to Duruy's attempted reforms a decade earlier. Dupanloup had warned that the Duruy conférences "struck at the very root of things."<sup>3</sup> If Duruy's limited reform drew such criticism, Ferry's more far-reaching female lycées and talk of free and obligatory primary instruction for both sexes were guaranteed to tear those very roots from the firm grounding of Catholic doctrine and transplant them to alien fields.

A great part of the conservative objections to the Ferry reforms stemmed from Catholic opposition to Positivism. The dynamic Père Didon spoke for his peers, including Dupanloup, when he challenged the University for control of the French soul in the mid-70's. Said Didon: "La lutte est ouverte; le champ clos, c'est le

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<sup>2</sup>Though the Correspondant was moderate in relation to the broad spectrum of French Catholic social and political thought in the last half of the 19th century, it was conservative in relation to the total national spectrum. The term "conservative" is used throughout this paper relative to the larger category, notwithstanding the fact that to followers of Catholics like the vitriolic Louis Veuillot, the Correspondant might be considered liberal.

<sup>3</sup>Félix Dupanloup, "Duruy," p. 1. Commenting on a Duruy circular of 30 October 1867, Dupanloup wrote that the conférences would be fundamentally destructive: ". . . il jaillera du fond des choses," wrote Dupanloup of Duruy, "il viendra de lui-même sur les lèvres des pères et des mères de familles qui savent le respect délicat que méritent leurs filles. . ." Louis Liard, in his L'Enseignement supérieur en France, vol. 2, p. 302, considered the Duruy plan to be one of the "fortes secousses" he delivered to the educational status quo in France during his tenure as Minister of Public Instruction. Reaction of Catholic opponents justifies this judgment.

pays; l'arme, les universités; le catholicisme et le positivisme vont se disputer l'âme de la France."<sup>4</sup> Given the highly doctrinaire stance of not only Didon, but of Dupanloup and his colleagues on the Correspondant, it is not difficult to detect the major targets of the anti-positivist forces: free-thinkers, female emancipation, feminists and republican leaders identified with those factions were the predictable bêtes-noires of Correspondant publicists. The givens of the situation pose no problem for the scholar. Rather the challenge to historians studying the Correspondant and women's image in Third Republic France is the unravelling of the fabric used to fashion that publication's image of woman, and the identification of the basic elements or strands, used to weave the image. Verification in its pages of the prejudices against sex decried by Poulain de la Barre is a simple staging platform.<sup>5</sup>

The immediate framework upon which the image of French woman in the Correspondant was worked was the complex French social, cultural and political scene in the 1870's. To the already noted malaise

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<sup>4</sup>Henri-Martin Didon, cited in Liard, Enseignement supérieur, II, p. 322. Citation dated 1876 as reaction to an 1875 law on higher education. Didon was an exceptionally influential Dominican preacher who, from the late 1860's on, became a prominent popularizer of Catholic social doctrine. Marie Baskirtseff in her Journal (Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, Publishers, 1908), pp. 459-460, "Wednesday, December 25, 1879," describes a personal visit with Didon and notes his personal dynamism and growing fame. She was similarly impressed by Hubertine Auclert ("Wednesday, 1 December, 1880). Didon was featured in the Correspondant as an important element in the Catholicization of a fictional heroine. V. Alfred de Courcy, "Une île déserte aux Champs-Élysées," November-December 1879. For Correspondant recognition of Auclert's impact, see Ch. III, below.

<sup>5</sup>V. above, Ch. I, footnote 1.

of anti-Republicans must be added some specific concerns. First, the humiliation at Sedan was still a cause for general worry, although pride at France's economic recovery, symbolized by the Exposition of 1878, somewhat assuaged patriots' hurt feelings. The French were determined to vindicate their educational and industrial systems in the eyes of the world after defeat by the upstart and more highly industrialized Germans. Aristocratic hopes of stemming the tide of bourgeois influence had dimmed after the initial resurgence of aristocratic power early in the Third Republic, but they had not yet flickered out entirely. Darwinian theories of origin and still pervasive Positivism vied with the Syllabus of Errors and the infallibility of the Pope for definition of ultimate values systems. These factors converged by the late 1870's to throw social conservatives into deep despair and kindle eleventh-hour hopes of a reprieve for the old ways.<sup>6</sup>

Order and the paterfamilias. The conviction that the center was not holding, that social anarchy was imminent, haunted some who wrote for the Correspondant. "À notre époque, il n'y a plus de chefs!" complained one author, blaming the state of affairs on 1848 institution of universal (manhood) suffrage.<sup>7</sup> Another contributor digressed

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<sup>6</sup>For a comprehensive look at the cultural-political milieu of the Third Republic in the 1870's, see A.F. Thompson's essay, "From Restoration to Republic," in Wallace-Hadrill and McManners, France: Government and Society, An Historical Survey (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd.), pp. 207-225.

<sup>7</sup>\_. Foblant, "Les Réactionnaires libéraux," Corr. (10 Jan. 1880), pp. 1-2.



from his nominal topic of music education to bemoan the loss of better times to revolutionaries whose motto was: "Périsse<sup>[nt]</sup> toutes les supériorités!"<sup>8</sup> Still another, one Abbé Houssaye, carefully explained that adoption of Dupanloup's precept that all societies rested on authority would be the first step toward the reconstitution of French society.<sup>9</sup>

Houssaye's analysis of the general crisis of authority in his time was directly related to views on women expounded in his 25 February 1877 article, "La Femme chrétienne." The "Femme chrétienne" also served as a rather full-scale reiteration of Catholic views on the family, as Houssaye therein reviewed recent Catholic literature on motherhood and the family. Houssaye and those he reviewed cited Dupanloup and Bossuet extensively on the need for parental authority as the only basis for temporal order. Dupanloup, Houssaye related, had been first into the breach against the loss of paternal authority threatened by the Duruy conférences.<sup>10</sup> Writing the same year in a more nostalgic vein, a colleague singled out Jewish and Roman fathers as particularly noteworthy parents and intimated that pre-1789 French men were their spiritual descendants and the secret strength of the Old Regime.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Victor Laprade, "La Musique et l'éducation" (10 Nov. 1880), p. 548.

<sup>9</sup>Abbé Houssaye, "La Femme chrétienne" (25 Feb. 1877), p. 614.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 615.

<sup>11</sup>René Lavollée, "La Vieille France" (10 July 1877), p. 78. Lavollée neglected mother-daughter relationships in toto. He eulogized LePlay and criticized Legouvé's stress on paternal affection as detrimental to "autorité paternel."

He was seconded in 1879 by former Deputy Claude-Marie Raudot (Yonne), who prophesied widespread social anarchy if urbanization and the revolt of French youth against paternal authority were to continue: "Qu'allons-nous devenir," Raudot asked, "les jeunes ne voudraient plus cultiver la terre et obéir?"<sup>12</sup>

Raudot's concern for domestic and social order was apparent in the upper reaches of conservative society. Count François de Champagne quite naturally appropriated Dupanloup's aristocratic imagery when reviewing the recently deceased Bishop's Lettres sur l'éducation des filles. The father, wrote de Champagne, is the natural head of the domestic monarchy. Obedience to a father's will, or to the king's in the case of society at large, was, he surmised, an excellent indication of a family's state of health. A peer agreed:

La société domestique est l'exemplaire de toutes les autres sociétés, il s'en suit que la moralité publique dépend absolument de la moralité privée, et que les vertus or vices qui existent au sein de la famille rayonnent sur le corps social.<sup>14</sup>

The author of this social manifesto, one Comte de Conestabile, explicated his own text by noting a source of revolt not cited by Raudot - wives:

Aujourd'hui, sous l'influence des doctrines révolutionnaires et anti-chrétiennes [Positivism, Freemasonry, etc.], c'est la

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<sup>12</sup>Claude-Marie Raudot, "La Vérité sur l'agriculture et la population agricole de la France" (10 Jan. 1879), p. 59.

<sup>13</sup>François de Champagne, "Lettres sur l'éducation des filles," with eulogy to Dupanloup (25 March 1879), p. 1120. V. also E. Demolins, "M. Le Play et son oeuvre de réforme sociale" (10 Dec. 1879), p. 869.

<sup>14</sup>Le comte de Conestabile, "Léon XIII et la situation de l'Eglise" (25 Oct. 1878), p. 195.

femme qui méconnaît l'autorité du chef de la famille et qui se livre à tous les rêves malsain d'une fausse émancipation.<sup>15</sup>

Interestingly, Conestabile mentioned sons and wives, but not daughters, in his liturgy of rebels, a fact which may be taken to indicate belief in the lesser worth of daughters, a point which will be considered below.

The issue prompting Conestabile's fears of loss of male authority was the admission of women to lycées and possibly to still higher education. The Loi Camille Sée was about to enter the legislative hopper (it was deposited 28 October 1878). Conestabile was unwilling to address the subject directly, so he offered the example (fictional?) of an unnamed young woman who scorned her own mother because she "knew no Greek or Latin." Such a girl, he wrote, had been lowered by the "revolution" of female emancipation to a point "beneath human dignity." Her pride was so "monstrous" that Conestabile abandoned her example of disobedience to deal with a more congenial topic - urban workers.

Conestabile decried loss of urban workers to the church, a state of affairs he blamed on the ouvrier's worship of material goods. Workers, like women, he suggested, were born to a life of obedience and the social health of France depended on their keeping to their stations and to their prayers.<sup>16</sup> Though linkage of women's revolt to the obstreperous behavior of the working classes is germane to our topic, it will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter V,

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 196-197.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 197.



below. The issue of necessary female subordination is, however, a central strand of the Correspondant image of woman.

The Salutary yoke. It goes without saying that ecclesiastical pronouncements on the superiority of paternal authority were bolstered considerably by the Civil Code of Napoléon (v. Ch. I, above). Though the effect of Napoleonic domestic legislation on the daily lives of women has yet to be thoroughly explored, judging from the Correspondant Napoleon's unequivocal intent - subordinating wives to husbands - was overwhelmingly approved. Jules DuBern's opinion that Napoléon had replaced the shaken social structure on its proper base by severely restricting the possibility of divorce was backed up by Correspondant commentary on the indissolubility of marriage, complete with a fictitious case history of a woman who revolted from her husband on passage of Naquet's proposed divorce law.<sup>17</sup> The virtues portrayed as ideally feminine in the Correspondant are directly related to women's status as subordinates to their husbands. They are corollaries to the cardinal virtue of obedience. Pious self-denial or abnegation (the relinquishing of rights of self-control) and self-sacrifice loom large in the pages of the Correspondant. Martyrdom is seen as the natural state for women.

Correspondant educational theories faithfully mirrored the "ideal" female qualities of obedience and abnegation. Houssaye spoke for his peers, both lay and ecclesiastical, when he stated that women

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<sup>17</sup>Jules DuBern, Influence des femmes sur les destinées de la France (Paris: Dentu, 1867), pp. 275 and 279. On the issue of indissolubility of marriage, and divorce, see also Paul Perret, "Les Demi-mariages" (10 March - 25 Apr. 1880); Alfred de Courcy's Île déserte."

should be raised to submit to the authority of their husbands and, with their children, to know "dignified, disinterested, submission."<sup>18</sup> He was seconded by a colleague, Alphonse Dantier, who took the occasion of writing on Bishop Bossuet's female correspondents to proclaim that (female) abnegation and sacrifice were "vertus non moins nécessaires dans le monde que dans le cloître." Dantier, homme de lettres and archaeologist, urged full integration of pious abnegation into the female curriculum via reading matter incorporating such ideals. He further indicated that such a curriculum would have practical effects: it would prepare females "à soutenir plus facilement le labeur ou les peines de la journée," and, in contrast to "impressions pénibles ou dangereuses" gleaned from novels or daily newspapers, would foster in women "une satisfaction intérieure, un bien-être moral. . ."<sup>19</sup>

Lest his readers hesitated to translate cloister values into their own life routines, Dantier reminded them that "les religieuses aimaient le joug salutaire de leur pasteur" and found "le paix dans l'obédience."<sup>20</sup> The Count de Baillon, writing in 1879, offered women a model to follow in the saintly Mme. de Montmorency, a 17th-century duchess who lived for God and husband - and in that

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<sup>18</sup>Abbé Houssaye, op. cit., pp. 614-615.

<sup>19</sup>A. Dantier, "Correspondantes de Bossuet, " Part I, p. 987.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., Part II, p. 108. The relationship between "female" and "nun" might also be seen as the exclusive choice of one station or the other, marriage or the cloister. See, for example, A. de Courcy, "Philosophia," III (25 Oct. 1880), p. 314. Widowhood might also pose the question of remarriage or sequestration, as in Mme. de Montmorency's case. She opted for the latter.

order. Mme. de Montmorency, wrote Baillon, was a true

. . . âme d'élite, faite de tous les dévouements et de toutes les abnégations. [Elle] a traversé le monde sans y souiller de la moindre atteinte la blancheur de ses ailes. . . C'est la perfection même de sa vertu qui l'a exposée à l'oubli de la postérité. . . la vertu sans tache n'avait pas sa place dans l'histoire.<sup>21</sup>

Baillon's logic was not ironclad. Histories of saints abounded in ecclesiastical and popular literature. They were linked to the fictional heroines (and anti-heroines) of the Correspondant by the salutary yoke of martyrdom.

Archetypal women in the Correspondant: femme chrétienne et femme libre. The social catechism of female abnegation preached by the Correspondant's writers was no less apparent, though somewhat less doctrinaire, in the journal's short stories and serials than in the social commentary present in its book reviews and editorials. There were some slight variations of shading in the portraits of women therein provided, according to the sex of the author, but the portraits as a whole follow the lead of Houssaye, Dupanloup and Dantier. The ideal type or femme chrétienne will be explored in these stories and contrasted to the antitype of femme libre offered in several stories and articles. In all Correspondant writing the moral line dominates the characters or plot. The single exception to this rule is "Katia" by Leo Tolstoy.<sup>22</sup> Katia, the heroine, stands in

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<sup>21</sup>Charles de Baillon, "Mme. de Montmorency," Part II (10 September 1879), p. 994.

<sup>22</sup>Leo Tolstoy, "Katia," three parts (10 Dec. 1877-10 Jan. 1878).



sharp contrast to her fictional Correspondant sisters by dint of her highly developed, finely-detailed personality.

In the two-part serial, "La Châtaigne," the male author, after describing the life of a Russian peasant girl adopted as a surrogate child by an English family, then demoted after a child is born and cast off to become a governess and companion, asks: "Les femmes, sont-elles donc fatalement condamnées à n'être que des victimes?"<sup>23</sup> The heroine, Alexandrine Ruddlesley, or "Navah," is plain of face but rich in spirit. She perseveres in a life of selfless devotion to others, to the point of vowing never to marry. Navah rejects several arranged marriages and repulses the overtures of a positivist, who, the author informs his readers, lacks the properly romantic approach to love. Navah's employer is faced with the problem of what to do with his employee after his mother, whose companion Navah had been, dies. His fiancée, who is beautiful in face but not in spirit, doesn't like Navah or her future rural residence. In comparing the two women, the employer-hero discovers Navah's sterling qualities and marries her. Navah is saved by marriage from an uncertain future.

The author of "La Châtaigne," one Guy de Parseval, allowed a catalogue of Navah's passive virtues stage-center in his tale. The plot merely marks time until the hero's eyes are opened. In her care

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<sup>23</sup>Guy de Parseval, "La Châtaigne," Part II (25 Oct. 1879), p. 275. A. de Courcy, in "Une jeune fille en loterie" (25 Feb.-10 March 1879); and Marie d'Heilly Deschard ("Maryan"), in "Primavera" (25 Jan.-10 March 1878), provide other examples of the Navah type. Deschard's "vieilles filles" Maude and Janet devote themselves to teaching their nieces the great lesson of life, "aimer et souffrir."

of the herd's ailing mother, Navah is the "height of devotion and abnegation," the very "abstraction of self." Navah is presented as an "exceptional woman," the biblical "one in a hundred, if not a thousand."<sup>24</sup> Navah reappeared in the 1880 Correspondant as the personification of purity, "Blanche," who, "always occupied with others," never took "time to analyse herself."<sup>25</sup>

The image of woman as totally self-sacrificing was not the monopoly of male contributors to the Correspondant. It was used by female writers, too. Writing under the pseudonym "Maryan," Mme. Marie d'Heilly Descard seconded her male colleagues' endorsement of the femme chrétienne à la Dantier. Her unadorned description of the female archetype, was, however, atypical in its lack of verbal embellishment, a fact which recalls similar bare-bones statements by Claire de Rémusat:

Donner sans compter, ne point établir de balance, ne point excuser vos torts par ceux d'un autre. . . c'est le rôle de la femme.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>25</sup>Louis Joubert, "Blanche" (25 Feb. 1880), p. 712 Joubert makes much of the necessity of correcting female "weakness" with male strength, echoing Legouv  's Law of Differences. His hero, an old Breton, advises his nephew to resist trying to bring girls into his active young life, rather he counsels leaving them in their proper sphere, in order that they might remain "respectable." The Breton asks: "Pourquoi tant changer les moeurs d'autrefois?" and states: "Si les femmes sont faibles, elles sont bonnes. Donnez-leur un point d'appui solide [i.e., a noble Catholic husband], et vous les verrez faire des miracles, par reconnaissance, fiert   et d  vouement." Ibid., p. 703.

<sup>26</sup>Marie d'Heilly Deschard, "Un Mariage de convenance" (10 July 1879), p. 127. Under the Napoleonic Code a wife had to give

Deschard's fictional example of "giving without counting" was a familiar one to her audience and a frequent subject of feminist criticism - a husband used his wife's dowry monies to finance repayment of his premarital debts. Geneviève, the heroine in this case, is encouraged by an older, wiser, woman to allow her husband full use of her dowry without complaint. Dod, Geneviève is assured, will repay her trust. The marriage was one of convenience, but her selflessness will lead her husband to her with debt repaid and arms outstretched. Deschard was not, however, willing to rely totally on prayer<sup>27</sup> to achieve domestic miracles, and introduced a successful pregnancy as the deus ex machina.

Unlike her male colleagues (Tolstoy excepted), Deschard advanced a step beyond rote preaching of abnegation to acknowledge the psychological stress inherent in its one-sided practice. Geneviève reacted negatively to her friend's counsel of silent selflessness, perseverance and prayer. She was most reluctant to risk financial security for the mere possibility of her spouses' love and protested vociferously: "Il est difficile, quoi! Le coeur,

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consent to her husband for use of the dowry. However, the husband had actual powers of management of the dowry in his capacity of chef de famille. Upper-class women, used to prior management of affairs by fathers and other male relatives, were so inexperienced in financial matters that Legouvé urged a 5-year period of financial tutelage for them, by their husbands, so that women would be able to cope financially if widowed. V. Moral History, p. 146.

<sup>27</sup>V. Dupanloup's Roman correspondent as one example of a woman who tried, unsuccessfully, to follow the Church's teachings on prayerful perseverance. For a more successful - and fictional - example of the same, see the model offered by Marie in Paul Perret's "Demi-mariages" (10 March-25 Apr. 1880).



ne se révolte-t-il jamais en se prodiguant ainsi peut-être sans retour?"<sup>28</sup> But Divine Grace acted through the pregnancy and Geneviève no longer had to substitute dinner-time novel reading for her husband's conversation at the table. Her conduct as wife and mother became an inspiration for the entire household. Her husband professed love for her, their child, and miracle of miracles, for the Holy Catholic Church.

Deschard's setting was totally interior, quite in keeping with the Correspondant's position on the propriety of women's domestic role. The problem of women's condition under the Code, did, however intrude in the form of the dowry. In the works of another female publicist, Mme. Henry Gréville (Alice Henry), the question of female independence and arranged marriages intruded in a similar manner on the basic love story theme. Mme. Gréville was the spouse of Émile Durand-Gréville, and her later connections with the Ferry programs<sup>29</sup> suggest that she was not a

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>29</sup>Linda L. Clark, "The Molding of the Citoyenne: The Image of the Female in French Educational Literature, 1880-1914," paper read at 3rd Berkshire Conference (June 1976), pp. 4-6 and 8-10, discusses Gréville's influential Instruction morale et civique des jeunes filles, first published 1882, as one of the four basic civics manuals used to launch the final stage of republican primary education reforms. The reformed curriculum was published in 1882 and is reflected in the primer. Though geared to lower classes, the manual projected an image of women remarkably similar to that forwarded by Gréville in the Correspondant. Gréville's life as daughter of a diplomat, wife of a professor at the École de droit in Saint Petersburg, and femme des lettres, was clearly not the pattern she used for her heroines, although her years in Petersburg furnished her with some exotic settings.

typical contributor to the Correspondant. Durand's fame as an author was great enough to attract the attention of Elizabeth Cady Stanton, who judged her commitment to women's cause wanting. She was, according to Stanton, "a politic rather than an earnest woman of principle."<sup>30</sup> Durand's heroines might not be feminist enough for Stanton, but they were a bit more assertive than the Correspondant ideal, a fact which may be accounted for by Durand's fifteen-year sojourn in Russia during the period of the emerging Russian women's movement or by her own atypical childhood and early adulthood in Russia.

In "Vera," the heroine of that name is attractive to the narrator, Serge Pavlovich, precisely because she differs from the passive female norm. Vera "transgresses the laws of her sex," causing Serge to observe that

. . . une femme se permet d'avoir une supériorité morale sur quelqu'un de nous, elle devrait au moins avoir la modestie de la cacher soigneusement; car c'est le seul moyen de se la faire pardonner.<sup>31</sup>

Vera is also from a lower social class than Serge, and in the interests of his own future, he cuts off their relationship by informing Vera untruthfully that he is already married. The independent Vera is devastated and succumbs to a cold which turns for the worse into cerebral fever. She dies screaming, "marié! marié!" A

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<sup>30</sup>Stanton, Eighty Years & More: Reminiscences, 1815-1897 (New York: Schocken Books, 1971), pp. 388-401, recalled meeting Durand-Gréville twice while travelling in France with her son Theodore and his French wife. The first meeting occurred in January 1886; the second sometime between April and October 1887.

<sup>31</sup>Durand-Gréville, "Vera" (10 Feb. 1877), p. 492.

contrite Serge remains a bachelor for life, his price for thwarting a marriage made in heaven. Durand also allowed males to die for unrequited love, but they chose to die rather than passively pining away.<sup>32</sup> The same principle of male action - whether it lead to success or failure - was incorporated by Durand in her manual for the Instruction morale et civique des jeunes filles.<sup>33</sup>

In "Anton Malisoff," Durand offered several perspectives on women and marriage. The hero returns at age forty, still unmarried, to the family estate to put affairs in order after his mother's death. During his 20-year absence all his "pretty" sisters have married, leaving only the uglier ones at home. Since none of the sisters ever enter the plot - Anton's own marriage - the readers are never enlightened on the fate of the uglier sisters.

Malisoff finds himself infatuated with Eugénie, the young

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<sup>32</sup> \_\_\_\_\_, "La Niania," four-part serial (25 Aug.-10 Oct. 1877), contains a heroine who chooses to expose herself to chilly night air and pine away - over a long period of time - rather than marry the older, richer, man her father favors over her beloved Fyodor Durnof, to whom she "belongs." Durnof respects her wishes to honor both him and her father by martyring himself in marriage to a flighty girl. The marriage produces a son like himself and a girl fated to be like her flighty mother. His wife leaves, only to return repentant to deliver the daughter to her father and leave again. Durnof places both children with his father, then commits suicide by throwing himself on his first love's grave during a winter storm. She took months to die, he hours.

<sup>33</sup> L. Clark, "Citoyenne," pp. 4-6 and 8-10. On p. 9 Clark notes women were encouraged to support their husbands but ask them to practice "patient resignation" in the atelier and not to strike against bosses' wills. Women were to likewise subordinate their own wills to their husbands'. See Deschard's "Kate" (10 Jan.-10 Feb. 1879) for this theory in fictional action.



daughter of a neighboring nobleman. Eugénie, the reader is informed, is a constant source of worry to her mother, because she has too much "esprit," something acceptable "only in married women."<sup>34</sup> Unlike most of his contemporaries, Malisoff spurns marriage with a younger woman and sacrifices his own chance at happiness by sponsoring a younger man as Eugénie's suitor. He becomes godfather to the two. Durand's romantic treatment of the sacrifice made by Malisoff is unique in the *Correspondant* literature from 1877-1880, as is her foregoing the consummation of a possible May-September marriage, the norm for Correspondant stories.<sup>35</sup>

Durand's Russian heroines were followed in December 1877 and January 1878 by Tolstoy's Katia, who differed from them in actively seeking her own life outside the home. Katia started married life awed by the enormity of total commitment to another person. "Je sentis que j'étais tout entière à lui et que j'étais heureuse

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<sup>34</sup>Durand-Gréville, "Anton Malisoff," Part I (25 Feb. 1877), p. 672.

<sup>35</sup>Although marriages between young couples were not uncommon in Correspondant fiction, the age advantage was always given to the man, who was generally at least 5 years his bride's senior. Age differences of 10-15 years were more common, with 20-30 year spans between bride and groom not at all uncommon. The reverse situation, in which the woman was the elder, was treated just once and the marriage was not allowed to take place. The heroine, faced by her father's death with choosing marriage to a man 10 years her junior or becoming an institutrice, makes the "correct" decision of entering the spinster life of a teacher. V. L. Mussat, "Trop Tard!" (10 May 1880). As a rule of thumb, the greater the romantic element in Correspondant stories, the closer the ages of the betrothed; and the greater the age gap, the greater the likelihood of an arranged marriage or a marriage of convenience.

d'être en sa puissance," she later recalled.<sup>36</sup> But the novelty of "belonging" to Serge Mikhailovich wore thin soon after the nuptials, and Katia found herself longing for something to do, something meaningful beyond her spouse. Contemplating his more comprehensive lifestyle, she mused: "Je ne veux pas jouer avec les choses de la vie, c'est vivre que je veux, tout comme toi." Katia went even farther, hinting at the visions that created female revolutionaries in Romanov Russia: ". . . je veux vivre avec toi en parfaite égalité."<sup>37</sup>

Katia's willful insistence on a life of her own, symbolized by her decision to live at court rather than at the family dacha, strained her relationship with her husband to the breaking point. Despite the dutiful production of two male heirs they continued to live apart in body as well as in spirit until Katia confronted Serge with his rejection of her for "an unnamed fault," i.e., for her need for her own identity. She faulted Serge - as did Tolstoy through her - for lack of supportive understanding of her own personal needs. The couple reached a modus vivendi because of Katia's baring of her soul. The plot returned full circle to the original pastoral setting. Katia found meaning in love for her children and for the "father of my children;" rejected the life of a St. Petersburg socialite as frivolous; and reiterated Tolstoy's personal philosophy: "la réalité du bonheur est au foyer et dans les joies pures de la famille."<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Leo Tolstoy, "Katia," three parts (10 Dec. 1877-10 Jan. 1878), Part II, p. 1049.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 1056.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., III, p. 130.

Katia's refusal to bow to arbitrary authority and her need to define herself before fulfilling familial roles sets her apart from the women in the Correspondant fiction. But, of equal interest in "Katia" is Tolstoy's description of Katia, a woman, in the same terms as her husband. Both Katia and Serge are allowed to retain their essential humanity even though they err. Katia is allowed the ambivalence Sullerot detects as central to the human condition but more frequently permitted manifestation in men than in women. Tolstoy's Katia could engage in discourse with both the femme libre and the femme chrétienne and remain herself. She did not fit into the world of Correspondant women except in her final homecoming to family.

The anti-type of the femme chrétienne in the pages of the Correspondant was the republican woman, variously referred to as "femme libre," "libre-penseuse," "citoyenne," and incarnated as George Sand, Louise Michel, and the female activist Hubertine Auclert.<sup>39</sup> The most sustained fictional treatment of the femme libre appeared in the Correspondants of March-April 1880 in the four-part serial "Les Demi-mariages" by Paul Perret. Perret's serial amounted to a lengthy tirade against divorce.<sup>40</sup> Its cast of characters re-

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<sup>39</sup>See also Ch. V, below, for negative portrayals of the free spirit Sand, the feminist-socialist-communard Michel and the feminist-suffragist Auclert. Mathurin de Lescure's Femmes philosophes, abbreviated in "Femmes philosophes" in the Correspondant (Aug. 1878-March 1879), provided Correspondant readers with an adverse portrayal of the trio's 18th-century female precursors. De Lescure was particularly horrified by women in Voltaire's circles.

<sup>40</sup>Paul Perret, "Les Demi-mariages" (10 March-25 April 1880).



flected the upper class and haute bourgeoisie milieu of Correspondant readers.

Briefly, Perret depicted the marriages of two daughters, Marie and Marthe, of a "newly arrived" bourgeois. Marie and Marthe both married gentlemen but found their marriages short on love. Marie, believing in the indissolubility of marriage, practiced prayerful perseverance and her efforts were rewarded with her husband's undying devotion. The free-thinking older sister, Marthe, took advantage of a new divorce law to leave her noble but dull Breton spouse and two children for a rich Jew. Predictably, Marthe died young, repenting of her sins.

Marthe was depicted as a victim of the "humeur d'émancipation" resulting from passage of the Loi Naquet, which didn't become law until 1884. The real villains of the story are the republican politicians who pass the law and make use of it to rid themselves of faithful wives, thus setting a sorry example for the rest of the nation. Opposed to them are those ranked behind Marie, who believes in the Catholic Church as the "foyer de résistance à l'affranchissement des femmes."<sup>41</sup> Her increasingly steady ally is her husband Percy, who though made somewhat "effeminé" by Parisian life turns out to be a true blue aristocratic Catholic.

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<sup>41</sup>Perret, "Demi-mariages," II, p. 1050. The intertwining of female emancipation, divorce and Catholic reaction to both is also noticeable in Baron Alfred August Ernouf de Verdives' "Le Divorce et la Révolution" (10 Jan. 1880); and Alfred de Courcy's "Île déserte." For a negative portrait of a rural republican functionary, the counterpart to Perret's politicians in Paris, see Jules Martin in "Épreuve avant la lettre" (10 July 1880) by Courcy.

Marie stays at home tending familial fires and Marthe's children, while Percy roams the demi-monde in search of social truth. What he finds is a hodgepodge of classes and affairs, broken marriages and heartsick spouses. The epitome of the new marriage, or "demi-mariage," is the couple Maucclert. M. Maucclert is a Republican Deputy, his wife Huberte is modeled after the feminist Hubertine Auclert (1848-1914) whose suffrage campaigns made her a cause célèbre. "Huberte," a former chambermaid, has abominable manners and emulates the forward ways of American women. She affects

. . . des allures garconnières, et cependant assez pédantes, c'était un libre penseur en religion et en morale à 18 ans, en musique une grande wagnérienne. . . c'est la précieuse jacobine.<sup>42</sup>

Visions of amazons surround Huberte and her friend, Mme. Charbel, whenever Perret allows them on the scene. Mme. Charbel is a companion piece to Mme. Maucclert. She is the

. . . muse de canton, émancipée de village, longue, csseuse, prétentieuse, avec une chevelure de saule sur des traits masculins. . . le virago.<sup>43</sup>

Perret was preoccupied with the thought that emancipated, "masculinized" women and the freedom to divorce would subvert paternal authority. A divorced or "half-married" man (married in God's eyes but not the State's), surmised Perret, could no longer control his own family, even though as in Louis de Lartic's case, the judge awarded him the children by his marriage to Marthe. He found her unfit as a mother. Wrote Perret about de Lartic's pitiful state:

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 1068.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 1069.

. . . le demi-mari a moins de précautions et moins de puissance, le vrai mari est solidement logé dans son droit et il a la patience et la force. Ce droit, la révoltée le reconnaît en dépit d'elle-même et n'ose. . . Le demi-mari n'est assis que sur une brèche; sachant le peu qu'il est, il paie tout de suite d'emportement et d'audace.<sup>44</sup>

Perret's fears of Hubertine Auclert and other emancipated women were echoed by Victor Fournel, a frequent contributor to the Correspondant and devoté of Paris history. Writing on the question of divorce, Fournel dismissed Auclert and her feminist friends as "ridicules" while opposing them to the "sublime" element in Paris, that is, to the lectures of Fathers Monsarde and Didon. Fournel further implied that the solution to social discontent was to be found in marrying off social activists to one another:

Les deux sexes rivalisent dans ces assauts de folies malsaine et l'on ne sait auquel décerner la palme. Les citoyennes Rouzade et Hubertine Auclert/t/ n'ont vraiment à craindre aucune concurrence. Entre ces aimables personnes et les orateurs barbus qui les accompagnent, un aliéniste se balancerait à s'ap-<sup>45</sup>pliquer sa plus forte douche. Cela ferait des époux assortis.

Fournel referred to Auclert as the leader of "revendications féminines" in the "guerre contre l'usurpation masculine," and suggested that she and her ilk could be most easily managed if only married to "real" paterfamilias. Discussing Auclert, Fournel observed:

Elle déclare l'héroïne Louise Michel digne d'occuper le poste de M. Grévy. . . Les femmes applaudissent avec transport; les hommes sont plus mous, on pourrait même dire qu'ils sont froids.

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<sup>44</sup>Perret, "Demi-mariages," Part III, p. 78.

<sup>45</sup>Victor Fournel, "Les Oeuvres et les hommes: La Société du Droit des Femmes et le vénéré Blanqui" (10 May 1880), p. 504. Didon's lectures on the indissolubility of marriage were delivered at Saint-Philippe du Roule in 1879 and published in 1880. For a feminist critique of Didon's position on marriage, see "Une Conférence du Père Didon," Droit (Dec. 1879), pp. 183-185. Didon's audience is characterized therein as "un auditoire qui n'a pas le droit de réplique."



En général, ils n'ont pas l'air bien convaincu. On devine que ses citoyens, au fond, ne sont pas prêts à abdiquer et qu'ils tiennent particulièrement au droit de battre leurs femmes. Je comprends cela. Si la citoyenne Hubertine Auclerc/t/ était mariée, je soupçonne qu'elle inspirerait parfois à son époux cette salubre envie.<sup>46</sup>

Auclert was presumptuous in her challenging of established political, i.e., male order: such was the social morale to be drawn from reading Perret and Fournel. They were joined in such a judgment by a cleric, Father Douhaire, who likened Auclert's lack of humility to the rash Joan of Arc in a recently retranslated 17th-century Latin play. Douhaire cited as proof of the unacceptable Joan's lack of feminine timidity and humility, the heroine's promise that her victory over the English would cause monuments to be raised which would teach future generations that women as well as men could wear the victor's palm.<sup>47</sup> Douhaire could as well have likened the "spurious" Joan to George Sand, whose masculine ways and fame eclipsed those of Hubertine Auclert. But, Sand had never challenged the political system - a male dominion - as did Auclert. Sand was identified with literary dissent, always a bit more acceptable for women than political

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 508.

<sup>47</sup>Douhaire, "Revue Critique" (25 Aug. 1880), Section VI, "Jeanne d'Arc," trans. by Antoine de Latour, Corres., p. 754. Similar criticisms of Joan as a poor female model appeared in Ferdinand Colincamp's review of Mme. Ernest de Laboulaye's Vie de Jeanne d'Arc, "Mélanges," Corr. (25 Jan. 1877), p. 361. Wrote Colincamp:

Dieu a ses vues. . . loin de rêver une situation exceptionnelle dîtes-vous bien qu'il y a une mission que Dieu nous a confiée a toutes et que chacune, dans son milieu vous êtes appelées à sauver notre chère France et à être toujours et partout l'ange du foyer domestique. . . douce, chaste, charitable. . . femme. . . chrétienne, sérieuse, au coeur noble, l'âme élevée, qui vit sous le regard de Dieu.

activism.

George Sand was dissected as the devil incarnate in woman by Agathe Périer Audley in a serialized "Frédéric Chopin" early in 1878. Audley's "Chopin" served as a case study in the ruination of a man of talent by an "unnatural" or masculinized woman. Audley portrayed Sand as a moral monster, ruled by "appétits sensuels" and "désirs insatiables," a woman determined to dominate Chopin and his great talent. Audley paid a single compliment to Sand when she described the author as enthralled by Chopin's music on their first meeting. Sand was depicted leaning on the grand piano, "curieusement attentive et gracieusement subjuguée,"<sup>48</sup> properly subordinate to a man if only for a moment.

Audley's unsympathetic portrait of George Sand, femme libre and intellectual, was but one aspect of Correspondant criticism of women who eschewed traditional roles in search of education or emancipation. In the serial "Un Bas-bleu" ( 25 May-10 July 1878) by English author Annie Edwards, the femme savante took quite a beating. The heroine of "Bas-bleu," Clementine Hardcastle, had been led by her "false" education to devote her life to geology rather than to

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<sup>48</sup> Agathe Périer Audley, "Frédéric Chopin," in two parts , Part I (25 Jan. 1879), p. 425. A similar disapproving portrayal of Sand was contributed by H. de Lacombe, Corr. (25 July 1879) in his "La Liberté de l'enseignement." Lacombe declared Sand, for all her intellect, unfit to serve as a model for female instruction. In her place he suggested the nun, "despite her poor readings, all her vows of poverty and chastity." Lacombe, p. 219. Douhaire, in his criticism of Compayre's Histoire des doctrine de l'éducation, faulted the role women like Sand and the philosophes' female circle played in the secularization of female education. "Revue critique," p. 740.

the pursuit of a husband. At story's end both Clementine and her two younger sisters saw the error of their ways and Clementine's resistance to the ways of true womanhood was broken down - the castle stormed as it were - by a young suitor with the prophetic name of "Félix" (Happiness). Edwards' descriptions of Clementine's pre-Félix mania for knowledge (i.e. instruction rather than education) amounted to an indictment of women who would be serious scientists.

Clementine's passion for paleontology occasioned remarks on the order of:

. . . le coeur de bien des hommes se glacerait à la vision d'une maîtresse vouée à la paléontologie et ayant des opinions arrêtées sur la toute-puissance de la matière.<sup>49</sup>

The scientific vocabulary of Clementine and her two sisters, to quote Edwards, "froze one's blood."<sup>50</sup>

Mme. Hardcastle, a widow, was described as a "femme-homme" enamoured with the idea that men with little education desired women with great learning as wives. Inspired by her mother Clementine even wished to set up institutions for advancing female learning and to run "conférences" à la Duruy!<sup>51</sup> Mme. Hardcastle's heart, it must be said, was basically in the right place: she wished to arrange fortuitous marriages for her girls. Not so the spinster tutor, Mattie Rivers, whom she had engaged to carry out her positivistic

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<sup>49</sup>Annie Edwards, "Un Bas-bleu," I, p. 698.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., III, p. 1068.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., IV, p. 145. The character Madame de la Prévière, in Stella Blandy's "Le Charme," Corr. (25 July-10 Aug. 1877), is a Mme. Hardcastle undeterred by plot or fate.



program of schooling. Rivers evoked pictures of George Sand as she stood, hands in pockets "à la façon d'un jeune élégant," and seduced girls' minds with instruction in the natural sciences.<sup>52</sup>

Audley's portrait of George Sand, Perret's portrayal of Hubertine Auclert, and Edward's Mattie Rivers were but three examples of women supposedly desexed by appropriating masculine traits. The type or anti-type was as common as the approved femme chrétienne, if one is to believe the Correspondant's cries of impending social anarchy.<sup>53</sup> In whatever context it appeared, allusions to the "unnatural" appeared. The worst thing Correspondant writers could say about women was that they were attempting to usurp male characteristics, to become male.<sup>54</sup> Yet, so limited was their vocabulary of praise for females outside the domestic sphere, that they were forced to employ masculine adjectives in their positive appraisals of women.

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 120. Paul Perret, "Le Mariage en poste" (10 July 1877), and "La Grande cousine" (25 Oct. 1878), provides two more "Mattie Rivers," sinister spinsters seducing innocent young female minds with promises of the rewards of a career and a single life. Marthe Prempain, in the "Mariage en poste," is middle-aged, ugly, and has stepped into her father's post as a notary public on his death. She hates all men "sincerely and openly" and has a character as pock-marked as her face by "l'acidité de son sexe. . . et la rondeur de l'autre." "Mariage," pp. 116-117.

<sup>53</sup>In Correspondant fiction the two types generally appear together, especially if the anti-type is mentioned. The "good" women always win out over the "bad."

<sup>54</sup>V. Lescure, "Femmes philosophe," Part I, p. 602. Lescure indicts women who want to be "honnêtes hommes;" and Laprade, "Musique et l'éducation," in passim. The reverse fear, feminization of men, was evident in Laprade's work in his discussion of Alfred de Musset, who was called "féminin" because he played the piano well.

Virility as the summum bonum. Audley might profess horror at Sand's masculine ways, but she paid Sand a backhanded compliment when she agreed with Liszt's appraisal of Sand's effect on Chopin, the "il" in the following citation:

C'est qu'il ne s'est pas trouvé un coeur d'homme assez féminin pour payer à tes charmes virils l'hommage d'une soumission confiante et aveugle, d'un dévouement muet et ardent; pour laisser protéger ses obéissances par ta force d'amazone.<sup>55</sup>

Other writers praised George Eliot's style for being "viril;" a Catholic woman's writings for possessing "l'intérêt, le charme pénétrant, la pieuse et virile mélancholie;" and Mme. de Sévigné's works for the "qualités viriles" of "raison, droiture, l'élévation, la loyauté, la fermeté, la constance."<sup>56</sup> Yet, only those women who evidenced masculine qualities within or while endorsing female spheres were praised for emulating "manly" virtues. Women could be made too masculine, believed Correspondant contributors, in contradistinction to Legouv   and Dupanloup's faith in "serious, masculine" education, especially if they allowed masculine traits or virtues state center in their lives. Only the exceptional, i.e., the French Catholic, woman could combine male and female virtues with moral impunity.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>Audley, "Chopin," Part II, p. 434. See also d'Hugues tirade against overly ambitious "modern Amazons" who aspired to the most lucrative and prestigious professions. Hugues, "Femmes et baccalaur  at," p. 1071.

<sup>56</sup>On Eliot's style, see du Quesnoy, "Les Romanciers anglais contemporains" (10 Nov. 1878), p. 470; on Catholic women writers, see Douhaire, "Revue critique," p. 350; and on Mme. de S  vign  , see Laprade, "Musique et   ducation," p. 548.

<sup>57</sup>This is the thrust of Laprade's "Musique et   ducation." He

If emulation of the male was generally out of reach of females, production of males was not. Correspondant publicists universally endorsed "monsieur le bébé" as superior to his sister "Mademoiselle la bébé." Almost across the board Correspondant authors allowed their fictional families male first-borns. In "Niana" Durand-Gréville presented the prejudice for sons most dramatically. Her hero, Fyodor Dournof, anxiously awaits the birth of his first-born. Pacing the floor outside the birth chamber he stops when approached by the doctor and asks "in a strangled voice" whether the cry he has just heard issued from a male or a female child. The fear of disappointment at a girl's birth is so great that he awaits the news "without daring to approach" his wife's bedside. Dournof's joy knows no bounds when the doctor replies: "Un garçon, un vrai Dournof, car il vous ressemble."<sup>58</sup> The birth of a girl several years later receives only an impersonal ". . . une fille lui naquit."<sup>59</sup>

In the "Demi-mariages," Marthe de Lartie's only moments of happiness during her first marriage are related to the birth of her son. Writing her sister she recalls:

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believed, however, that carefully supervised female studies could produce an ideal state of affairs and adopted Father Gay's motto: "Faites que vos fils soient véritablement des hommes et vos filles même des femmes viriles," p. 621. This is what Xavier Dufresne meant when reviewing Jules Vuy's Vie de Mme. de Charmoisy, "Revue critique" (10 Nov. 1878), p. 533. Mme. de Charmoisy was described as "une femme d'un très-bon esprit et du courage mâle." Laprade praised Joan of Arc and Charlotte Corday as the sole modern examples of male courage in females. Jules DuBern's paeon to the "femmes viriles" who mothered 4th-century Gallic warriors was another case in point. DuBern, p. 4.

<sup>58</sup>Durand-Gréville, "Niana," Part IV, p. 110.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 118.



Je n'ai trouvé qu'une seule fois en six ans M. de Lartie adorable, aimable. C'est en cet instant où, se penchant sur moi, il m'a dit: "Un garçon!"

Un garçon! un être sorti de moi, qui serait mon image, qui aurait pourtant cette force qui nous manque et cette liberté dont le rêve commençait déjà à me tourmenter.<sup>60</sup>

The first Lartie child was a son. No similar recollections followed the birth of the second child, a girl. Marthe's sister Marie likewise gave birth first to a son and then to a daughter. Perret didn't allow any of his "femmes émancipées" and their divorced spouses offspring.

Abbé Houssaye, the Correspondant's chief popularizer of Dupanloup's thought in the late-1870's, cast Marthe de Lartie's sentiments in another light when he wrote that woman's oeuvre was the production of male children, of a

. . . homme capable de fonder lui-même une famille, d'illustrer son nom par son génie, de sauver sa patrie par son courage, de mourir martyr pour son dieu.<sup>61</sup>

Houssaye's description of women's maternal mission occurred in his "Femme chrétienne" of 1880. His subordination of female to male interests was typical of Correspondant literature on women, which bore eloquent testimony to the difficulties of perceiving women

<sup>60</sup>Perret, "Demi-mariages," Part II, p. 1049.

<sup>61</sup>Houssaye, "Femme chrétienne," pp. 620-621. The idea of a female "oeuvre" expressed here is closely related to the idea that women are saved by giving birth to sons. Only one rebellion against this idea was chronicled in the Correspondant from 1877-1880, and that one from an alien culture, the Mormons. In excerpts from Mistress Stenhouse's tract, "An Englishwoman in Utah," the author objected to the idea that "la femme. . . ne peut être sauvée que par l'homme," sons or husbands. Stenhouse saw in polygamous marriages the prostitution most feminists perceived in contemporary monogamy. V. V. de Chevigny, "Une Anglaise dans l'Utah" (25 July 1880), p. 327.

outside a framework of male interests. This attitude was no where more clearly apparent than in Correspondant discussion of female education within the context of Ferry's proposed reforms.

The Correspondant vs. the lycéenne. After deposition of the Loi Camille Sée, Correspondant criticism of proposed republican educational reforms increased and fears of general social disaster were linked to proposed female lycées.<sup>62</sup> The greatest insult perceived to the social order, however, was not necessarily greater education for girls but increased inroads on male power, specifically paternal authority, symbolized most clearly by the laicization of secondary education. Wrote the Abbé Sicard:

Les pères de la famille peuvent bien pardonner à la république de prendre leur argent, ou leurs places; il ne peuvent pas lui permettre de prendre leurs enfants, or c'est la violence qu'elle est en train de commettre.<sup>63</sup>

Sicard was particularly incensed by talk of government sponsorship of female internats and externats at the primary and secondary levels. Paul Bert, Sicard claimed, would commit the ultimate sacrilege of disrupting the family, i.e. paternal authority, by reaching into its "very sanctuary"

. . . pour assurer que les petites filles de six ans ont des idées saintes sur nos législatures, sur le suffrage universel, sur l'indivisibilité de la nation, nous comprenons que les

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<sup>62</sup>V. chronology in footnote 1, above.

<sup>63</sup>Abbé Augustin Sicard, "La Politique dans l'enseignement de 1762 à 1808," Part I, p. 1. At the time of this article's publication (10 July-25 Aug. 1880), Sicard was vicar of Saint-Philippe du Roule, the church in which Monsarde and Didon electrified the faithful with their social commentary and exhortations of female piety.

parents se liguient d'une frontière à l'autre et répondent à ces cris de guerre par l'affirmation éclatante de leurs droits.<sup>64</sup>

According to Sicard, Bert's compulsory primary education would teach girls "things not made for them," like civil administration, finances, military and political organization, the workings of the constitution, all subjects contained under the rubric "enseignement civique." And, Sicard reiterated, the liberty of opinion and liberty of "pères de famille" would be "imperilled."<sup>65</sup> Sicard elsewhere noted that women shaped men, not just mores, to what they wanted.<sup>66</sup> If women were not educated to shape men into loyal Catholics, but were instead directed to republicanize their sons and husbands, the Catholic cause would be lost.

Sicard was more worried about the fate of the seat of paternal power, the Church, than he was about the particular fates of fathers and future fathers of France. But the fear of inappropriately educating women to active citizenship in the public sphere,

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<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 25. The eventual collapse of paternal authority was symbolized for Sicard by an order of 8 November 1793, which called for substitution of the title "citoyen-ne" for "monsieur, madame" and "mademoiselle." Said Sicard, meditating on the contemporary scene and trend toward democratization, "Il n'y a pas de vous dans la République," Sicard, op. cit., Part II, pp. 201-202.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., Part II, p. 205, citing the Luminais report of 24 February 1798 as reprinted in the *Moniteur*. René Lavollée, "La Question du travail des femmes en France et à l'étranger," Part I (25 Oct. 1877), p. 189, in one of the few Correspondant articles mentioning lower-class women, drew the same conclusion and stated that that was why the question of women workers was so "delicate" and "important."



which he evidenced, was picked up as the chief danger of female secondary tutelage by the laity. Writing in the last issue of the 1878 Correspondant, G. d'Hugues summed up his peers' anxieties about the Loi Camille Sée in "Une Signe des temps: Les femmes et le baccalauréat." His major concern was the threat he saw posed to male dominance of public life and the professions, a concern which does not seem to have been justified by patterns of female wage-labor employment either before or after the Loi Camille Sée,<sup>67</sup> but which is best understood in terms of the symbolic threat posed to the conservative life style. Like his peers on the Correspondant, Hugues was beset by worries of more revolution. The "classes mixtes" which he feared would be the norm for the new lycées (a fear not realized) would, he surmised, be the

. . . étrange, anormal caractéristique du désordre que nos dernières révolutions ont jété dans les esprits et que mérite pour cela même de ne point passer inaperçu.<sup>68</sup>

Girls who had already braved the "seuil redoutable" of the University, Hugues noted, were unnaturally bold. They approached its hallowed gates with an unseemly "pas délibéré" and once en-

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<sup>67</sup>For a more realistic look at actual patterns of female employment outside the home and at contemporary female aspirations, see Coirault, op. cit., Lenore O'Boyle, op. cit., and John W. Shaffer, "Family, Class and Young Women's Occupational Expectations in Nineteenth-Century Paris," paper read at 3rd Berkshire Conference (June 1976). Shaffer concludes that limited career opportunities for women, sex-role stereotyping, schooling and family resources, "contributed to render women's work primarily a means to supplement the incomes of their families, whether of their parents or of their own. . . financial independence for the average single working woman was very nearly impossible. . . and did not even appear to have been the intention behind most women's decision to enter the labor force." Shaffer, p. 26.

<sup>68</sup>G. d'Hugues, "Femmes et baccalauréat," p. 1072.

sconced in the classroom copied time-honored male traditions of rhetoric and competition.<sup>69</sup> Naturally chivalrous male judges would, worried Hugues, be taken in by the charms of their female students and award them the baccalauréat despite the fact that their holding it contradicted Nature's plan. Hugues seconded Molière's Chrysale for censuring femmes savantes: ". . . il n'est pas bien honnête et pour beaucoup de causes, Qu'une femme étudie et sache tant de choses."<sup>70</sup> Yet, what bothered Hugues the most was that girls seemed to be preceeding "messieurs lurs frères" in receiving degrees. If women chose to use their degrees, he wrote, he feared they would vie not only for academic honors with men, but also for "le butin des places."<sup>71</sup>

Hugues made a great to-do about preventive measures. Julie Daubié, the first woman to receive the baccalaureat degree but whom he never mentioned in person, and her sisters could, he claimed, have been denied the "fruit défendu"<sup>72</sup> of academic degrees had she never been allowed to stand for examination in Lyons. Hugues implied that, like Lady MacBeth, Daubié had been unsexed by masculine pursuits. He bemoaned the irreversibility of the assumed

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 1071.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 1072; Laprade, p. 554.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p. 1072. Similar fears of girls' achievements in fringing on prior fraternal privileges were reflected in Laprade, p. 553. He was concerned that girls' practicing piano would not only bother neighbors but disrupt domestic tranquillity and disturb brothers' studies.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 1075. For a feminist view on this topic, see Léon Richer, "Le Fruit défendu," Avenir (5 March 1876), p. 37. Richer's paper promoted female scholastic competition and carried reports on females receiving the baccalaureat degree.

role reversal. What foyer, he asked, would receive

Une personne qui sait le grec et qui a pénétré les horribles mystères de la philosophie, pourra-t-elle décemment s'astreindre à de purs travaux manuels ou aux vulgaires soucis du ménage?<sup>73</sup>

Hugues did allow that some few women would follow Dupanloup's counsel and subordinate their studies successfully to maternity and to housework. But he still feared that women with degrees might find themselves somehow "modified" upon matriculation. So, he consoled himself with the thought that such women would not be marriageable because equality of the sexes was not appropriate in a "ménage bien réglé."<sup>74</sup>

Hugues did admit that some injustice might be done to women who were talented and motivated to become scholars if the practice of granting women degrees were stopped. And, he considered such limitation "préjugé," much as had Talleyrand a century earlier. But Hugues pronounced restriction of female scholarship "scruple," an expedient justified if men were not to be pushed out of "voies exclusivement réservées jusqu'au présent à l'activité, au génie, à la vertu du sexe fort."<sup>75</sup> Hugues made exclusionary practices against women a measure of public and private health, a salutary yoke, as it were. Women, he said, would lose their native modesty and become women of the streets were they to witness dissections in medical schools. He foresaw their families dishonored when daughters frequented lecture halls, even if male students and professors took upon themselves the onerous responsibility of protecting female students'

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<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 1076.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., p. 1078.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 1079.



reputations. Hugues cast his veils of dishonor in terms of male affiliates' reputations, just as Rousseau had in the Émile:

C'est une préjugé, si l'on veut, mais qui ne sera pas aisément déraciné. . . il n'est pas de plus sûre sauvegarde pour l'innocence des filles que de vivre à côté de leurs mères, dans la paix moralisante et douce du foyer domestique. . . leur considération, leur bonne renommée, sont une partie essentielle du patrimoine moral des familles. . . L'ombre seul du soupçon, il ne saurait y avoir de respect ni d'estime pour le père et pour les frères.<sup>76</sup>

All are "d'accord," Hugues solemnly stated, that respect for women, the quality he considered the separating line of Frenchman from "barbarian," dictated that the female baccalauréat or "demoiselle libre dans la rue libre" be opposed.<sup>77</sup> He entertained no similar fears for males educated to be doctors or professionals, for men, he maintained, were more naturally resistant to moral lapses.<sup>78</sup>

Hugues' damnation of female professionals, and of female doctors in particular, contained a serious judgment on the entire sex. "Les femmes ne sont que les femmes," he observed in sum-

<sup>76</sup>Ibid., pp. 1083-1084. Earlier in his article [p. 1078] Hugues termed the discrimination against female students in favor of male "préjugé. . . transformé en un simple scrupule."

<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 1084. Similar statements were made during the Loi Camille Sée debates. V. remarks on chivalry of debators on 19 January 1880. See also Victor Fournel, "Revue critique," p. 508.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 1085. Hugues on male moral strength: "En définitive. . . ils sont des hommes: ils ont la force et la prudence et si l'équilibre entre la raison et la foi est souvent troublé chez eux à préjudice du sens chrétien, il n'y paraît pas au dehors. . ." Hugues was seconded in his judgment of the relative moral strength of the sexes by Mme. Craven, in her example of Honoria in "Le Travail d'une âme" (25 March 1877), pp. 1029-1040. Craven posited that even Bible study might cause women to flounder in "la mer sans rivage de libre examen." Thus she recommended making Church doctrine, not the Bible, the core of one's faith. Hugues, op. cit., pp. 1087-1086, cited Mme. de Rémusat to bolster his point that women were morally weak.

ming up his theories on the weaker moral fiber of the female sex.<sup>79</sup>

The social lesson Hugues drew from his limited scrutiny of women in higher education was that they should not be allowed to leave the home or the married state, for the good of the nation and the good of the "pot-au-feu."<sup>80</sup> Any father who permitted his daughter to pursue the baccalaureat degree, to become a "femme savante," a "bachelière," or a "doctoresse," had "quelque chose de détraqué" in his "machine raisonnante." A case in point? Émile Deschanel, who hoped to destroy church influence over women by urging passage of the Loi Camille Sée.<sup>81</sup>

That "quelque chose de détraqué" in the heads of fathers who would encourage their daughters in secular education was explicated in terms quite familiar to readers of the Correspondant: it was disregard for the principle of authority. Explained Hugues: "Quand le principe d'autorité est battu en brèche sur la place publique, il ne se peut faire qu'il ne soit bien malade dans la famille." For Hugues the choice was clear: reject either the "ba-

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 1086. Hugues solution to troublemakers like Daubié resembled Fournel's. By implication he pushed the final solution of marriage and restriction to the foyer of all women. The tone of his article leaves no doubt that the cloister was an acceptable substitute for matrimony.

<sup>80</sup>The strongest statement of this thesis may be found in "Femmes et baccalauréat," p. 1073.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 1088-1089. The term "bachelière" was not of Hugues own making. It had been used by Léon Richer, "Les Bachelières," in the Avenir des Femmes of September 1877, pp. 133-134, to describe a new group of baccalauréat recipients. The term never became standard French. Hugues used it as a term of scorn, Richer as one of praise.

chelière" or the femme chrétienne. Taken out of context, the following summation of Hugues article might seem pro-feminist, but as part of Correspondant criticism, it must be considered Hugues' anti-feminist credo, the final statement of a man who feared women sitting in judgment as lawyers over men and was horrified by the "roulette sociale" of democratic intermingling of the classes or sexes.

Ou reléguons la femme dans le gynécée. . . et ne voyons en elle qu'un instrument de plaisir, un être uniquement destiné à la reproduction de l'espèce; ou si nous la regardons véritablement comme notre égale, relevons-la de la servitude, de la condition humiliée que lui ont fait d'iniuques et sots préjugés; admettons-la au partage de nos devoirs et de nos droits; ouvrons-lui l'entrée du forum, des magistratures, des charges publiques, et que son mérite soit la seule mesure de ses ambitions.<sup>82</sup>

Better, Hugues was saying in tones heavily laden with sarcasm and desperation, for women to be sequestered by the Church against the forces of modernization, than to be allowed the equality (erroneously) promised by Ferry.

Hugues' alternate "gynecium" was the domain of his ideal woman, a latter-day equivalent of the sturdy Felmish homemaker portrayed in 17th-century interior scenes. Such a woman reads a religious work while working on a child's camisole. Her face and manner bear the stamp of "gravité, modestie, travail, piété." She never dreams of going to "conférences," nor does she seek professional status by opening an office and giving "free consultations" (like a 20th-century women's center?). She simply "thinks of her duties, her children and God."<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 1094-1095.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 1095.



In his fervid desire to restrain women from entering the public sphere, Hugues made little mention of women's patriotic mission, except to note that resistance to the lure of becoming femmes savantes was a factor in keeping the national character from suffering even more "deviation," a state of affairs he blamed for France's defeat in 1870.<sup>84</sup> The Comte de Champagne was more articulate on the subject than Hugues and likened Catholic mothers to Esther.<sup>85</sup> Abbé Houssaye, for his part, wrote that Catholic mothers would save France by leading their families back to the Church. They would be as faithful to the Church, he promised, as Mary was to Christ.<sup>86</sup> Father Quesnoy likened French mothers to Dinah, the "true woman" in Eliot's Adam Bede. Dinah, wrote Quesnoy, was most praiseworthy, for she understood that

. . . la mission de la femme, plus humble quoique excellente, doit gagner les âmes à la vérité par son dévouement, sa douceur et sa grâce, mais que la faiblesse de son sexe lui interdit de vouloir courber l'orgueil des forts [i.e., of men], que la modestie, qui est un de ses plus grands charmes, lui défend de s'exposer à la curiosité banale de la foule.<sup>87</sup>

Dealing with the public, the "crowd," paid employment, professional glory, and public acclaim, were, in short, the spheres of men. The Correspondant relegated women entirely to pious domesticity and good works, for they were "other" than men. The closer women

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<sup>84</sup>Ibid., p. 1089.

<sup>85</sup>Champagne, in "Lettres," p. 1116, wrote that "Une homme nous proscrit, Esther nous sauvera."

<sup>86</sup>Houssaye, "Femme chrétienne," p. 616.

<sup>87</sup>Quesnoy, "Romanciers anglais," p. 470.

came to usurping or infringing on male authority and privilege, the nearer they came to treasured "places," the more they were cast as destructive aliens rather than angels of the foyer. The resulting images of woman in the Correspondant are essentially negative, and the juxtaposition of angel and she-devil results in an extreme ambivalence toward contemporary women. Women, the social lesson of the journal reads, must be restricted for their own good and for the good of society, and the Church plays the critical role in their management.

Karen Horney speaks in her Feminine Psychology of "suspiciousness between the sexes" and of the disillusionment which befalls persons in daily life when significant others fail to fulfill culturally accepted "secret expectations and longings for happiness."<sup>88</sup> The not-so-secret longing of Correspondant publicists in the years 1877-1880 was for France's return to an order, predicated on aristocratic, Catholic, male authority, which they associated with pre-Republican times. Women played a key role in that vision of social stability. They ordered society by their very resistance to change and through their unquestioning obedience of the paterfamilias and the Holy Father in Rome. Women, believed those who published and read the Correspondant, set societal standards by not questioning the norms posited by men like Dupanloup, or,

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<sup>88</sup>Karen Horney, "Distrust Between the Sexes," from her Feminine Psychology (N.Y.: Norton, 1967), reprinted in Betty and Theodore Roszak, Masculine/Feminine: Readings in Sexual Mythology and the Liberation of Women (N.Y.: Harper/Colophon Books, 1969), p. 108.

in Hugues' words, by not "questioning everything and making the impossible possible."<sup>89</sup> Furthermore, in the world of the Correspondant, women allowed men, fathers and sons, to achieve for them while providing the emotional, spiritual and physical sustenance necessary to men bowed down by worldly concerns.

Horney notes that this symbiotic relationship, even though it is mutual (men providing money and status, women nurturing at all levels) fosters the "glitter of sexual overestimation" by assuming "others" are capable of fulfilling "secret expectations" - in the case of the Correspondant expectations of domestic bliss and social peace. She further suggests that claims on others which are based on role expectations are by their very nature impossible to realize and thus lead to mounting hostilities and the projection of personal disappointments at lack of vicarious fulfillment onto others (or one other within the male-female couple).<sup>90</sup>

The massive task of maintaining social and familial order was made a routine part of women's mission by Correspondant publicists, who overlaid success in that mission with a somber judgment of earthly and heavenly success or damnation. Given the social turmoil in early Third Republic France, it is not surprising that a long history of French misogyny combined with eleventh-hour

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<sup>89</sup>Hugues, op. cit., p. 1092. This is another manifestation of the idea that the world was being turned upside down. On p. 1094 Hugues linked the ideas of class and sex-role revolution: "Les notions du vrai et du faux se confondent; les rapports des choses se dénaturent et se bouleversent; tous les lie montent à la surface, dans l'ordre intellectuel comme dans l'ordre social."

<sup>90</sup>Horney, op. cit., pp. 108-109.



conservative hopes to project an unstable, negative image of woman. The contrasting image of woman in the Droit des Femmes was drawn in conscious opposition to that typified by Correspondant publicists.

## C H A P T E R   I V

LE DROIT DES FEMMES

In her highly informative Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914, Li Dzeh-Dzen notes that nowhere was the importance of Ferry's educational reforms - especially the Loi Camille Sée - as fully appreciated by Ferry's contemporaries as in Léon Richer's Droit des Femmes.<sup>1</sup> The Droit was the only long-lived feminist periodical in 19th-century France.<sup>2</sup> During its twenty-three year lifespan it read like a Who's Who of the French woman movement. Besides its founder Léon Richer, the Droit attracted feminist luminaries like Hubertine Auclert, Maria Deraismes (See Appendix B), Jeanne Deroin and Louise Audebert as major contributors. Richer, an intrepid organizer, managed to attach virtually all persons who were interested in issues vitally affecting women to the Droit des Femmes as writers, sponsors, or

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<sup>1</sup>Li Dzeh-Dzen, La Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914 (Paris: Librairie L. Rodstein, 1934), p. 52. Hereafter cited as Presse féministe. Dzeh-Dzen is listed on the title page as "Licenciée es lettres" from the University of Nanking (n.d.). Her thèse doctorale was read and approved for publication by H. Delacroix, Dean of the Faculty of Letters, Université de Paris, and by its Rector, S. Charléty. Delacroix dated his signature "26 Février 1934."

<sup>2</sup>The Droit's closest rival in longevity was Hubertine Auclert's La Citoyenne (13 February 1881 - 15 November 1891), which focussed on woman suffrage. Auclert and Deraismes partially broke with Léon Richer on the issue of suffrage. While Richer favored loosening the hold of the Catholic Church on women before considering woman suffrage wise, Auclert and Deraismes demanded immediate suffrage for their sex. The issue of suffrage, did not, however, cause the French woman movement in the 19th century the trouble it caused their American sisters, perhaps because the French movement lacked enough adherents to make separate platforms for separate groups a possibility.

or underwriters.<sup>3</sup>

The Droit des Femmes first appeared on 10 April 1869 as a weekly. It continued to be published on that basis until the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (July 1870), at which time it ceased publication for thirteen months, resuming as a weekly on 24 September 1871. Richer was forced by lack of funds to go to a monthly publication schedule in January of 1872. From that date the Droit appeared every first Sunday of the month, until ill health forced Richer to suspend publication permanently on 20 December 1891. Léon Richer regularly sent copies of his paper gratis to French notables - publicists, politicians, hommes and femmes de lettres, socialites - whom he wished to persuade to come to the aid of female emancipation.

Such generosity severely strained his limited budget, but it kept issues like divorce, female education, and female civil rights alive at a time when post-war pressures to conform to conservative norms could have totally undermined efforts at feminist reforms.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Presse féministe, pp. 53-54, lists the following persons as vitally connected with feminist issues and the Droit. Women: Maria Deraismes, Hubertine Auclert, André Léo (la Veuve Champseix), Amélie ("Émile") Bosquet, Angélique Arnaud, Louise Audebert, Nellie Lieutier, Julie Daubié, Suzanne Voilquin, Jeanne Deroin (la Veuve Desroches. Men: Léon Richer, Albert Cim, Émile de Girardin, Adolphe Guérault, Eugène Garcin, Frédéric Passy, S. Morin, Ernest Legouvé, Édouard Laboulaye, John Stuart Mill, Jacob Bright, René Viviani, and Louis Blanc. Blanc suggested in 1872 that the Droit press for divorce reform, an issue which lost it subscribers later in the decade when the Naquet bill gained momentum. To this list should be added Victor Hugo, Victor Schoelcher, Naquet and Joseph Gasté. Gasté was the most feminist of Deputies during this period and underwrote Auclert's Citoyenne.

<sup>4</sup>Richer's hard times and opposition to the paper are chronicled in Presse féministe, Ch. IV, "Le Droit des Femmes."



Through their personal contacts, regular contributions to the Droit and special supplemental issues,<sup>5</sup> Léon Richer and his small, but dedicate coterie, kept the French women's movement alive when it might very well have died out.

Surprisingly little has been written about either the Droit des Femmes or its major contributors. Scholars' neglect of publicists like Richer, Deraismes and Audebert, to mention only a few of the Droit's notables, is puzzling in view of their intimate relation to contemporary women's issues and to the woman movement in France and abroad. For example, the Droit was recognized as the major European feminist publication in 1981 by the International Federation for the Vindication of the Rights of Women. Richer was the moving force behind the First International Congress on the Rights of Women, a conference held in Paris during the 1878 Exposition and an event which did much to give credibility to the feminist cause in France. Richer also provided the inspiration for the Second Congress, held in France in 1899.

The Droit itself yields many provocative leads for historians interested in various European feminist/protofeminist groups, as it regularly carried columns from other countries and commented on conferences of interest to social reformers. The Droit's continuing rebuttal of its critics, and they were legion, is fertile ground for

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<sup>5</sup>For example, Louise Audebert's series of eight-page supplements (Jan.-March, July-Aug. 1876) on women in the theater of Alexandre Dumas, fils, "Études sur le théâtre contemporain." Audebert's work is an excellent case study for those interested in sophisticated feminist criticism.

studying anti-feminism in France. Its pages also contain a running account of the development of the French women's movement in the early Third Republic, a time during which the issue of suffrage strained relationships between movement leaders, Richer being reluctant to grant women the vote because he feared they would vote as directed by priests, Deraismes and Auclert favoring suffrage as the ultimate civil reform. Biographical information on feminists is scattered throughout the Droit, but for individual biographies readers do well to consult Dzeh-Dzen's work and use standard reference works published before World War I.

La Presse féministe remains the best source for material on the Droit des Femmes and its staff.<sup>6</sup> It also suggests logical starting points for further work in French women's history; such as Auclert's "Société des Droits des Femmes," associations of tradeswomen, educational societies, public courses, prosopographical studies of feminists and fellow-travelers, to name but a few. More, too, should be done on those people of note like Victor Hugo, Jules and Mme. Simon, Madame and Louis Blanc and the legislators who supported the Droit and its programs. More particular bits of information, such as Richer's initial commitment to feminism because of exposure to inequalities in the law while a notary's clerk, suggest promising starting points

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<sup>6</sup>Evelyne Sullerot's La Presse féminine (Paris: Armand Colin, 1963), adds nothing of a theoretical nature to Dzeh-Dzen's work. As her modifier indicates, Sullerot's emphasis is on the entire body of periodical literature for and by women. It provides essential data on the general female press., the French equivalents of Godey's Ladies' Book, Mc Calls and Mademoiselle. The 20th century brought more attention in the female press to social and political issues.

for studies of social movements.

Among the revealing bits of data furnished her readers by Dzeh-Dzen is the author's notation of the use of pseudonyms by Droit writers. Ascription of the noms de plumes "Georges Bath" and "Jeanne Mercoeur" to Léon Richer is particularly helpful.<sup>7</sup> One wishes that she had continued to develop this particular train of thought, as a clearer picture of the actual state of the Droit and the number of regular by-lines might have emerged. The use of fictitious by-lines does suggest that sleight-of-hand was at times necessary to convince the Droit's readership (and the gratis recipients of subscriptions) of the wisdom or viability of French feminism. Female contributors to the Droit rarely used pseudonyms, a fact which may be a tribute to their unusually high degree of personal assertiveness. Similarly, use of husband's first names in the Droit was less commonplace than custom dictated.

Richer was selective in his use of "Georges Bath" and "Jeanne Mercoeur." When writing as Bath he provided filler for the paper, short commentary on a variety of issues, routine notices, and reports on his own work. "Jeanne Mercoeur," on the other hand, contributed Richer's most cutting and impassioned criticisms of women's condition in France. Jeanne also reported feminist events as an eyewitness; a

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<sup>7</sup>Presse féministe, p. 61. Dzeh-Dzen, although supported by stylistic and textual study of the Droit des Femmes, unfortunately fails to cite her sources for information on pseudonym usage. The practice of using pen names was fairly common during the Second Empire and early Third Republic, especially for women. Droit female publicists always used their own names, although correspondence submitted to the paper was sometimes unsigned. Léon Giraud used the anagram "Draigu." Use of pseudonyms also helped avoid official or social censorship.



most interesting use of the female pseudonym, as it might possibly convince women that there were members of the fairer sex who could speak out in public and openly agitate for female betterment. Mercoeur could well have been conceived as a role model for those women who secretly wished to be more assertive on their own behalf, but didn't know how to go about demanding more rights. A brief sampling of articles bearing the Mercoeur by-line from 1876-1879 illustrates just the type of female activism Richer wished to promote. Richer dropped both pseudonyms for the most part in 1880.

In 1877 Mercoeur stoutly defended the Avenir des Femmes (the Droit)<sup>8</sup> against those who would keep the "forbidden fruits" of self-knowledge, education and social reform it preached from women. The following year "she" reported on prizes given to the graduates of a commercial school for girls by the president of the Society for Elementary Instruction. In 1878 Mercoeur commented on speeches delivered by Jules Simon and other celebrants at a banquet hosted by the "Société des Dames et Demoiselles du Commerce." 1879 saw Mercoeur discussing topics as varied as the relationship between breastfeeding and the quality of maternal infant care, and the increasingly timely issue of women and education. During discussion of the latter topic Mercoeur vented a full measure of anticlericalism and seconded Ferry's banning certification of religious teachers in state-sponsored schools solely on the recommendations of their imme-

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<sup>8</sup>N.b., from reissuance in 1871 through 1878 the Droit des Femmes carried the masthead "Avenir des Femmes." The less radical title reflected Richer's uncertainty as to the direction of France's social and political development early in the Third Republic.

diate ecclesiastical superiors.<sup>9</sup>

Richer's decreased use of pseudonyms in 1880 may be explained by two phenomena. First, increasing freedom of the press was conducive to dropping of fictitious by-lines. Secondly, Richer was able to draw on outside commentators as the issues of divorce and female education became more respectable. There are indications that 1880 was a good year for Richer financially. Issues which he had been raising since the mid-1860's were widely and seriously discussed by other Republican journalists. Furthermore, he attracted to the Droit commentary by other publicists, notably from Émile de Girardin, who formally welcomed Dumas, fils, to the ranks of the French woman movement on the eve of passage of the Loi Camille Sée.<sup>10</sup>

Importance of the Droit to women's history. By dint of its exclusive critical focus on women's issues, the Droit des Femmes differs radically from the other sources utilized in this study.

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<sup>9</sup>"J. Mercoeur," "Le Fruit défendu" (5 March 1876), p. 37; "Une Distribution des prix" (5 August 1877), p. 135; "Société des Dames et Demoiselles du Commerce" (1 December 1878), pp. 188-189; "Questions d'Enseignement" (4 May 1879), pp. 75-76; "La Lettre d'obédience" (1 June 1879), pp. 5-6; and "Congrès libre et laïque de l'éducation" (2 November 1879), pp. 166-167. "L'Allaitement par les mères" (2 March 1879), pp. 37-39, noted the economic necessities which forced women to leave their children at home, the easier life of richer women, and the red herring of "sinful" mothers. Their solutions were government sponsorship of artificial milk substitutes, equal pay for women, and subsidization of nursing mothers.

<sup>10</sup>Richer's coffers were generally empty. He often used quick promotions schemes like subscriptions at reduced rates to attract more funds. He lost subscribers because of his stand on divorce and his policy of gradual reform before granting women suffrage.

Alone of these sources it contains superabundant data immediately pertinent to images of woman in Third Republic France. Massive, direct criticism of paternalism, the Code Napoléon, Church dogma and practice, educational institutions and economics, i.e., all manner of discrimination against women, were presented in the Droit des Femmes. Such commentary serves as a standard against which to judge the more limited images of women presented in the Correspondant and in the Camille Sée debates. Alone among the publications and sources considered in this study, the Droit des Femmes provides sufficient material on the condition of women in late 19th-century France and on the single topic of female education to project a well-defined, highly sophisticated, image of woman.

Furthermore, the exceptionally detailed images of women in the Droit aid in the construction of a feminist version of the noted femme libre, whom we shall dub the "liberated woman" in honor of Richer's positive description of her.<sup>11</sup>

Generally speaking, the Droit, following Richer's lead, presented the liberated woman in opposition to the highly idealized

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<sup>11</sup>In 1877 Richer published La Femme libre, a lengthy discourse on the emancipated woman based on his analysis of the feminine condition in France. The book horrified the Right and its title disquieted social conservatives like Legouvé, but it was credited by others with their conversion to the cause of female emancipation. V. Avenir of March, April, August, September, October, December 1877, and January and June 1878, for a wide selection of responses to the book. Opponents agreed with Paul Bellet of the Bonapartist Patrie, Avenir of August 1877, that the femme libre was an "unnatural" creature. Bellet blamed the "mania" for "female instruction" for Richer's errors and saw religion as a good controller of women. Wrote Bellet: "Affranchir ces femmes du joug religieux, c'est faire des êtres sans foi; c'est ouvrir leur imagination à tous les vices, c'est laisser leur faiblesse désarmée en face des passions."



femme chrétienne et forte who existed as the repressed ideal in contemporary France and America, in two ways.<sup>12</sup> First, through direct commentary on projected educational reforms and current events as they pertained to women. Secondly, and perhaps most valuable to our purposes, through critical and analytical pieces on female education interspersed with theoretical pieces on women in society. Only rarely did women walk fictional paths in the Droit des Femmes, in marked contrast to the Correspondant. Those few pieces of fiction offered by the Droit from 1877-1880 faithfully echoed motifs featured in the paper's nonfictional reportage. The value of the Droit to historians seeking lead to feminist personalities, issues, organizations and events, has already been noted. In brief, the Droit served as a late 19th-century mirror of contemporary images of women as well as the chronicler of the French women's movement.

Woman educated to freedom: the "Discours de Mme. Jenny Touzin." The Droit des Femmes selection which best illustrates the intertwining of feminist concern for women's condition, hopes for a better future, and faith in the ameliorative effects of education - all concerns which linked French feminism to republicanism - is the

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<sup>12</sup> Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood," American Quarterly, Vol. XVIII (Summer 1966), pp. 151-174, notes that "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" were considered the sine qua non of ideal 19th-century American women. She also suggests that male guilt feelings for preoccupation with secular things were assuaged by leaving idealized women "hostage" to traditional religious values in the home setting. Horney, op. cit., Ch. III, discusses transference of hostility for failure to fulfill such a stereotype. Both theses shed light on male-female stereotypes and relations in Third Republic France.

"Discours de Mme. Jenny Touzin." The "Discours" was delivered on 20 February 1877 at the first meeting of Hubertine Auclert's newly re-constituted "Société le Droit des Femmes" and reported in the March issue of l'Avenir des Femmes.<sup>13</sup> It set the tone for subsequent diagnoses of the effects of sexual prejudice on female socialization. Léon Richer described the speech as "remarkable," a rare compliment for the usually restrained publicist, in his introductory remarks to it in the March Avenir.

A master of social psychology, Touzin began her presentation to a mixed audience by omitting the customary "Mesdames" from the salutation and addressing only "Messieurs." Omission of women from the salutation was followed, but not immediately explained, by the statement that women had to be their own best champions, combatting not only the obvious forces of oppression, i.e., the Civil Code and the Catholic Church, but also the more subtle repressions of "l'habitude prise, aimée, our supportée, du servage, de l'adulation et de la souffrance."<sup>14</sup> Only after prolonged exposition of male re-

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<sup>13</sup>Pp. 34-37. The Society's meeting was chaired by Armand Duportal, Deputy (Toulouse) and Freemason, lending credence to anti-feminists fears of connections between Freemasonry and feminism. Eugène Pelletan was also an outstanding Mason, and Deraismes defied convention and Masonic rules by belonging to a lodge for a time. Auclert's society was the direct descendant of Deraismes' "Association pour le Droit des Femmes," founded in 1870 and transformed under ministerial pressure into the "Société pour l'Amélioration du sort des Femmes" in 1874, only to be dissolved by the government in 1875. It was officially reconstituted by decree in August 1878. Droit feminists bitterly resented stealing of the society's title by anti-feminists in 1876. See, "Réaction," Avenir (6 Jan. 1877), pp. 9-10, section "Ménagère et vassale." The usurpers called their society the "Ligue" for the amelioration of women's condition and justified female seclusion in the foyer because women were "rarement vigoureuse, malade, presque toujours, mère et ménagère. . ."

<sup>14</sup>Touzin, "Discours," p. 35.

sponsabilities for lifting the burden of prejudice from female shoulders did Touzin return to the question of the deletion of "Mesdames" from her salutation. In that interim her female listeners could sit aside and gradually become involved in the discussion as "objective" onlookers, directly addressed only when Touzin included them in an occasional "nous."

Throughout the "Discours" Touzin used "nous" to refer variously to men alone, to both sexes, and to women alone, a tactic which promoted her stated aim of lessening the war between the sexes by fostering "solidarité" and "union" as well as mutual recognition of different historical experiences. Touzin's approach and her use of the terms "solidarity" and "union" betray strong socialist leanings and suggest some knowledge of the work of pioneers like Flora Tristan.

Touzin traced estrangement of the sexes to Second Empire mores, to the cult of the mistress and the continuation of the one-rous double standard.<sup>15</sup> Paraphrased, Touzin's argument to "Messieurs" read: since men are educated and knowledge (truth) is freedom, men alone possess true potential for knowing and experiencing freedom. Yet, men have also created the unjust tradition and institutions which suppressed and continue to suppress women by denying them equal access to instruction and to the rewards it brings. Because of males' experience with freedom, it follows, according to Touzin, that educated, truly free, men have been the prime movers

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<sup>15</sup>Touzin, "Discours," p. 35.



of female emancipation in France. These men have the duty, then, to teach women to "know" as well as to simply "believe" in "liberté." Implicit in Touzin's diagnosis of women's condition was criticism of Catholic education based on spiritual authoritarianism stressing obedience, especially for women, and acceptance of truth revealed in dogma rather than discovered through reason. Implicit too was stringent criticism of Rousseau's idealized male-female relationship, which made man woman's tutor through life and predicated the success of female tutelage on the amount of pleasure it might ultimately afford men through increasing their creature comforts and flattering their egos.

Touzin broke with the French tradition which gave "éducation" preeminence over "instruction." She proclaimed that "l'instruction, c'est tout!" and anticipated similar remarks by Jules Guesde.<sup>16</sup> Touzin proposed that free investigation of all subjects was the only acceptable alternative to existing female curricula, including the limited offerings which had been or were being proposed by "politicians and scholars," an obvious reference to Duruy and to contemporary educational theorists (v. Gréard, Compayre, Simon, Sée) who could not foresee inclusion of the full scope of preprofessional and

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid. See the Égalité of 21 July 1880, p. 3; and of 28 July 1880, pp. 1-2, for the Congrès collectiviste révolutionnaire de la Région de l'Est, report of Commission "La Femme et l'Instruction." Speaking for the commission on 28 July, Citoyenne Labouret stated that social regeneration was based on reconsideration of the "social question" of education. Though the Commission adopted an egalitarian plank on education, as did the earlier 1879 socialist conference under the influence of Hubertine Auclert, socialists generally failed to endorse and never applied feminist educational principles in the 19th century in France.

professional training in female curricula.

Touzin proposed an ideal educational program for girls:

Non pas ce faux savoir restreint et atrophiant qui suffit, dit-on, aux jeunes filles pour en faire de bonnes ménagères, mais le vrai savoir, le savoir sans limite, c'est-à-dire, voulu par chaque intelligence, profond parce qu'il est vrai, explicite parce qu'il est sain, qui développe tout l'être, l'âme et l'esprit, et lui permet d'aborder toutes les carrières ou tous les moyens honorables de vivre. Si les hommes savent qu'il faut que les femmes apprennent: les femmes éclairées, les sociétés se consolident.<sup>17</sup>

The vision of what the 20th century labelled "career women" may have shocked her audience, so Touzin softened her body blow to middle class mores by noting that the changes she recommended would not in the least affect the "cause of maternity." Every woman, she reassured her listeners, was born with "maternal sentiments" which no amount of instruction could extinguish.<sup>18</sup>

Points made for and against tradition, Jenny Touzin zeroed in on her anti-woman trinity of "indifference, priests and prejudice." Those three phenomenon, she claimed, weighed women down with a massive cultural burden of inhibitions, so forming an effective obstacle to female self-betterment through instruction.<sup>19</sup> Touzin proposed that her unholy trinity be the primary object of reform for

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<sup>17</sup>Touzin, p. 35.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., on sex prejudice and its effects on female educational opportunities and on the socialization of females to be "inferior," see the reprint of a Petit Parisien article, "La Question des Femmes," by Mme. Eugène Garcin, "Revue des Journaux," Avenir (May 1878), p. 75.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 35. Legouvé focussed on prejudice only as the obstacle to female advancement, although his support of the Droit suggests he sympathized with feminist anti-clericalism.

those interested in women's rights. She elaborated. Indifference "in matters of thought," of intellectual apathy, had to be overcome before women could move to change their own self-images and demand correlative changes in personal opportunities for self-fulfillment. Somberly, Touzin indicated the awesome dimensions of "indifference" in her own France:

L'indifference. . . désintéresse la femme des efforts généraux, des grandes oeuvres du progrès, de l'intérêt général, du sort de la patrie, et en fait des créatures enfermées dans le cercle mesquin du fait privé, de l'intérêt personnel et de la jouissance égoïste; étrangères, pour le vrai bien, à la société où elles vivent et dont pourtant elles dépendent.<sup>20</sup>

Touzin laid the full responsibility for women's alienation from self, mind and contemporary society on "priest and prejudice." She indicted

Le prêtre, à qui on les livre enfants. . . le prêtre, qui timore leurs sentiments d'épouse, dénature les devoirs moraux de leur maternité, leur maternité, leur ôte tout le libre examen, la justesse du jugement, la liberté et les terreurs sans fondement.

and

Le préjugé, qui les prétend d'organisation inférieure en posant les limites à l'exercice de leur intelligence, en restreignant leur coeur dont il ridiculise le patriotisme, en rivant leur vie, de parti-pris, à des devoirs qu'elles ne sentent pas appelées à remplir, qui sont toujours plus grands que leurs droits, et dont elles deviennent les victimes.<sup>21</sup>

Having challenged the priesthood and male prerogatives as oppressors of women, Touzin called evolution to witness to female capabilities. Darwinian theory, she stated, proved that those who succeeded in the professions, regardless of their sex, were superior

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 36.



beings. She noted that women of all countries were breaking down hitherto sacrosanct barriers to the liberal professions. But, she somewhat defused her challenge to prove females inferior by endorsing Richer's contention that women were, strictly speaking, "equivalent" rather than "equal" to men. As men's equivalents, women, claimed Touzin, would cease to be either slaves or idols. Men, for their part, would cease to play the tyrant.

When addressing herself to the fear that the femme libre would desert her husband, Touzin speculated that women would be won, not lost, to men in direct proportion as they were included as full citizens in all worldly affairs. Furthermore she predicted that family life, freed of artificial sentiments, dogmas and prejudice, would cease to be characterized by tension and discord. Homes where discord reigned because men were the "force agissante" and women the "force d'inertie" - a reference to some women's allegiance to traditional religious ideas despite their spouse's republican loyalties - would become sources of joy rather than misery for men.<sup>22</sup>

Touzin took issue with the idea that responsibility for all the nation's ills or triumphs rested squarely on the shoulders of women. Whereas she concluded that the lack of female education automatically debased the estates of citizen, mother and child by

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid. See also Eugénie Pierre, "Accès des femmes aux fonctions médicales," Part III (5 January 1879) for but one of many similar expressions of concern about rapprochement between the sexes as a function of female achievement.

lowering standards of education in the family, Touzin's vision of a united society stressed joint male-female endeavors and great variety in individual experiences.<sup>23</sup>

If men were to hasten the realization of that vision, it was by reading down from the heights of freedom to elevate women by sharing the knowledge of freedom. Women were to complement this process by self-education, a concept still at the heart of the worldwide woman's movement in the 20th century. Touzin's image of woman before emancipation was best described by Richer when he called the sex "infériorisée."<sup>24</sup> Her program for changing that status was uncompromisingly militant, in stance if not in practice. "Mesdames," she exhorted:

. . . en constatant ce que nous ne sommes pas, nous ne nous faisons pas injure, car nous révélons ce que nous pouvons être. Comprenons quel est notre but dans ce monde, croyons que nous sommes appelées aussi à concourir au bien-être de la famille, de la société, du pays, par nos travaux et nos qualités d'esprit et de coeur. Sanchons qu'il n'est pas vrai que nous soyons nées pour souffrir, mais que nous sommes nées pour être, c'est-à-dire pour nous servir de tout ce que la nature a mis en nous de facultés non-seulement affectives mais effectives. Qu'aucun cercle de démarcation ne nous entoure, qu'aucune limite ne nous arrête, hors celles posées par la conscience. Plus haut nous nous élèverons, plus haut s'élèvera l'homme, notre élève d'abord, et plus tard notre cher associé dans la vie; plus fortes nous serons, plus fort et heureux sera l'homme, soutien, au même titre que nous, du tout humanité.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Touzin, p. 36.

<sup>24</sup>Richer used the word "infériorisée" in introductory remarks to Touzin's speech, Droit, 4 March 1877, p. 34; and also in his "Capacité civile des femmes" (4 July 1880), p. 105, when covering the Camille Sée proposal to lessen women's civil capacity.

<sup>25</sup>Touzin, "Discours," p. 37.

Throughout her speech Touzin used direct appeals to men or to their sense of honor and duty as parentheses enclosing remarks to both sexes or to women alone, a practice which graphically illustrates the neophyte standing of the Frenchwomen's movement.<sup>26</sup> She felt she had to appeal to the powers that be. Touzin's belief in the power of the educated mind - of either sex - linked her to the later feminist Emma Goldman, who, when asked what the secret of emancipation was, declared, "It begins in the soul." Touzin would add that what the soul felt had to be articulated through the meieutics of schooling and then applied to social action.

Touzin's analysis of the development of the theory of spheres into cultivation of one type of ability (facultés effectives) in males and another (facultés affectives) in females, grew from her belief in education on the one hand, and observation of the positive elements of female life on the other. Women, she explained, needed to learn to use native faculté effectives, i.e., the powers of the mind to effect changes directly benefitting self; while men needed to learn to express latent facultés affectives, to relate to the world through their feelings. Both processes of education

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<sup>26</sup>Jenny d'Héricourt's Femme Affranchie, witnessed to the importance of male support to development of the French women's movement. Theodore Zeldin claims that "feminism as a continuous movement was really launched by a man, Léon Richer. . ." Zeldin, France, p. 347, in a manner that demeans female participation in feminism and ignores the modest but continuing traditions of bourgeois and Christian feminism in the period 1830-1848. It would be closer to the truth to see the amount of male participation in French feminism as an index of anti-feminist successes in a patriarchal society, as did Touzin. Zeldin would have done better to analyze the quality of French feminist thought and experience rather than the quantity of males and females participating.



were to lead to humanization of life by destroying sex-roles. Legouv   groped toward this synthesis, but Touzin grasped it and unfurled it as the banner of social revolution, calling at the end of her speech for reconciliation of the sexes, for men respecting women's "human dignity" and sharing everyday responsibilities, including breadwinning, with them.<sup>27</sup> Her vision of conciliation, with women as the ultimate teachers and inspirers of unity was, perhaps, overly influenced by contemporary ideals of women as nurturers,<sup>28</sup> but Touzin took a giant step beyond Legouv  's Law of Differences toward equality.

Education to self-esteem, the task of the institutrice.

Touzin's preoccupation with dignity, that quality she saw most wanting in women's lives, was shared with Eug  nie Pierre, a Droit publicist in a nine-part series of articles in 1878-1879.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Touzin, p. 37. Touzin's audience may well have contrasted her remarks with those of Victor Hugo in his eulogy to Mme. Louis Blanc, Avenir (7 May 1877), pp. 65-66. Hugo portrayed himself and was generally cast, as a champion of women, but he reinforced traditional sex-role stereotypes more often than challenging them. In the eulogy he spent most of his energies praising the husband of the deceased, not the deceased. Comparing the two spouses as ideal role models, he exclaimed: "L'homme s'efface, invente, crie, s  me et moissonne, d  truit et construit, pense, combat, contemple; la femme aime. . .et. . . fait la force de l'homme."

<sup>28</sup>See also, Eug  nie Pierre, "Le F  minin," Droit (4 May 1879), pp. 78-79; and Mme. V.(J) Griess-Traut, "Critique sociale, un reflet de nos lois," Avenir (7 April 1878), pp. 53-54.

<sup>29</sup>E. Pierre, "Ce que doit   tre une institutrice," I, Avenir (6 Jan. 1878), pp. 5-6; II (3 Feb.), pp. 23-24; III (3 March), pp. 40-41; IV continued in "L'Institutrice" (7 April 1878), pp. 58-60; V (5 May ), pp. 78-80; VI (7 July), pp. 104-106; VII (4 Aug.), pp. 121-122; VIII, Droit (2 March 1879), pp. 37-39; and IX (6 April), pp. 52-54. The series may have been inspired by Marie Pape-Carpentier, who died during its composition. See, Pierre, "Mme. Marie Pape-Carpentier," Droit (2 Feb. 1879), pp. 23-25.

In "Ce que doit être une institutrice" and "L'Institutrice," Pierre set forth a revealing list of priorities for teachers. They were to instill in their students "dignité de soi-même, charité, morale" and "science."<sup>30</sup> It goes without saying that a teacher who lacked these qualities or the support system necessary to promote their development, could scarcely be expected to foster them in her students. Hence Pierre's simultaneous call for the creation of teachers' unions, St-Simonian associations which would upgrade the profession of teaching and work for equal pay for men and women.<sup>31</sup> Eugénie Pierre was so struck by the need to see reformation of the institutrice's status as part of the broader question of emancipation of all women that she three times broke into publication of the institutrice series to comment at length on women's general condition or note similar problems encountered by women in the medi-

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<sup>30</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," I, p. 6.

<sup>31</sup>Pierre keyed unionization in Part VII of the "Institutrice," p. 122. For more of her commentary on equal pay, see her "Travail et salaire des femmes," Droit (2 Feb. 1879), pp. 25-26. The questions of women working for pay outside the home and equal pay were discussed by the First and Second French Congresses of Workers (Paris, Sept. 1876, Lyons 1878) in the Droit. N.b., Richer, "Le Travail des Femmes" (27 Jan. 1878), p. 3; and "Mercoeur," "Congrès ouvrier" (3 March 1878), pp. 34-36. Zeldin, op. cit., p. 346, credits the C.G.T. with original socialist endorsement of the principle of equal pay for equal work in 1898, noting that the endorsement was limited to widows and single women. The 1876 congress upheld this same idea and the second congress approved the principle of "travail égal, salaire égal" for all irrespective of sex or marital status, if we are to believe Richer. However the report mentioned no acceptance in the plenary session of any of the commission reports. Richer was apt to try for maximum mileage the first time an idea was broached to anything resembling an official body. Guesde, op. cit., noted socialist misogyny. He was less sanguine than Richer about socialist intentions toward women.

cal profession.<sup>32</sup>

"Ce que doit être une institutrice," reflected the contemporary opinion that women's special mission was teaching. The series may have been immediately inspired by Eugène Pelletan's prior analysis of woman's role. Wrote Pelletan in the Avenir des Femmes of 3 June 1877:

Le rôle de la femme c'est d'être maîtresse d'école dans la maison, institutrice ensuite, inspiratrice toujours.

To help women's completion of their mission, Pelletan urged that French girls be given the "instruction virile" received by their American counterparts.<sup>33</sup>

While Pierre stressed the profession, the wage-earning profession of institutrice, she did share the quasi-religious view evidenced by Pelletan. "Teaching," wrote Pierre, "is a sacrament." As such, it required the offices of a highly specialized agent, the career teacher, to be translated into ritual. The responsibilities of the teacher, according not only to Pierre but also to her compatriots on the Right, were enormous. Here Pierre again narrowed her focus, to a small group of "femmes d'élite" whose "mission" was

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<sup>32</sup>Pierre, "La Femme au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle" (2 June 1878), pp. 52-53; "Accès des femmes aux fonctions médicales" (Nov. 1878), pp. 165-166 and (Jan. 1879), pp. 2-3. On the latter topic see also "Draigu" (Léon Giraud), Droit (July 1880), pp. 106-108. In the Touzin novel, La Dévorante, reviewed in Droit (2 Nov. 1879), p. 175, a "femme-médecin" candidate died of hunger, illustrating the problems of women unsupported in non-traditional pursuits. Julie Daubié, the first woman to receive a baccalaureat degree (1862), died prematurely and destitute. She may have served as the model for Touzin's hero, "Marthe."

<sup>33</sup>E. Pelletan, "Le Rôle de la femme," Avenir (3 June 1877), pp. 87-89. Reprinted from the Masonic Chaîne d'Union.



"interpreting reason."<sup>34</sup> Pierre's sisterhood was the secular equivalent of those religious teaching orders whose dedication to convent education was so highly praised by Dupanloup and opponents of the Loi Camille Sée.<sup>35</sup> To cite Pierre:

L'enseignement est une sacerdoce; il demande pour celle qui s'y consacre: d'abord une parfaite honorabilité, puis la culture de l'intelligence, la pratique de la vie, l'indulgence et le dévouement.<sup>36</sup>

Eugénie Pierre's teachers (of both sexes) were to be distinguished by their high moral standard. At times Pierre seemed to lean over backwards to stress teachers' morality, a fact explained by those very prejudices against women "free" to be independent that French feminists were determined to overcome. Indeed, in comparison with Touzin, for whom "instruction" alone sufficed, Pierre emphasized that the mission of the institutrice was "éducation,"<sup>37</sup> the instilling of morality based on knowledge, instruction in the ways of the world as well as well as descriptive knowledge. Thus, when detailing her ideal course of studies, Pierre made the study of history the "pivot of moral education."<sup>38</sup> Conversely, she defined true morality as the experiencing of as much life as possible, the better to set adequate, realistic, standards for personal conduct.

Experience vs. the "cercle atrophiant." Eugénie Pierre's be-

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<sup>34</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," Part I, p. 5.

<sup>35</sup>V. above, Ch. III, p. 105; and J.O., Senate, 21 Nov., 1880, p. 11037, for examples of opponents praise of the nun, whose main duty, in contrast to Pierre's teachers, was to teach faith and to set an example of cloistered life.

<sup>36</sup>Pierre, I, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

lief in the wisdom of providing all children with as wide a range as possible of experience was essentially feminist, for a major tenet of feminism is the freedom to live life to its fullest. Her list of "études qui conviennent aux jeunes filles" included not only history in quantity - as opposed to the Fénelonian proscription against mixing girls and social studies - but also geography, physics, chemistry, dead (i.e., classical) and living languages, algebra, geometry, astronomy (but not for Legouvé's reasons), philosophy, biology and the new science of sociology, which Pierre defined as the "law of solidarity, assistance and mutual indulgence."<sup>39</sup> Pierre's rationale was that behind Touzin's apprenticeship in liberty:

L'expérience et la réflexion seules peuvent apprendre à préparer dignement, pour le combat de l'existence, ces petites filles d'Eve que la frivolité guette au passage, dont on comprend d'ordinaire si mal le rôle et la nature, et que le respect humain, les convoitises, les préjugés atteindront, si forte éducation, une solide instruction, ne les ont pas prémunies d'avance.

Predictably, Pierre and her colleagues countenanced no separate curricula for boys and girls, because "science, truth, wisdom and justice" belonged to both. And, as did her colleagues, Pierre considered all trades fair game for women.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," IV, p. 60.

<sup>40</sup>For one of many other pleas for education according to individual talent, see Louise Audebert, "L'Éducation professionnelle des filles," Avenir (Jan. 1877), pp. 3-5. Audebert argues specifically against the concept of primogeniture and for equality of children in the family, for "égalité devant la fortune, égalité devant l'affection," especially in regard to middle class girls who were too wealthy to work but too poor to be married without some hedge against financial disaster. They needed jobs acceptable to their class. For middle and lower class girls, "le travail des femmes," was critical according to Audebert.

However, if Eugénie Pierre recommended similar schooling for the sexes, she also allowed certain unelaborated differences in the manner of teaching children in deference to biological differences between the sexes. Pierre skirted the question of sexual differentiation without using the term "delicate," but she raised more questions than she answered in this regard by qualifying her vigorous intellectual regimen with talk of "complementarity." She argued, à la Legouv  , that the "instincts, aptitudes, passions and leanings" of the sexes differed as a function of respective male and female "missions" in life. Each sex, in addition, had the secondary mission of "complementing" the other.<sup>41</sup> When explaining complementarity, Pierre came dangerously close to reinforcing just those norms of sex-role stereotyping which her curriculum to build self-esteem was designed to destroy.

Pierre's complementarity went like this: to the female genius she attributed "tenderness" and "devotion" (to what or to whom was not specified), attention to details, and that earmark of the good m  nag  re, "soucis journalier d'une pr  voyance minutieuse et n  cessaire," To the male genius she traced "firmness of heart," a bolder "initiative in exterior (i.e. non-domestic) relations." Without tracing these characteristics to the effects of sex-role stereotyping on children's socialization, Pierre implied that the duty of the institutrice was to teach women to be more like the male whose genius she described in such traditional terms. The institutrice, she wrote, should endeavor to turn "tender, serious,

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<sup>41</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," III, p. 40.



instructed and inquisitive" young girls into women distinguished by their "merit, reason, valor and beneficence."<sup>42</sup>

On balance, however, most of Pierre's analysis of women's condition and of the institutrice's particular mission, reinforced the non-sexist thrust of her original charge to her contemporaries: prepare both sexes equally for the "combat" of life. Her analysis of the history of female education in her own times was grim. The state, she reported, sadly neglected female education.<sup>43</sup> She levied the same charge against the Congrès de l'éducation which met to discuss French schooling in 1879, but in more devastating terms. "Not to speak of girls in our century," she warned in the same spirit in which Touzin discussed indifference to women's condition, "is to exclude them."<sup>44</sup> And, like Touzin, Pierre blamed neglect of women's education on prejudice and on the Catholic church.

Eugénie Pierre was caustically critical of Catholic parochial education. Her invective against the Church and the priesthood made Voltaire's polemic pale in comparison. The Church, argued Pierre, was the major perpetrator and perpetuator of prejudice against women. It degraded women by stifling their intellectual potential, training them to perpetual servitude of others, and ignoring their specific talents and needs. It taught too little self-affirmation and too much self-denial. On convent education, she wrote:

On écrase la mémoire sous des noms, sous des dates qui ne disent rien à l'esprit. On apprend la lettre de la grammaire;

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<sup>42</sup>Pierre, Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>43</sup>Pierre, I, p. 58.

<sup>44</sup>Pierre, "Congrès," Droit (Nov. 1880), p. 180.

on manie les premiers éléments de l'arithmétique, et comment? On brasse des verbes, des dictées, des analyses grammaticales, des pages d'écriture (pour ces dernières, on arrive presque à la perfection; c'est le côté brillant de l'enseignement scolaire des filles), puis des devoirs de style: quel style! . . . ajoutez-y de plattes lectures, des lectures dans le programme de la paroisse, et c'est tout; tout, hélas!

The product of such rote studies, was, according to Pierre, a girl whose spirit had been crushed under the "yoke" of dogmatic religion, a being

. . . incapable d'avoir par elle-même une idée un peu large, de créer, d'approfondir; elle ne connaît rien, et son intelligence a perdu sa souplesse primitive, sa première élasticité, son avidité d'apprendre et de comprendre.

Pierre concluded: Catholic schools are "écoles d'abrutissement," wherein diocesan bishops determine curriculum from which progressive ideas are methodically expunged and curés and confessors teach women to "think only on command."<sup>45</sup>

Recoiling in horror at her own picture, Pierre observed that any departure from such schooling was by its very nature revolutionary, for it took conscious thought, and the very act of reasoning in a closed system made one a rebel.<sup>46</sup> To the highly individualized, free-thinking woman, the chef-d'oeuvre of the institutrice, Pierre opposed the woman whose life had been predetermined by Church fiat:

. . . elle doit juger d'après autrui et elle n'aura qu'une mission: prier, élever ses enfants dans la crainte de la religion et le respect de ses ministres, veiller sur l'économie de sa maison, et remettre entre les mains de son mari tous ses intérêts pécuniaires.

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<sup>45</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," I, p. 59.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

The predominance of the Catholic mode of socializing women resulted not only in making automatic rebels out of educated women, but also, according to Pierre, made women "déclassées" in the process.<sup>47</sup>

Pierre's analysis of the effect of Catholicism on women's condition was no more chillingly offered than in her summation of the effect of convent education on women. The convent, she wrote, served as the Church's "éteignoir," the instrument it used to snuff out their minds, plunging them into intellectual and spiritual darkness. Living in seclusion, out of the light of Reason, women in the convent, learned false ideas about God and - a most interesting feminist observation - are isolated from the larger world and from friendship with other women. Woman to woman friendship, surmised Pierre with great insight, is impossible if women regard themselves negatively, if, in other words, they are prevented from seeing themselves as a dignified "part of humanity." Employing terminology which calls to mind the tortured spirit of Dupanloup's Roman correspondent, Pierre accused the Church of shutting women up in the "cercle atrophiant" of the family, from whence they departed (except to Mass?) only to risk the world's scorn and eternal damnation for abandoning the foyer.<sup>48</sup>

While Eugénie Pierre damned the Catholic Church for restricting women to the "cercle atrophiant" of the family, she her-

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<sup>47</sup>Ibid., I., pp. 59-60. Pierre used the word "déclassées."

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. Part of Pierre's concern for financial independence in marriage may have stemmed from her own impending nuptials. By 1880 she was referred to as Eugénie Pierre Potonie.



self utilized the rather circumscribed vocabulary of the female domestic experience to justify extension of female role perimeters. Such usage may have been calculated to lessen her readers' conditioned resistance to extension of female activity outside the home, or it may simply have been the most natural language for Pierre, as a woman, to use. It could also be seen as the most appropriate to describe the teacher-pupil relationship. Dupanloup, too, that prime example of the authoritarian, had urged his priests to be as much "mother" as father to their charges. Yet, in the context of her plea for a wider range of experiences for women, Pierre's sustained use of domestic imagery weakened her major arguments by once again bringing cultural stereotypes to the help of emancipation. A few examples suffice to demonstrate Pierre's dilemma.

In speaking of the suitability of women for the profession of gynecologist-obstetrician, Pierre made the telling point that women were loathe to discuss delicate matters with men and frequently languished to death out of modesty.<sup>49</sup> But her main point in regard to female aptitude for that profession was: "La femme est prédestinée, par sa nature même, à soulager et à guérir."<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Pierre, "Accès," pp. 2-3. She also noted that women, who regularly beheaded poultry were used to blood. She could have mentioned menstruation, but not in mixed company. However, the thought must have crossed the minds of even the most "delicate" female readers. See also, Marie-Elisabeth B.B. Cavé, La Femme aujourd'hui; la femme autrefois (Paris: Plon, 1863), pp. 178-182. Cavé, though wed to exceedingly traditional ideas about female capabilities, was also sensitive to the need of women for an independent "estate," i.e. financial security not dependent on a man.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

Harkening back to her theory of complementarity, Pierre also claimed that women would revolutionize medicine by bringing "feeling to the profession."<sup>51</sup>

Pierre had the same theory of predestination in mind when she spoke of the institutrice as a "second mother," "educator, friend and associate" to the family. She used the term "second mother" in conjunction with Michelet's description of the exclusive mother-child relationship: "Il y a des spectateurs autour du berceau, et cependant la scène est solitaire, tout entr'elle et lui."<sup>52</sup> The privately employed institutrice, despite Pierre's pleas to the contrary, emerged as a glorified governess and mother substitute, causing the mother to fade into obscurity even though Pierre hoped for a full parent-institutrice partnership in all aspects of a child's schooling.

The "frightening" question of female independence. Because she addressed herself to the particulars of women's condition in 19th-century France, Eugénie Pierre's images of woman convey a strong sense of time and place. Pierre wrote as an insider and an engagé intellectuel. In contrast to Pierre, Méline Cochet Coutanceau, a French woman whose father's and husband's work took her to live in French North Africa, wrote about women in France

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., (Nov. 1878), p. 165.

<sup>52</sup>Pierre, "Institutrice," IV, pp. 37-39. Michelet citation from Part V, p. 52. Legouvé's play "Autour du berceau," v. Ch. II above, almost certainly was titled after this quotation from Michelet.

as a sympathetic exile. Coutanceau's "La femme dans la famille et dans la société" was published posthumously in the Droit des Femmes in 1879, the year after Coutanceau died at age 38.<sup>53</sup> Prompted by observations of the condition of Moslem women, Coutanceau reflected on the universal condition of women as well as proffering standard feminist criticism of the Code Napoléon. From her dual perspective of French woman and colonial Méline Coutanceau offered some of the Droit's most sweeping indictments of French misogyny.

Writing from a society which placed women in purdah to one in which women lived in eternal tutelage to fathers and husbands, Coutanceau set as her task examination of those "questions which frighten society" because they "attack strong and ancient prejudices." She called for "perseverance and moderation" in studying the issue of female emancipation and noted that neither the "scandals" of feminist excesses (an allusion to George Sand and Fourierist free love), nor mockery of emancipation touched the essential issue, the "logical deduction" that emancipation of women was socially necessary, "équitable réparation," for injustices done against the sex. Stated Coutanceau:

. . . l'égalité de l'homme et de la femme est basée sur l'égalité des devoirs; une responsabilité égale entraîne nécessairement des droits égaux.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Méline Coutanceau, "La Femme dans la famille et dans la société," Avenir (3 March 1878), pp. 42-43; (4 May 1879), pp. 71-73; (3 August), pp. 120-122; (1 September), pp. 130-32; and (1 October), pp. 146-148. Following Part I appeared an obituary of Coutanceau. Both the first installment and the obituary appeared under "Un Oeuvre posthume." The Droit selections were taken from a longer work serialized in the Revue algérienne.

<sup>54</sup>Coutanceau, I, p. 71.



Throughout her series on woman in the family and society, Coutanceau reflected the program of the Droit des Femmes, a manifesto reprinted by Richer in the first issue of each year (v. Appendix C below). She was distressed by financial insecurities which resulted from women's legal incompetance under the Code Napoléon and bitterly critical of the utter dependence of wives on husbands which left many widows unable to cope with their single state. Treated as a child, she concluded, the adult woman could not be prepared for any kind of independence. What Dupanloup had posed as a question, Coutanceau posited as a general female condition: her idée clef was the absorption of female individuality by males.<sup>55</sup>

Like Richer,<sup>56</sup> Coutanceau questioned the wisdom of enshrining the principle of male authority in French civil law. To that process she traced most domestic problems. Male "puissance maritale," according to her, forced women for their own physical and psychological survival, to circumvent male tyranny through ruse and cast women as valets to their "master" husbands. She termed the idea that "man commands and woman governs him who commands," a "Rousseau-ean and Jesuit compromise," a bill of goods sold women to buy their

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., pp. 71-73 in passim.

<sup>56</sup>Richer, "Recherche de la paternité," Avenir (7 Oct. 1877), pp. 148-154; and "La Puissance maritale," Droit (1 Sept. 1879), pp. 136-137, in which Eugénie, reflecting Richer, commented on a thesis by Louis Bridel, "La Puissance maritale," done for the Faculté de droit in Lausanne. Principle among her comments were the consideration of equality of the sexes as the "first equality" in a republic and endorsement of Bridel's "Il n'y a pas deux morales. La femme a droit à son indépendance, au même titre que l'homme à la sienne."

allegiance to the principle of male authority. Like Touzin, Coutanceau did not believe such a domestic relationship was either natural or justifiable. It placed the husband, she wrote, in a "ridiculous" situation and gave the wife a "hateful" character. Her formula for social reform was correspondingly drastic: women must cease to play "women's rôle" and thereby expose the injustice of culturally sanctioned male supremacy. There should, she said, be a complete break with the past.<sup>57</sup>

Coutanceau concurred with her Droit colleagues in predicting a better future for men were women to cast off traditional roles.<sup>58</sup> Forced out of artificial positions of power by women's refusal to submit to their unjust commands, men would, she believed, break through the "compressed feelings" about them to enjoy truly human relationships with their families.<sup>59</sup> That is, men would become more human as they became, in Touzin's words, more "affectifs." Most interestingly, Coutanceau used the same word, "compression," to describe the family environment under paternalism which Dupanloup's Roman correspondent employed to express her own personal anguish. Both women were pointing to the need to let human feelings and needs seek and find their own levels of fulfillment, unqualified by the acciden-

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<sup>57</sup>Coutanceau, op. cit., II, pp. 71-72. Louise Audebert, "Réaction," p. 9, notes the pervasiveness of women's "mission" to please men and to have as their supreme goal, "l'asservissement de la femme, son effacement devant les volontés, les caprices et les plaisirs de l'homme."

<sup>58</sup>Ibid. See also remarks on general improvement of life for all citizens, Ch. IV, below.

<sup>59</sup>Coutanceau, II, p. 73.

tal titles of "male" and "female."

Droit des Femmes fiction. Coutanceau's call for change amounting to social revolution was echoed throughout the Droit. The data used to put the case for change before the French were not only social commentary and diagnosis, but actual case histories of women who had felt the brutal force of the Code disrupt their lives and the lives of their families, i.e, women unjustly arrested for prostitution by the everpresent police des mœurs (a regular feature of the Droit); women who had fled France rather than remain bound in marriage to husbands they could not love or who, like Flora Tristan's husband, beat them; women forced into prostitution by poverty; women whose children were taken from them as possessions of the father by law, etc. Of the women who left the country and dared to return to fight for their children, of girls and women who performed acts of physical heroism, of young women who fought for the baccalauréat and braved the jeers and crude jests of their opponents to enter the professions, of these women the Droit des Femmes staff fashioned a new woman. This woman was assertive, whereas her traditional sister was timid. She cried out in protest while her sister wept in silence. She marched to the barricades or to the mairie to vote, and carried the tricolore rather than the cross. She was Hubertine Auclert, Maria Deraismes, the "bachelière," and Louise Michel.

Occasionally the Droit relaxed the grip of documentary commentary on its pages and allowed some fictional models of female and male behavior to grace its columns.

Like the Droit des Femmes news coverage, Droit fiction pro-



moted non-traditional behavior by criticizing arbitrary laws and customs. The major of three works of fiction to appear in the Droit des Femmes between 1877 and 1880 was Eugénie Pierre's four-part serial of circus life, "Les Bateleurs" (1879).<sup>60</sup> It was followed by Guy de Maupassant's two-part story, "Le Papa de Simon,"<sup>61</sup> and by "Le Mouchoir bleu," a short sketch addressing itself to the need for military and bureaucratic reform.<sup>62</sup>

In "Les Bateleurs" Pierre chronicled the lives of circus people, "déclassé(e)s," and the effect of their unorthodox lifestyle on a serious young Breton noble, Gaston. Gaston fell in love with Flora, an acrobat who took herself seriously enough to reject his amorous overtures out of friendship for a dying, tubercular rubber-man, Rémy. As the story develops, only after Rémy dies does Flora consider a love relationship. Gaston is so moved by Flora's pure friendship for Rémy - a person to person relationship Pierre leads us to think impossible in male-female relationships in the normal world - that he forsakes his heritage and joins the circus, content to give up prestige and security for true morality.

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<sup>60</sup>Eugénie Pierre, "Les Bateleurs," I (1 June 1879), pp. 92-94; II (6 July), pp. 108-109; III (3 August), pp. 124-125; and IV (7 September), pp. 140-142.

<sup>61</sup>Guy de Maupassant, "Le Papa de Simon," I (5 September, 1880). Missing from BN microfilm; II (3 October), pp. 160-161,

<sup>62</sup>Étienne Béquet, "Le Mouchoir Bleu," 4 July 1880, pp. 113-114. I could find no biographical material on "Étienne Béquet." The by-line may have been another of Léon Richer's pen-names. The story sheds little light on male-female images, although it is strong on sentiment.

Within the circus, as described by Pierre, men and women live as equals, inhabitants of one sphere in harmonious association. Gaston, not Flora, adapts to the other's lifestyle. Flora accepts Gaston as a friend before she allows him to be her betrothed. Pierre leads her readers to believe Flora and Gaston were wed, but, unlike the fiction of the Correspondant, it is the union of true hearts, not two families, which is important. There is no mention of childbearing as woman's mission nor a single intimation of female financial dependency. As an archetype for the new woman (or femme libre) Flora seems to demonstrate that in her France marriage and female independence do not mix.<sup>63</sup>

Guy de Maupassant, in the "Papa de Simon," does not treat his adult figures equally. The hero of his work is an unnamed blacksmith who flies in the face of convention and marries a social pariah, Simon's mother. The "mère de Simon" was misled by promises of marriage, seduced, became pregnant, and was banished as an unwed mother to the fringes of the village in which she grew up. De Maupassant's story indirectly illustrates one of Richer's favorite themes, the search for paternity,<sup>64</sup> by criticizing a so-

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<sup>63</sup>In 1880 an "ideal" marriage was reported in the Égalité (1 May), p. 4, that of Giovanni Defendi and Emilia Tronzi-Zanardelli, both Italian socialists. For a literary treatment of difficulties encountered by the non-traditional woman in 19th-century France, see Richard Bolster, Stendahl, Balzac et le féminisme romantique, No. 12 of the series "Bibliothèque de littérature et d'histoire" (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1970), Ch. I, "La Femme nouvelle."

<sup>64</sup>See, for example, the Programme du Droit des Femmes (Appendix C); and Léon Richer, "Recherche de la Paternité: Discours de M. Léon Richer," Avenir (7 October 1877), pp. 148-153. Delivered in Geneva, September 1877, Congress of the British and Continental Federation.

ciety which would punish woman alone for indiscretion and force no accounting by men. Simon's mother is saved from destitution by marriage to the stalwart blacksmith. His second father's honest affection for mother and child helps erase the stigma of bastardy from Simon. In contrast to the Droit, the Correspondant never allowed illegitimacy in its fiction, despite the fact that in the mid-1870's one out of every fourteen births in Paris was recorded as illegitimate.<sup>65</sup>

Pierre and de Maupassant both presented people victimized by society. Both recognized the healing power of love unfettered by artificial social behavioral demands. Both imbued their rebellious heroines (and heroes) with great dignity and predicated personal integrity on spiritual and moral independence - to which Eugénie Pierre added economic self-sufficiency. Pierre's portraits were strongly feminist, while de Maupassant revealed himself to be a fellow-traveler of the women's movement rather than an activist. De Maupassant's heroine was "saved" by marriage. She was essentially passive, acted upon rather than acting, a different type than the energetic Flora. Simon's new papa was depicted as a paragon of authority, physical and moral, as well as a giant with the soul of a poet. Gaston was presented simply as a male human being, caught up by a vision of life lived freely and uncluttered by artifice.

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<sup>65</sup>See Vicomte d'Haussonville, L'Enfance à Paris (1879), cited by Zeldin in France: 1848-1945, I, p. 315. Part of this statistic might be accounted for by the non-registration of common law unions, which were never attended by priests or magistrates. Such unions were common among de-christianized urban workers.



Male publicists on the Droit des Femmes. Pierre's egalitarianism and de Maupassant's social criticism were both motivated by a deep concern for human dignity. But Pierre, unlike de Maupassant, provided Droit des Femmes readers with a more assertive female model than did de Maupassant. Indeed, female contributors to the Droit seem to have been generally more able to zero in on inspirational polemic than did their male counterparts, although men like Richer and the old war-horse Émile de Girardin, were undoubtedly more well known to their contemporaries. All regular Droit publicists had a firm grasp on the particulars of discrimination against women. Richer's theoretical works on paternity, puissance maritale, and the Code Napoléon, were cornerstones of contemporary feminist thought.

Male feminists, or perhaps more correctly, males supporting female emancipation, championed women's cause with enviable zeal, but they rarely rose to the heights of emotional and intellectual fervor - especially when dealing with domestic realtions - which were common fare for their sister publicists. Nor did they convey the pathos and depths of despair felt by women as effectively as did the women writers. They routinely evidenced a higher degree of empathy with women than did Dupanloup at his best, but the colors of their literary palettes were never quite as intense as those of the female writers. While male descriptions of the feminine condition might resemble Corot's realism, women's images of their own sex were borrowed from Goya or the tortured Van Gogh.

The most impressive evidence of Droit-affiliated male pub-

licists' influence on the prevailing image of women was the conversion in 1880 of Alexandre Dumas, fils, from outright misogynist to feminist fellow traveler. During October, November and December of 1880, the Droit rejoiced in both Dumas' Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent and Girardin's public acceptance of the Dumas apology for his earlier masterpiece of misogyny (1872), Homme-Femme: Réponse a M. Henri d'Idéville, a defense of murdering adulterous wives. Girardin welcome of Dumas to the feminist fold, L'Égale de l'homme, was extensively excerpted by Richer.<sup>66</sup> So important did the "conversion" loom for French feminists, that it overshadowed imminent passage of the Loi Camille Sée. Passage of the law itself seems to have been taken for granted by the Droit by mid-1880. The Droit, however, may have been cool toward Sée because of Sée's opposition to extra-domestic careers for women.<sup>67</sup>

Given their legalistic perspective on the plight of women in France, Droit publicists gave more coverage to the Sée measure to reduce women's civil incapacity in 1880 than they did to the bill on female lycées. The latter bill had more to immediately offer women than did the lycées, and would be more widespread in

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<sup>66</sup>L. Richer, "Les Femmes qui tuent et les femmes qui votent," Droit (Nov. 1880), pp. 165-168; Richer and Girardin, "L'Égale de l'homme" (Nov. 1880), pp. 168-169; and (December 1880), pp. 184-185. Dumas' conversion was first noted by Richer in "Une nouvelle recrue" (October), p. 151. Maria Deraismes had been one of Dumas' most acid critics in 1872, in her Eve contre Dumas fils. On the Dumas case, based on the Dubourg Affair, see: André Lebois, Le Dossier "Tue-la!" (Avignon: Édouard Aubanel, 1969).

<sup>67</sup>In 1881 the Droit gave extensive coverage to implementation of the Loi Camille Sée.

effect. Richer saw the Civil Capacity measure as a small step in the right direction. Sée, he said, still wanted "la subordination de la femme dans le mariage" and respected "l'autorité maritale." He needed, suggested Richer, to "mieux éclairer sa lanterne" and reform the law as well as "pose les principes."<sup>68</sup>

Woman and "patrie" in the Droit. The primary thrust of the Droit des femmes was exposition and redress of female grievances against the state. Woman was thus perceived, as Coutanceau so aptly put it, as plaintiff before the bar of France. Simple justice based on one Natural Law for all persons was the paper's idée fixe. Beyond the paper's regular readership, those who received the paper gratis and the general public, politicians and government needed to be convinced that what the Droit proposed as fulfillment of the Revolution of 1789, was indeed good for the bien public and the pot au feu. Droit publicists used traditional language, all they had at hand, to assuage ingrained misogynist fears. Like their opponents, they linked the future of France to the fate of women, invoking theme and variations of "The hand that rocks the cradle shakes the world."

Speaking for passage of the Camille Sée law on lycées, although she opposed the internat as unduly authoritarian and inhumane,

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<sup>68</sup> Richer, commenting on "Rapport Sommaire fait au nom de la 20<sup>e</sup> commission d'initiative parlementaire chargé d'examiner la proposition de loi de M. Camille Sée, relative à la capacité civile de la femme," Droit (4 July 1880), pp. 105-106. On this topic, see also 6 June, "Le Droit civil des femmes," pp. 92-93; and L. Giraud, "Une suprême effort" (1 August 1880), pp. 122-124.



Mme. Eugène Garcin linked instruction of girls to France's future.

She asked:

Sera-t-il donné à notre troisième République de combler l'immense lacune qui existe, comme on le voit, entre cette instruction large, élevée, vraiment scientifique, donnée aux filles des autres pays, et l'étroite, mesquine et superstitieuse éducation, que la France a toujours trouvée assez bonne pour la femme, qui, chez nous, cependant, plus que partout ailleurs, exerce sur les destinées nationale une si puissante influence?<sup>69</sup>

Just what influence Garcin had in mind was clear from her own remarks and from general consensus among her peers on the Droit. Those responsible for child-rearing determined the collective future of children grown to adulthood, and women by and large raised the nation's children. On that point there was no disagreement between feminists and antifeminists. But feminists went further and diagnosed the influences which in turn shaped women, or mothers (the terms were seen as interchangeable in the Third Republic, discounting female religious). Their verdict? Women, children's first teachers, were themselves educated to perpetual childhood and living in an unhealthy state of dependency.

Contemporary restatements of the cradle theme by feminists or their sympathizers would be read in light of feminist social diagnosis, but even giving feminists an edge for their sophisticated developmental theories, they still managed to convey the idea that the burden of national morality fell on women. Skimming the Droit from 1877 to 1880 we find: "Il est temps d'agir, de se grouper, et

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<sup>69</sup>Mme. Eugène Garcin, "L'Enseignement secondaire des filles: Rapport de M. Camille Sée," Droit (4 January 1880), p. 3. The same issue of the Droit, pp. 2-3, carried an abstract of Sée's report.

du concours de la femme, jusqu'ici dédaigné, dépend le salut de la République," a paraphrasing of Hubertine Auclert by Léon Richer.<sup>70</sup> Socialist Émile Blémont and arch-Republican Léon Gambetta concurred. Proclaimed Blémont, "France n'échappera à la décadence que par le relèvement de la Femme."<sup>71</sup> Gambetta spoke in the same vein: "La France a été dans le passé sauvée par une femme, et refaite aujourd'hui par les femmes."<sup>72</sup> Émile Girardin believed that "une nation ne tarde pas à être ce que les femmes la font."<sup>73</sup> Women, if we are to take Girardin literally, were being called upon to do in 1880 what men could not do in 1870 - save France.

An embittered female compatriot took a more subtle approach to the question of women and national salvation. Refused participation in a public course in Bourges because of her sex, she indicted France as she evoked remembrances of "la patrie en danger:"

Faire participer à cette vie surtout ceux qui ignorent, surtout la femme, dont l'action est si puissante, si vivace au foyer où grandit l'enfant, tel doit être le but fixe de tout homme tenant en main une puissance et ayant quelque souci du salut de la République, c'est-à-dire, de l'avenir de la France.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>70</sup>"J. Mercoeur," "Le Droit des Femmes, réunion de la Rue St-Georges," Avenir (4 March 1877), p. 34.

<sup>71</sup>Émile Blémont of the Rappel, reviewing Richer's La Femme Libre, Avenir (2 September 1877), p. 13.

<sup>72</sup>L. Richer, "Un Appel aux Femmes par M. Gambetta," Avenir (2 June 1878), p. 92. Gambetta's speech was dated 26 May 1878. Dzeh-Dzen, Presse féministe, p. 64, notes that Richer distrusted Gambetta as an opportunist, citing the Droit of Jan. 1881. On the basis of the Blanc eulogy alone, Gambetta's feminism is suspect.

<sup>73</sup>Girardin, "L'Égale de l'homme," p. 46.

<sup>74</sup>Anonymous, "Une Républicaine de l'avant-veille: Une Protestation," Droit (7 December 1879), p. 188. Droit publicists

The patriot from Bourges reminded those who determined public policy that national salvation and life itself had to be an exercise in cooperation; that power had to be used for the good of all, not simply for the supposed advantage of men. The message was profoundly patriotic and profoundly feminist. It was also deeply pacifist, at odds with a tradition which had difficulty reconciling the ideas of power, man and woman. The dominant image of woman in the Droit mirrored both the hopes of feminists and the realities of female existence in 19th-century France. It was complex, at times ambivalent, but always more comprehensively human than that offered by the Correspondant or projected by the romanticized angel of Legouvé. Moreover, it was activist, at times verging on the militant, the opposite of the silent, passive, prayerful woman praised by Dupanloup.

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frequently referred implicitly or explicitly to female emancipation as the completion of the French Revolution. The sense of alienation pervading the "Protestation" was succinctly articulated by Auclert, writing in the Citoyenne of 17 March 1881. Wrote Auclert: "Excommuniées de la vie politique par les hommes, excommuniées par les Papes qui sont des hommes, les femmes ne sont pas responsables de l'esprit ni de l'organisation cléricale de la société." From Sullerot, Presse féminine, p. 35.



## CHAPTER V

## THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON WOMAN: THE DEBATES ON THE LOI CAMILLE SÉE

Gaston Coirault's Les cinquantes premières années de l'enseignement secondaire féminin, 1880-1930, published as a doctoral dissertation in Tours in 1940, is the only contemporary study which deals critically with the image of woman in the Loi Camille Sée.<sup>1</sup> It remains the most concise history of the impact of the law on French female education. Capéran, in his Histoire contemporaine de la laïcité française, volume 2, provides more particulars on the parliamentary history of the bill before its consideration by the full membership of the National Assembly, but Coirault's treatment of the impact of sexual prejudice on the actual conception and construction of the law makes his work the more valuable of the two for the cultural historian.<sup>2</sup>

Coirault clearly sympathizes with the educational and professional goals of French feminists as represented by the Droit des Femmes. His primary thesis, for which he is indebted to Camille Sée and French feminists, is that before 1880 secondary education for

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<sup>1</sup>Coirault's work focusses on the debates proper, but draws, as does Capéran's, on the full scope of the parliamentary inquiry. Pre-debate materials have been collected by Louis Bauzon, La Loi Camille Sée. Documents, rapports et discours relatifs à la loi sur l'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles (Paris: J. Hetzel, 1881).

<sup>2</sup>Mona Ozouf, École, Église, et République, pp. 107-108, offers a cross-sampling of popular press reactions to the law which complement Coirault's approach, but they are left to speak for themselves with little critical commentary from Ozouf.

girls lacked legal existence (i.e. official sanction), in France. Coirault considers late 19th-century French convent and pensionnat tutelage substandard, lacking in well-defined curricula and distinguished only by inadequate teacher preparation and poor supervision of teaching personnel. He notes, too, the paradox of educational poverty for girls in a country possessing a long history of preoccupation with female education.<sup>3</sup> Coirault's criticism of the law stems from the same tradition of neglect, a tradition he applied in turn to Camille Sée and the men who designed the law to only partially eradicate traditional inequities.

Unlike more recent historians of French education, for example Antoine Prost,<sup>4</sup> Coirault zeroed in on prejudicial aspects of the Loi Camille Sée, especially on exclusion of Latin and Greek from the female lycée curriculum.<sup>5</sup> Coirault perceived that this

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<sup>3</sup>Coirault, pp. 13-14. Rousselot, Sée and proponents of the female lycée operated on an identical assumption about the discrepancies between theory and fact in the history of French female education. Their self-consciousness about their national record on female education was revealed in defensive or self-deprecatory remarks about that record.

<sup>4</sup>V. Antoine Prost, Histoire de l'Enseignement en France, pp. 261-264, "L'Enseignement féminin de l'autonomie à l'unité."

<sup>5</sup>Coirault, pp. 19, and 44 ff. Coirault deals extensively with the period of "illegal Latin," during which student and parent pressure mounted for courses in the classics. Rather than responding to increased clientele demand by adding courses, the government opted in 1897 to reduce science [Bauzon called science programs "trop peu féminins"], and limit history. Latin, though discussed as an aid for mothers' supervision of sons' first classical studies, was not introduced in 1897. What little Latin that had crept into the curriculum since 1881 was purged. From 1909-1909 girls could take Latin for an extr fee from area scholars. From 1909-1925, the period of illegal Latin, the classics slipped increasingly into regular on-campus courses.

glaring omission - which passed undebated through several parliamentary commissions and the National Assembly - deprived girls of the opportunity to matriculate to higher education, thus barring them from the liberal professions and government careers. It is Coirault's eye for the telling details of the law as it was formulated and debated, not his routine narration of the law's parliamentary history, which is of value to historians. He offers a close look at a piece of legislation born of the union of parliamentary procedure, social politics and sexual prejudice.

In contrast, Antoine Prost's brief treatment of female secondary education and functionalist dismissal of the effects of social thought on female education ("Il n'y avait pas lieu pour la puissance publique de s'occuper d'affaire éminemment privée."); and his supposition that "profoundly troubled" 19th-century domestic relations somehow were related to contemporary beliefs in "female specificity," is disappointingly shallow.<sup>6</sup> Prost shies away from discussing the implications of greater secondary education for girls, preferring to reinforce traditional stereotypes of women's place by spending more time on kindergartens and the development of a female teaching cadre to service the lower grades, than on the democratization of higher education.

It is this writer's contention that Prost's uneven treatment of female education in 19th-century France mirrors not only general academic practice, but also reflects cultural ambivalence on "women

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<sup>6</sup>Prost, p. 261.



questions." That ambivalence was exemplified by the National Assembly's treatment of female secondary education in 1878-1880. The ease with which the specific issue at hand, lycées for girls, was sidetracked into general discussions of morality, national destiny, and women's mission, was symptomatic of this deeply entrenched ambivalence. Indeed, one of the most fascinating aspects of the Loi Camille Sée debates was the use of the topic "woman" as a prism to reveal national preoccupation with other concerns. Whenever possible the disputants discarded the central topic to examine what seemed to be more immediate problems to them, i.e., church-state relations, national security, paternal rights, morality, the public good. One must therefore look for the French images of woman in what might seem to be extraneous matter in the debates. To find, delineate, and flesh out the various images of woman in the National Assembly, one must go to the peripheries, walk the jumbled paths of ideological forms and read between rhetorical lines, juxtaposing seemingly ill-related topics like Sedan, Prussian ascendancy, family politics, the priesthood and racial health, to patch together the crazy-quilt of woman which emerged from the Loi Camille Sée debates.

The Loi Camille Sée and its author. Reforms of secondary female education analagous to those carried through for boys earlier in the 19th century were first proposed by Camille Sée in 1871, but he was unable to fully articulate his proposed reforms until 1878. The Loi Camille Sée was taken under consideration by the Chamber of Deputies on 28 October 1878. From there it passed to committee

(commission parlementaire d'initiative) in both the Chamber and the Senate. The Chamber held a public hearing on the law the following May, the Senate the following August. Camille Sée was named reporter for the lower house commission, Paul Broca, the noted anthropologist, for the Senate commission. Broca died June 31, 1880, ten days after deposition of the law in the Senate. He was replaced by historian and academician (Académie des sciences morales 1871, Académie française 1878) Henri Martin, senator from Aisne. Debate on the bill started in the Chamber on 15 December 1879, and continued on January 19 and 20, 1880. The Senate did not initiate its consideration of the measure until November 20 and 22, 1880. Senate deliberations were concluded on December 10, 1880 and the bill was passed on to the Deputies for final approval on December 16. President Jules Grévy and President of the Council and Minister of Public Instruction Jules Ferry signed the bill into law on Tuesday, 21 December 1880. As was customary, the debates were reported in the Journal Officiel on days immediately subsequent to the actual proceedings.

All detailed accounts of the history of the Loi Camille Sée agree that Camille Sée not only drafted the legislation but was also responsible for its passage in essentially the same form as the original proposition. Sée was particularly adamant that the internat, or boarding school, should be included as a complement to the more common - and acceptable - externat, or day school, a point he vigorously defended against opposition from Republicans as well as the bill's detractors.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>Jules Simon and Jules Ferry, for example, were hesitant to

Part of the reason for Sée's insistence on retention of the lay internat, a stance which was directly related to his fierce anti-clericalism, may be explained by his background.<sup>8</sup> Camille Sée (1827-1919) belonged to a well-known family of Jewish extraction. The Sée family originated in Lorraine, and, until the 19th century when most members moved to Paris, lived in Alsace-Lorraine. Young Sée distinguished himself in law at the University of Strassbourg, became Secretary General to the Minister of the Interior in 1870 and Prefect for Saint-Denis in 1872, resigning from that post when Thiers fell from office (May, 1873). In 1876 Sée was elected Deputy from Saint-Denis and took his seat on the Left. One of the 363 who voted no confidence in the government in May 1877, he was reelected to the Chamber of Deputies the following October and became one of the Chamber's secretaries, a position he made good use of when placing his propositions on the agenda. Sée was a noted legal expert and lectured widely on the law in France, Europe and the United States. He sponsored legislation to direct the institution of the female lycées in 1881 and founded a periodi-

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endorse the internat until convinced of the necessity of following every possible avenue to secularization of female schooling. Mme. Eugène Garcin, Droit des Femmes (Feb. 1880), p. 17, termed the internat system an "oeuvre antisociale" which separated children from their parents in their formative years. Garcin's concern for child welfare was a function of her humanist concern for the total well-being of individuals. Conservative opponents of the internat, on the other hand, were more concerned about the appropriateness of the internat to female socialization.

<sup>8</sup>V. especially Sée's, "L'internat est dans nos mœurs et s'il n'est pas créé par nous, il le sera contre nous." J.O., 20 Jan. 1880, p. 566.



cal, L'Enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles, to help implement his educational reforms.

The Loi Camille Sée was passed essentially as drafted by Sée, although, as previously noted, inclusion of the internat provision posed great problems for Sée. The original curriculum, notably the life sciences and mathematics, was pared down in committee, and these emendations met with surprisingly lackluster resistance from the bill's supporters, a fact of particular importance for interpretation of woman's proper sphere.

Generally speaking, there were no major differences between Senate and Chamber considerations of the Loi Camille Sée. However, Senate deliberations were much more heated as the question of lay morale instruction was broached during Senate consideration of the measure on 22 November 1880. Within each house, however, proponents and opponents could generally be grouped as "republican" and "conservative (or Royalist and pro-Catholic) respective. This grouping by no means excluded Republicans from the opposition, especially in regard to the troublesome internat, but the reverse did not hold true. No pro-Catholic or royalist representatives supported the bill. Voting on the separate articles of the bill, except again for the internat, followed partisan lines, with those who approved of the Ferry reforms as a whole supporting reform of female secondary institutions, and proponents of Catholic education opposing the bill as anti-religious and anti-libertarian. Legislators from those areas strongly identified with the Counter-Revolution (Brittany, the Vendée, etc.), with clericalism and titled nobility - causes and persons also iden-

tified with the Correspondant - were in the forefront of the opposition.<sup>9</sup> No titled nobility voted for the bill in either house.

Knights of the National Assembly: challenge and counter-challenge. Camille Sée's bill was not really debated in December 1879, but the lines of battle were then drawn. Vicomte de Perrochel (Sarthe) warned that the proposition was a work against "God and religion."<sup>10</sup> Émile Keller, shouldering the burden for the opposition on January 19, added "women" to Perrochel's list of parliamentary victims, when he assumed the mantle of chivalry in defense of the fairer sex. "C'est qu'au fond, on n'est pas content des femmes françaises!" he charged, indicting those who wished to change the female educational status quo.<sup>11</sup> In his exposition of the history of French female education Camille Sée agreed in part with Keller, although he identified education as much as women as the source of Republican dissatisfaction. Keller accused the Republicans of wanting to change French women, but Sée made it clear in his original report and in the debates themselves that he merely wanted to adjust women to Republican ways by divesting their socialization of clerical influences.

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<sup>9</sup>In the Senate, Count Alexandre de Richemont (French Indies), whose name was long-associated with Brittany, spearheaded the opposition in concert with: Albert, Duc de Broglie (Eure); and Marie-Raymond-Gustave de la Croix, Baron de Ravignan (Landes). Their counterparts in the lower house were: Ferdinand, Vicomte de Perrochel (Sarthe); La Rochefoucauld, Duc de Bissacia; and Vicomte Émile de la Bassetière (Vendée). Non-noble opponents of the bill tended to come from the same areas.

<sup>10</sup>J.O., Chambre (16 Dec), p. 11159

<sup>11</sup>Ibid. (20 Jan), p. 517.

Coirault noted that even before 1880 Republican attempts at secondary education for girls resulted in instruction that was "légère, frivole et superficielle, quand elle n'était pas fausse."<sup>12</sup> Solid education, for Sée, was instruction of women to their "natural vocation, which is to raise their children, keep their homes, and become proper intellectual companions of Republican husbands."<sup>13</sup> Speaking directly to Keller on January 19 during the Chamber debates, Sée affirmed: "on n'est pas content des femmes en France," and called for better instruction, outside convent walls. Predictably, Sée was rebuked by the Right, who chorused that they at least "honored and respected" French women.<sup>14</sup> Sée persisted. He indicted convents for turning out girls so habituated to the "vie mystique" that they became "incapable" of fulfilling more mundane obligations toward self, family and society as married women. Émile de la Bassetière (Vendée) picked up Sée's ideological gauntlet, and "in the name of our women and our girls"

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<sup>12</sup>Coirault, p. 16. Coirault's use of the term "fausse" represents his republican partisanship and mirrors Sée's thought. The term "false" and its corollary "true" were used frequently during the debates. Both sides agreed that "true" female education entailed careful surveillance. See records of 19 January, p. 13 (Camille Sée); 21 January, p. 571 (Bardoux); 21 November, p. 11313 (Ravignan); 10 December, p. 12132 (Col. Meinardier), for use of both terms.

<sup>13</sup>J.O. Chambre (20 Jan. 1880), p. 523. Sée repeated his concern about women's vocation by specifically mentioning female domestic duties, maternity, solicitude to husbands, etc. in various contexts.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 521.



protested Sée's anti-Catholicism. It would be best for the nation, stated, if the National Assembly emulated 18th-century schooling for girls, leaving them in Church-supervised convents.<sup>17</sup>

The rhetoric of battle was not unique to the Camille Sée debates: it was commonplace in the National Assembly and part of the Republican vs anti-Republican, and Church vs State, legacy of the French. But, in conjunction with sustained chivalric posturing by both sides and the absence of the third party and subject of the law - woman - from the Assembly proper, the rhetoric of chivalry lent a curious ambience to the proceedings.

The fair lady, i.e. French women, was not present to be impressed by charges and countercharges, so the shouting was done for effect on those who actually heard the debates or followed them in the press or the Journal officiel. The scenario was pre-ordained and recapitulated in all the debates dealing with Ferry's educational reforms. Those - of either sex - who read reports of the debates knew what to expect in ideological verbiage. The forces of 1789 vs the Catholic Church, the latter symbolizing a hierarchy of authorities which spanned heaven and earth, were fighting for control of the French soul. True to the battle motif, a sense of impending loss - or gain - stiffened opposition and sharpened the attack. But the loss was not simply ideological. It hit home. The ideological war was personalized by Émile Keller when he tied male power to defense of the Catholic schoolgirl. Keller used "A man's

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 524.

home is his castle," as the rallying point for opposition to the Sée proposal, claiming pères de la famille would be dishonored were it to become law.<sup>16</sup>

As a man wedded to aristocratic ideals granting him les droits du père, Keller spoke out to defend Christian women whom he feared might be turned into "monstrosities" if they left convents for lycées.<sup>17</sup> Keller also feared for the integrity of the nation, which, he stated, had been made "the first nation in the world" by French Christian women, reiterating implicitly the idea that France was what its women made it.<sup>18</sup> Camille Sée did not disagree with Keller's analysis of the female cultural mission. Indeed, he picked up Keller's chivalric imagery and implied that women were the cultural "knights" in whose hands rested the very salvation of France. Concluding the government's case for the bill in the Chamber of Deputies on 19 January 1880, Sée suggested adoption of Joan of Arc and Saint Geneviève as models for contemporary female gallantry:

C'est dans cette loi, messieurs, ne l'oubliez pas, que se trouvent l'avenir, le salut de la France. . . car la grandeur aussi que la décadence des peuples, dépendent, messieurs, de la femme.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 521. Keller's fear of embarrassment because of female lycées was echoed in the Correspondant. V. Boucher, "Quinzaine politique" (25 Feb. 1880), pp. 809-810. Boucher told of Duke d'Audiffret-Pasquier's accusation to Ferry that he worshipped Rousseau and that following the Sée policy would shame the families whose girls attended the lycées.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 520.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 518.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 535.

Keller and Sée, opponent and proponent of female lycées, thus converged on a particular image of woman, woman as savior of France, even though they set that woman in different milieux; Keller in pre-1789, pre-Republican France, Sée in the France of "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité." Their colleagues in the Senate concurred,<sup>20</sup> though they continued the ideological division which pitted Dupanloup against Duruy in 1867 and prompted Jules Ferry to proclaim: "Woman must belong to Science or she will belong to the Church" in 1870.<sup>21</sup>

Camille Sée and the partial rights of woman. The "either-or" image of woman as saint or sinner melded nicely with ideological imperatives during the Camille Sée debates. Indeed, Sée had forced identification of "woman" with Catholic France or the Republic by rephrasing Siéyès' stirring call to revolution at the beginning of 1880. "Qu'était la femme en 1789?" asked Sée, answering himself with a terse "Rien!" From the Right came an equally dogmatic rejoinder: "Elle était la moitié de l'homme!"<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>See, for example, Ferouillat, J.O. Sénat (21 Nov. 1880), p. 11311; and Richemont, *ibid.*, p. 11303.

<sup>21</sup>J. Ferry, "Discours sur l'égalité d'éducation," delivered in Paris at the Salle Molière, 10 April 1870. From Prost, *op. cit.*, p. 269. At the same time Ferry raised the issue of war between the sexes along ideological lines. He concluded that women could not be neutral in the struggle between remnants of the Old Regime and "modern" democracy because upon them depended the future of France.

<sup>22</sup>J.O. Chambre (20 Jan), p. 521. The phrase "moitié de l'homme" can be traced to Fénelon's Éducation des filles, where it appears in rather ambiguous context as justification for female instruction. Chapter XII of the Éducation makes women family



Siéyès' remarks, paraphrased to suit Sée's Republican intentions, were the closest the Deputy from Saint-Denis came to linking women to the Great Revolution. He contented himself with arguing from justice, in good Enlightenment style, for women's rights to education only.

Woman, said Sée, was a human being, responsible for her own acts, a person with unique talents. She therefore had the right to develop her faculties through education.<sup>23</sup> In the course of his presentation Sée rephrased Christine de Pisan and Legouv   both, giving a secular version of the immorality of wasting God-given talents. But what S  e conceded individual women as a right, i.e., the right to instruction, he so qualified as to recast as a generic patriotic duty and ended by subordinating individual or generic female rights to national need, to the bon public. Furthermore, he transmuted female educational rights into a matter of national prestige, complaining:

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police as well as family maintainers and hints at terrestrial implications of instruction for spiritual equality: "Voil   donc les occupations des femmes, qui ne sont gu  re moins importantes au public que celles des hommes, puisqu'elles ont une maison    r  gler, un mari    rendre heureux, des enfants      lever. Ajoutez que la vertu n'est pas moins pour les femmes que pour les hommes: sans parler du bien ou du mal qu'elles peuvent faire au public, elles sont la moiti   du genre humain, rachet   du sang de J  sus-Christ, et destin  (e)    la vie   ternelle." From Rousselot, I, p. 398. Use of the term "homme" in the Chamber of Deputies suggests "genre humain" was subsumed in "homme" and also could be read as a statement of female inferiority to male. Joseph de Gast  , the feminist deputy, probably chose the latter version when reflecting on woman's status under the Code.

<sup>23</sup>J.O. Chambre (20 Jan. 1880), p. 525.

La France, que l'on s'est plu si souvent à comparer à la femme, dont le sentiment dans tout ce qu'il a de bon, de loyal, de généreux, constitue en effet la base du caractère national, la France, qui, par sa situation et morale et intellectuelle et politique, devrait être à la tête de ce grand et salutaire mouvement [female secondary education], est à peu près le seul pays qui ne possède pas d'écoles secondaires de jeunes filles.<sup>24</sup>

Opponents of the law evidenced similar proclivities to subsume the topic of woman in national welfare and to confuse questions of female honor with challenges to national integrity.

And, being on the parliamentary as well as on the ideological defensive, they tended to resort to verbal overkill, using military metaphors whenever possible.

Keller and Sée's tiff over who best defended the honor of French women was replicated in the Senate in a manner which betrayed the Assembly's discomfort at dealing with the woman question in any form. Reporter Martin protested that Republicans did honor women. Senator Gavardie (Landes) interrupted Martin to complain that "contemporary politics got mixed up with everything," and went on to himself add to the parliamentary potpourri by charging the Left with saying, "We want women," and adding - to the great amusement of the Left - "Woman doesn't give herself so lightly, especially to Jules Ferry" (i.e., to the University rather than to the Church).<sup>25</sup> Phallic imagery of combat surfaced here most

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 522. On p. 523, Sée argues for male and female education from morality, claiming all moral beings have the right to knowledge. This is a deistic version of Christine de Pisan.

<sup>25</sup>J.O. Sénat (23 Nov. 1880), p. 11362.

crudely as raw sexual conquest.

The battle metaphor, with its implications of total victory or catastrophic defeat, total loss of control by the vanquished and all spoils to the victor, could be applied equally to fair ladies and to ideologies. Thus, Arthur Chalamet (Ardèche) dismissed the idea that fellow Republicans were conspiring against Catholicism with the intent to attack religion and drive God from schools and society. Rather, he blamed the Church itself for "ousting God from religion."<sup>26</sup>

Chalamet was one with Sée on the question of responsibility for France's moral decay. But Sée narrowed the blame for France's recent time of troubles to particular Church functionaries. He pitted priests, as the agents provocateurs of the Catholic Church against hapless Republican husbands and opposed the convent and the confessional to the struggling lay internat. The internat became the first line of defense against a clergy eager to control husband and children through its hold on women. Sée then returned to the theme of female honor, skirting the subject of prostitution as he accused the opposition of shamelessly putting a price tag on a priceless object, female education. He compounded the insult to his opponents' manliness by next lashing out at those who, he claimed, failed to see a direct causal relationship between Prussian victories like Sadowa, capitulation at Sedan, and the investment Prussia had earlier ploughed into training a cadre of lay primary teachers of both sexes. France, Sée implied, to vigorous denials from the Right,

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<sup>26</sup> J.O. Chambre (20 Jan. 1880), p. 526.



had been sold down the river for a pittance. She had been educated to defeat by outmoded Catholic schools.<sup>27</sup>

Throughout the debates the opposition replied to Sée's accusations by reversing the blame, saying France had been punished as a result of national (i.e. Republican) apostasy from Catholic morality.<sup>28</sup> Who placed what blame where during pre-occupation with revanchism in the course of the Camille Sée debates is less important to the definition of French images of women than the fact that all parties to the debate agreed on the role of woman in definition of the national character and national morality. Consequently, examination of disputants' ideas on just how women, morality and the educational system interacted to affect France yields the riches ore from which to fashion contemporary images of woman. But, given the doctrinaire stance of the disputants, no shining examples of sophisticated logic were forthcoming in their respective arguments.

Guardians of the keepers of morality: Church vs. State.

There is general consensus on the importance of the internat and the laicisation of morality to the Loi Camille Sée debates. The question of boarding schools for either sex was also a constant in discussions

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 567 (21 Jan.).

<sup>28</sup>See, especially the remarks of Richemont, J.O. 20 November and 10 December 1880. Conservative fears of class struggle, obvious in remarks on women and the lower classes, were translated into worries about female ability to maintain racial purity and national strength. For a study of the varied roots of theories of French defeat in 1870-1871, see Roger L. Williams, The French Revolution of 1870-1871, Ch. VI, "The Intellectual Reaction to Defeat and Violence" (N.Y.: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969).

of 19th-century French educators.<sup>29</sup> Teaching of morality by lay instructors was broached for the first time in the history of the Ferry laws during the Loi Camille Sée debates. Along with the question of morality were raised the issues of whether or not non-religious personnel could adequately instruct students in ethics and morality, and more importantly, whether religious education should even be offered in the lycées. As finally accepted, the law provided for religious instruction for internat students after regular school hours, at the request of parents and from approved representatives of different sects.<sup>30</sup> But, beyond the specific questions of religious or moral instruction, there remained the frank goal of Republicanization, i.e., secularization, of French women. It was this goal to which the Right objected most strenuously.

Alexandre Desbassayns, Comte de Richemont and Senator from

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<sup>29</sup>See, for example, Mme. Eugène Garcin, op. cit., and the influential Quelques mots sur l'instruction publique en France (Paris: 1872), by Michel Bréal. Bréal was cited by Richemont on 20 November, when Richemont made his theories of moral desolation in the lycées the crux of his remarks on morality. Coirault, p. 28, notes Bréal's considerable impact on conservative thought, but Garcin also cited Bréal.

<sup>30</sup>The final version of Article 5, the internat provision, closely resembled the original and read: "L'enseignement religieux sera donné, sur la demande des parents, par les ministres des différents cultes, dans l'intérieur des établissements, en dehors des heures des classes.

"Les ministres des différents cultes seront agréés par le ministre de l'instruction publique.

"Ils ne résideront pas dans l'établissement." For the full version of the Loi Camille Sée, as passed in December 1880, refer to Appendix B, below.

the French Indies, led the Senate attack on the lycées.<sup>31</sup> Richemont charged the bill's advocates with wishing to "create a feminine wing of the University," a bulwark of positivism which would deliberately foster "dangerous innovations in moral teachings."<sup>32</sup> That is, which would teach morality within a curriculum independent of routine religious instruction, a curriculum which would ignore "God and the Gospels."<sup>33</sup> It would be best, advised Richemont, to allow the "national genius" to prevail and retain traditional convent education as the norm for female instruction. Les his listeners remain unmoved by principle, Richemont reminded them of some practical advantages of retaining the educational status quo. He indicated that women who had been convent-educated would be trained to submit to male authority when they married. A woman raised on the lap of the Church would, he stated be "au-dessus de son mari, moins par la tête que par le coeur." That is, she would not compete with her spouse, or any other men, for extra-domestic rewards. Furthermore, he continued, the "modestie" which Church teachings inculcated in women's hearts would give wives the ability to inspire affection while simultaneously being capable of "voiler, en la dominant, l'intelligence et même le génie."<sup>34</sup>

Beyond selfish concerns for husbands, Richemont claimed great benefits to the nation which clung to convent education .

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<sup>31</sup>Richemont, a devout Catholic, gave heavily of his own time and money to Catholic charities and female religious and wrote several biographies of noble Catholic women and nuns.

<sup>32</sup>J.O. Sénat (21 Nov. 1880), p. 11304.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 11305.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 11307.



He promised that married women would bear male children who would fight France's wars; and that female religious (vierges) would be missionaries to the world, ambassadors of "le nom de la France:"

Cette éducation, je veu l'améliorer toujours, la transformer jamais. . . car c'est elle qui conserve au milieu de nous ce type à la fois fort et doux, de la femme chrétienne et française, qui épouse et mère, donne à la patrie les héros de Gravelotte et de Patay, et qui, vierge, affrontant tous les champs de bataille de la charité, va faire honorer et bénir le nom de la France sur toutes les plages de l'univers (Très bien! et applaudissements à droite).<sup>35</sup>

Richemont's intransigence, his desire never to "transform" women's status as pious housewives or religious, and his fiercely possessive stance toward women were raided to higher reaches of dogmatism and rhetoric by his colleague , Baron Ravignan of Landes. Ravignan broadened Gavardie's declaration that "Ferry" would not "have" French women into a discussion of women's roles. To the lover's triangle of Republican-Fair Lady-Anti-Republican he added the specter of a fourth party, the femme libre, or "monstrosity" to which Keller had earlier alluded. In order of appearance, Ravignan's themes were: female character, woman's role (and by implication that which should be forbidden to her); and female piety. He deserves to be directly

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid . Gravelotte and Patay were battles of the Franco-Prussian War. Cassell's History of the War between France and Germany notes that 19,000 French and almost as many Germans fell at Gravelotte, near Metz, on 18 August 1870. French resistance was heroic, but German reinforcements turned the tide and the way to Verdun was opened for German troops. The mitrailleuse or machine-gun, was tried, with devastating results for the first time at Gravelotte by French forces. Patay, waged the 2 and 4 of December 1870, saw defeat of the Army of the Loire by the Germans. It was also the site of victory of Joan of Arc and the Connétable de Richemont (a relative of the Count's?) over the English.

quoted on those topics, all raised in the Senate debates on 20 November 1880. Ravignan on female character:

Car, enfin, la femme, on l'a dit avec raison, a besoin d'absolu; sa nature impressionnable, sensible, délicate, cherche l'idéal; et c'est dans la morale indépendante /i.e., secular positiviste morality/ qu'elle le trouvera?

On woman's role:

Vous êtes préoccupés de la liberté de l'esprit de la femme à l'égal de la liberté de l'esprit de celui qui doit être un futur citoyen admis à prendre sa part des charges, des devoirs, de responsabilités de la vie publique?

Eh, bien, je vous le dis, cette sollicitude n'est pas à sa place. La femme, l'enfant appartiennent à la famille; j'ajoute que la femme lui appartient tout entière, elle n'appartient pas à l'État, elle ne peut lui appartenir à aucun titre ni à aucun degré (Très bien! très bien! à droite).

On female allegiance to the Church - and to Catholic husbands:

Ce sont donc les femmes que vous prétendez avoir ainsi pour alliées? Eh bien, monsieur le ministre, - permettez-moi de vous le dire avec tous les égards qui sont dus lorsque l'on parle à cette tribune et que l'on s'adresse au Gouvernement - vous n'y réussirez pas! (Interruptions à gauche. - Très bien! très bien! à droite). . . Vous ne l'aurez pas!

Le coeur de la femme est fait de foi et de dévouement. Vous ne le changerez pas. Nos mères, nos femmes, nos filles, nos soeurs sont là pour vous répondre, et quant à ces femmes, admirable entre toutes, qui sont fait une maternité de leur charité et de leur abnégation, leurs oeuvres parlent pour elles. . . Vous ne les changerez pas, celles-là surtout. Elles vont chercher la force qui les guide à une source que vous ne dirigerez pas et que vous ne tarirez pas davantage.<sup>36</sup>

As before, huzzahs from the Right followed Ravignan's assertion of the Church's rights (and the rights of Catholic men) to control women, to keep them from those who would stop ("tarir,"

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<sup>36</sup>J.O. Sénat (21 November), p. 11313.

as to cause to dry up, exhaust) female devotion to the old ways and the old faith. Senator Armand Fresneau (Morbihan) seconded Ravignan's "Vous ne l'aurez pas!" with, "Non, vous n'aurez pas les mères!" after being moved by Ravignan's conclusion that if passed the Loi Camille Sée was "destinée, ou à n'être qu'une tentative stérile ou à produire de conséquences funestes."<sup>37</sup>

Conservatives' pleas for shoring up Catholic education as a necessary defense of the public interest, were answered in kind by the Republican Left, who also championed the cause of morality. But, the Republicans added a new element to the debate: following Sée's lead they held that female lycées were necessary to effect an ideological rapprochement between spouses and end the battle of the sexes in France.<sup>38</sup> The Right disagreed that such warfare existed, preferring to cast Catholic wives of anti-clerical husbands as model (martyred?) spouses.<sup>39</sup> They could find some justification for their praise of the Catholic wife in the remarks of the bill's sponsor, whose anxiety about domestic tranquillity betrayed fears about female allegiances, about wifely submission to a husband's politics as well as to the puissance maritale.

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<sup>37</sup>J.O. Sénat (10 December), p. 11216.

<sup>38</sup>V., especially, Camille Sée, Ferouillat, Martin and Chalamet (Privas).

<sup>39</sup>Opposition claims of contentment with "their" women can be interpreted as satisfaction with familial relations. Keller noted that he was delighted to have a daughter "serving the poor" in a convent. Chesnelong said that the unity of families was not as broken as some claimed, citing the fact that lots of fathers gave their children religious instruction as the basis for his claim.



Sée's concern with uppity women emerged as the most important rationale for the bill. "La femme," he declared, "malgré ses instincts de soumission et de tendresse, vit à l'état d'adversaire dans la famille, de rébellion dans la société."<sup>40</sup> Within the family, he went on to elaborate, mothers ought to be educated so they would not pass "opinions, habits or traditions" contrary to those held by their husbands on to children. Men should control cultural content, women maintain the culture.

Despite the fact that Sée stringently upheld the idea of separate spheres, i.e., public and private, for men and women respectively, he was in tune enough with his times to agree in principle with Droit des Femmes feminists on the salutary effects of improving communication between the sexes. "It is important that each sex doesn't have its own language, ideas, prejudices, and life apart," he explained.<sup>41</sup> But Sée retracted the last phrase and spent a good deal of his presentation allaying fears of females leaving the lycées to literally share men's extra-domestic lives. What he proposed first as a domestic ideal of togetherness he later pared down to vicarious existence for women, who were to leave extra-domestic achievements to the men in their lives.

The only career Camille Sée envisioned for women as the social rule of thumb was marriage. He reasoned that the middle and upper-class women who were to matriculate from lycées at the age of 17 or 18 would immediately enter their pre-chosen "careers." If he opened the doors

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<sup>40</sup>J.O. Chambre (20 Jan. 1880), p. 524.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

of secondary education to females, he slammed those guarding the higher levels of the University rudely in their faces. Sée refused to examine "la thèse de l'introduction des femmes dans les carrières dites libérales et dans les les carrières administratives." To interruptions of "très bien!" from the Left, Sée echoed Talleyrand's views on the necessity of restricting women to the foyer for the common good, citing a cruelly restrictive "natural" law to support his position:

Ce n'est pas un préjugé, c'est la nature elle-même qui renferme les femmes dans le cercle de la famille. Il est de leur intérêt, du nôtre, de l'intérêt de la société entière, qu'elles demeurent au foyer domestique. Les écoles que nous voulons fonder ont pour but, non de les arracher à leur vocation naturelle, mais de les rendre plus capable de remplir les devoirs d'épouse, de mère et de maîtresse de maison. . . C'est dans cette mesure que nous renfermons nos espérances et nos volontés, mais là nous pouvons invoquer à la fois la justice et l'intérêt social.

If male lycées were to produce men who were to make France great, Sée designed female lycées to produce those men by providing them fit homes to mature in or to retire to upon daily leave-taking of their worldly duties. These were the "great duties of life," and women, who were not, according to Sée's line of thought, naturally great, would be educated to compensate "by superior culture" for what they lacked in "physical strength."<sup>42</sup>

One would think Sée had quite finished with his version of implementing the Law of Differences in education, but at this

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 523. See Ferouillat, below for another version of compensatory female education.

juncture in his presentation he launched into a discussion of what women were not to be educated for, underscoring his prevention theory of female instruction. Women were not, he repeated, to be encouraged to be lawyers or doctors, nor were they to be given the vote. Since voting was a condition of citizenship and not a career, one can only conclude that Camille Sée feared his call for more female schooling would evoke the specter of the full scope of "droits des femmes." And it did. Joseph de Gasté (Finistère), Auclert's promoter and soon-to-be underwriter of the Citoyenne, interjected a succinct "Pourquoi?" after Sée protested: ". . . je ne suis pas porté, je l'avoue, à réclamer les droits politiques des femmes." Sée replied to Gasté that he, like his conservative colleagues, was disquieted by the idea that "woman" and "order" were somehow negatively linked. He didn't want to interject still another "element of discord" into governmental bodies and the state's administration and condemned women (and their male supporters?) who sought to leave their proper sphere for "poussant un peu loin cette ambition" and losing their femininity in the process, "sans arriver jamais à être des hommes."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid. Both Gasté and Émile de Girardin, men who were close to feminist circles, failed to participate significantly in the Loi Camille Sée debates. Such silence could be interpreted as resignation in face of overwhelmingly prejudicial odds. They even failed to attempt amendments to the bill so as to give women who attended lycées the opportunity to become breadwinners. Although the assembly touched on the necessity of providing ouvrières with trades, they refused to countenance anything in the lycée curriculum which would fit women from the middle and upper classes for economic self-sufficiency or more modest contributions to the family income.



If Sée called for order by proselytizing Republicanism among women, Martin in the Senate distilled the Republican credo and transformed it into a call for a new order which horrified the Right.

Plead Martin:

. . . après les malheurs que nous avons subis, il faut à tout les français une direction morale [my emphasis] qui tende avant tout à la grandeur de la patrie. Il ne s'agit point par là de substituer la patrie à Dieu, comme d'autres y substituent l'humanité. La patrie est l'œuvre de Dieu. . . Il y a donc une religion de la patrie.<sup>44</sup>

Martin inverted the conservative world order, subsuming God in the State. On this disruptive note, the first Senate proceedings ground to a halt, to be resumed with Martin's presentation on November 22. On that day he widened the split between clerical and anti-clerical forces by positing that the State, like the Church, was a moral entity, a "personne" and thus could be entrusted with imparting morality to its citizens through the school system. The State had the right to suppress, albeit selectively some teachers of religion and establish qualifications for all, under the new law. Martin drew the obvious conclusion that it could also teach morality, even as the Church could.

Talk of the state's rights to define and teach morality led to a clash with the proponents of Catholic morality which was so intense that Martin tried to duck the issue of religion by claiming that one over-arching morality underlay all religious beliefs, so that morality, when taught in the girls' lycées, would be more than

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<sup>44</sup>J.O. Sénat (21 Nov.), p. 11314.

than adequate to all sect's needs.<sup>45</sup> But the issue of lay vs. Catholic morality had been joined, not simply raised as it was in the lower house,<sup>46</sup> and Richemont took the bait and ran with it. . . right back to the issue of female honor. On 9 December, in a last ditch effort to foreclose final voting on the question of the internat, Richemont implored his fellow legislators:

Messieurs, depuis bien longtemps, sous l'empire de sentiments sincère, mais ardents, et trop hostiles, nous avons lutté sur tous les terrains et nous avons fait arme de tout pour vous combattre. Puisse l'avenir ne pas nous montre que nous avons engagé dans nos luttes jusqu'au bonheur de nos fils! Mais aujourd'hui, je vous en conjure, faisons une trêve d'une heure - ce sera la trêve de Dieu - et ne nous battons pas avec la vertu de nos filles.<sup>47</sup>

The internat seems to have had particularly distressing implications for its opponents,<sup>48</sup> despite the fact that, as Sée correctly pointed out, boarding schools were part of French customs, and despite the fact that steps would be taken immediately upon passage of the parent bill which would provide for training fe-

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<sup>45</sup>J.O. Sénat (23 November), pp. 11360-11361.

<sup>46</sup>On 15 December by Perrochel, and by Keller the preceeding 19 January especially.

<sup>47</sup>J.O. (10 December 1880), p. 12133.

<sup>48</sup>Including feminists, see Garcin, op. cit. It may be that female reluctance to see children leave home was in part tied to the status women gained by child care and the fact that women's chief source of power was domestic relations. By removing children from the home women would be deprived of daily reinforcements to their egos. They would have to share their supervisory status with others. In short, they might very well suffer the empty-nest syndrome common to home-centered women in the 20th century. Too, women were not immune to partisan politics and would reflect anti-Republican or Republican positions on schooling.

male secondary teachers to serve in the new lycées.<sup>49</sup> Attendance at the new schools would not be compulsory, another fact which should have somewhat allayed conservative fears of the institution. Yet, the internat passed in the Senate by a slender 10-vote margin, while the entire bill was voted in with much greater support, 161 to 121.<sup>50</sup>

The Internat and woman as "unknown." What seemed to bother both proponents and opponents of the internat the most was the sheer novelty of the concept, especially as it pertained to explicit articulation of a female Republican morality. It was all well and good for Camille Sée, with his lawyer's logic, to point out that the internat was an honored French tradition. But it was quite another thing to actually separate female tutelage from superintendence by the Church, that institution which specialized in teaching the prime female virtues of submission, obedience, service, and abnegation - and institutionalize it in a government-sponsored system. Republicans, one of the Senators reminded his peers, frequently sent their daughters to convent schools and

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<sup>49</sup>On 26 July 1881, a law was promulgated which set up an École normale for women at Sèvres. The school opened the following 12 December. Sée had deposed the bill on 3 March 1881. Sèvres was modeled on Fontenay-aux-Roses, which had been legislated in 1879 and set up in the fall of 1880 to provide institutrices for primary schools.

<sup>50</sup>The item vote in the Chamber of Deputies was 143-117; while the final vote on the entire proposition was 347-123. The vote to include religious instruction (Article 4) was closer in the Chamber, 138-127, than was the internat vote. The final vote on the whole bill was verified by a 2-1 "Aye" voice vote in the lower house.



married convent graduates.<sup>51</sup> The plethora of reasons put forth by persons like Jules Ferry and Paul Bert against the internat points to existence of a sexual double standard which led good Republicans to wed good Catholic girls and send their daughters to convents. Republicans who opposed the internat had to be convinced that the State's need to control female education at all levels outweighed all other considerations.

Former Minister of Public Instruction Agénor Bardoux (Puy-de-Dôme) most clearly articulated the fears of those who were reluctant to back the internat, although his distress at the novelty of the institution did not match that of his colleagues further to the Right. The internat, said Bardoux, was impractical. Not only was its construction and maintenance a burden to the national budget, but the barracks-life of the lycée - here he drew on the male experience - would be unhealthy for girls and might adversely affect the "future of the race." To his practical objections Bardoux added the "theoretical" objection that internats would be too heavy a moral responsibility for the state to bear without the risk of scandal, i.e., state policing of nubile young girls might prove embarrassing. Like Sée, Bardoux invoked the public good as cause for restrictive policies. Who, he asked, could possibly staff internats in such a manner as to avoid all hint of scandal?

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<sup>51</sup>Paul Bourgeois (Vendée), J.O. Chambre (20 Jan.), p. 524.

Lorsqu'il s'agit de créer ce personnel si délicat, permettez-moi cette expression, de proviseurs-femmes, de censeurs-femmes pour les internats de jeunes filles, de maîtresses d'étude, voyez-vous jusqu'où va la responsabilité de l'État?

From the "delicate" question of female staff for a female institution, Bardoux slipped into near collision with the woman question when he dealt briefly with women's need for "more culture."<sup>52</sup> Like other debaters,<sup>53</sup> he disavowed wanting to discuss the "difficult and frail (as in weak in virtue) thesis of woman's role in contemporary society;"<sup>54</sup> and like Sée, he ended his argument by falling back on traditional social-sex stereotypes. The rough life of the lycée was regrettably necessary to prepare men for careers, according to Bardoux, but preparation for the "higher" mission of woman, ie., the creation of a "child and a man," could only be achieved by education within the family. Invoking the classic distinction between "éducation" and "instruction," Bardoux reminded the National Assembly that the lycée could only "instruct." It could not "educate." It was therefore superfluous, as professors, he claimed could not raise women and form

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.(21 Jan.), p. 570. Like Dupanloup, the members of the National Assembly showed a marked tendency to approach any topic construed as "female" on tip-toes. The use of the term delicate and its variants "feeble," and "weak," occurred regularly. E.e.g., Ferry, who saw the internat as imposing "delicate" responsibilities on the University; Richemont, Ferouillat, Ferry, Simon, the Duc de Broglie, among others used the term to discuss female morality or officialdom dealing with things female.

<sup>53</sup>With the exceptions of Deputy Joseph de Gasté, who undoubtedly wanted to discuss the full range of woman questions; and Charles-Paul Poriquet (Orne). On Poriquet, v. p. 508, below.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 570.

their characters. They could not teach the virtues of "délicatesse, tacté," and "politesse," which Fénelon recommended for ladies of quality.<sup>55</sup>

Bardoux's claim that the internat was superfluous was improved on by Senator Poriquet (Orne), who argued that women educated themselves "naturally," i.e., in the course of the day's domestic routine, learning all they needed to know from other females.<sup>56</sup> Poriquet, unlike Bardoux, attacked the woman question with gusto, countering Republican claims that existing inequities in male and female education were shocking, with the proposition that such inequities "naturally" developed as functions of women's "specific duties" qua future mothers and wives. Nature, said Poriquet, "wished" such inequality and compensated girls in their earlier years by making them quicker than boys at learning all subjects except "Latin, Greek, and mathematics." The very subjects which Sée excluded from his program entirely or watered down as inappropriate to female domesticity!

Having called Nature to the bar to testify on female learning patterns, Poriquet revealed the "natural" woman in all her simplicity:

La jeune fille, devenue femme, me paraît avoir d'autres devoirs à remplir que de suivre des cours, et, quant à moi, il ne me déplaît pas de la voir surtout assidue auprès de ses enfants et soucieuse du foyer domestique.

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 570.

<sup>56</sup>J.O. Sénat (10 December 1880), p. 12128.



He immediately juxtaposed Louise Michel to his highly domesticated ideal woman, claiming sarcastically that she had been "améliorée" by the Third Republic - a reference to the Société pour l'Amélioration du Sort des Femmes.<sup>57</sup> Michel (1830-1905), the "Red Virgin" of the Commune, had returned with the amnesty of 1880, arriving in Paris on 9 November, within a fortnight of Senate consideration of the Loi Camille Sée. With her returned visions of the pétroleuses of the Commune, socialist femmes libres, and remembrances of past and current feminist crusades for equal education and equal pay. The tumultuous welcome accorded Michel by workers, socialists, feminists and former communards, could only have disquieted social conservatives.

Poriquet continued his grievances against the Louise Michels of France, complaining that "too many moralities" already existed and damning Ferry and his cabinet for authorizing so many public conférences (i.e., socialist and feminist). Poriquet claimed the meetings "scandalized the citizenry and threatened to divide

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid. Louise Michel had been exiled in 1873 for her part in the Commune. Approximately 20,000 people welcomed her to Paris on her return. Among those with whom Michel worked on workers' problems and education were Mme. Jules Simon, Maria Deraismes, and André Léo (la Veuve Champseix). Decaux, Vol. II, pp. 905-911 gives a good account of Michel's impact.

<sup>58</sup>The pétroleuses were women who fought at the barricades during the Commune. They got their name from helping to manufacture and fire gasoline bombs or "Molotov cocktails." For a group study of the communardes, see Edith Thomas, Les Pétroleuses (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1963). Thomas faults historians for considering social history in general and women's history in particular as outside or beneath their proper sphere of study. She also criticizes work done to that date on the Commune women as permeated by "naive manicheism."

France into "Frances." Just what "Frances" Poriquet meant was clarified by his call for a return to the "unity of 1870" when men, women, and all classes joined in a common battle.<sup>59</sup>

The theme of social discord, alluded to by Camille Sée in his initial remarks and everpresent during the discussions of morality, was elaborated on by another of the bill's opponents, De Voisins-Lavernière (Tarn), who asked the Senate to recognize convent education as the only alternative to maternal or domestic instruction for females. "Instruction" in the French sense he was more or less willing to leave to externats or day schools. But "éducation," or moral upbringing, he would allow only in the closely guarded home or the convent. DeVoisins drew a straight line between the mode of female tutelage and family welfare. Not only would domestic education serve as all the career preparation girls needed, he argued, but mothers would be forced to spend more time at home caring for daughters and they would be less attracted to morally harmful "mundane pursuits." Fathers, on the other hand, he foresaw attracted again to the foyer by doting daughters, forsaking the wicked café for domestic contentment. Above all he stressed that girls who were home-educated would be well initiated into the "duties, demands and sacrifices of family life." DeVoisins repeated his colleagues' warnings of the impossibility of contravening Nature. He labeled "strange and vain" the idea that "women could be

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<sup>59</sup>J.O. Sénat (10 December 1880), p. 12130.

raised to be men," and solemnly reiterated that woman outside the home would lose her faith and destroy any hope of domestic tranquillity.<sup>60</sup>

DeVoisins and his fellow conservatives, with their talk of denaturing women, dangerous moralities, impending social disaster, and nostalgia for things past, all pointed up their reluctance to countenance changes in that element of society - women - whose prime cultural duty was seen as the transmission, unchanged, of what they considered unalterable truths. Armand Fresneau (Morbihan) best summarized conservative fears when he noted that the internat (and female lycées generally) would amount to what families feared the "most in the world, the unknown!"<sup>61</sup>

To those who had been unable to think of women in other than purely domestic and religious terms, as childbearers, maintainers of creature comforts, keepers of life's amenities, and the bulwark of piety, the proposed educational reform represented a serious breach in the protective moat around each paterfamilias' castle. Richemont gave substance to vague premonitions of apocalyptic change when evoking LePlay's theories he labeled female lycée graduates a "nouvelle couche and foresaw them plotting revolution in urban garrets when they couldn't find jobs and wouldn't return to their homes. The "prolétariat lettré et frisé," he warned, represented nothing less than total destruction of society, for

. . . dans l'âme de la femme se posera toujours effrayant-

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<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 12135.



les échoes de l'Europe orientale resonnent encore! - ce dilemme inévitable: christianisme ou nihilisme.

But Richemont's bottom line was that "la décadence des qualités ménagères" would be the result of too much female booklearning and too little domestic education.<sup>62</sup>

Camille Sée and his backers did not take rightist prophecies of toom too seriously. On the contrary, they assured the nation that lettered women (but not femmes savantes,<sup>63</sup> who were distrusted as much by Republicans as by their opponents) were to be raised to higher levels of obedience and domestic competence, à la Legouvê, not to revolution by secondary schooling. Noted an optimistic Senator Joannis Ferouillat (Var), cultured women were more apt, because of "finesse de leur intelligence. . . souplesse de leur esprit," and "délicatesse de leur coeur" to teach love of obedience than were their unlettered sisters. Ferouillat was not discomfited by increased female job-seeking, and suggested that in addition to teaching, women were admirably suited to serve in post offices and as telegraphers.

Like the opposition Ferouillat argued from practicality.

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid. (20 November), pp. 11309-11310. The Loi Camille Sée debates frequently devolved to the "pot-au-feu" argument, which generally floated into the most idealistic tirades or was used to give comic relief to the proceedings. See, for example, Sée's remarks on women's roles; Bourgeois' January 19 comments on femmes savantes; Lorois' of the same day on cooking and babies; Poriquet on 9 December; Voisin-Lavernière on the same day; and assorted interjections on home economics on 10 December

<sup>63</sup>For Republican aspersions on learned women, see: Camille Sée, remarks of 19 January on women working in the professions; Arthur Chalamet, the same date; and Ferouillat on 20 November 1880.

He posited that for the wife and mother a lycée education was most necessary.<sup>64</sup> He theorized that since women were traditionally past-oriented and men future-oriented, problems of communication in the family had reached crisis point, amounting to a "divorce intime, profound" which had fostered an "enervating scepticism" about all matters. Such scepticism Ferouillat considered the "worst intellectual malady" of the time. Well-educated women, he hoped, would raise generations of children so well-prepared for life in the modern world that there would be no need for internats, which were only good for undoing poor family education.<sup>65</sup> Like Sée and those who supported the internat, Ferouillat considered it a necessary, albeit temporary evil, a bridge to total Republicanization of France.

But even the optimistic Ferouillat showed some fear of women who weren't totally predictable or controllable. Since women were responsible for morals, and morals made the nation, he urged that women be protected from their own shortcomings and tendencies to undercut Republican morality by lycée tutelage. According to the Senator from Var, women needed to be taught to rein in their impressionable natures and resist "prejudices," i.e., anti-Republican thought, or they would be unknowing adversaries of Right and Reason.<sup>66</sup>

If the liberal Senator Ferouillat, who, like Jenny Touzin couched his remarks on female instruction in terms of "liberty,"<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>64</sup>J.O. Sénat (20 Nov.), p. 11310.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 11311.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. Ferouillat, like Legouvé, called for "substantial food, not "mousse" for women's minds.

evidenced such ambivalence toward women that he approached their schooling as an exercise in spiritual orthopedics, it is difficult to see how any less charitable a view of women could have prevailed as the National Assembly norm.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, Jules Ferry, speaking for the government on the internat November 22, 1880, seems to have distilled consensus on females and female education most concisely.

Explaining his change of position on the internat to the Senate that day, Ferry dispensed with rhetorical flourishes and revealed that he backed inclusion of the internat as a "necessary evil," although he remained troubled by the "delicate" question of state-sponsored girls' lycées.<sup>68</sup> Ferry, as Minister of Public Instruction, defended the lycée concept. He disputed Richemont's contention that the "barracks" atmosphere which threatened male "purity of spirit" was certain to destroy females more fragile innocence.<sup>69</sup> Ferry flatly stated that Richemont's call for a Truce of God for the sake of female virtue ignored harsh realities: the internat filled a real need for girls unable to get to an externat on a daily basis.

However, his points made for practicality, Ferry returned to his original theoretical objections to the internat. He claimed

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<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 11312. Sée, 19 January, tied the topic to the revolutionary trinity by saying the Revolution of 1789 gave the "signal for the intellectual and moral resurrection of woman." Sée also spoke of free will and personal rights.

<sup>68</sup>Ferry, J.O. Sénat (23 November 1880), p. 11361.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid. (9 December 1880), p. 12133.



they would constitute a "heavy burden" for the State, which would have to guarantee "the virtue of our daughters."<sup>70</sup> Jules Ferry and his supporters had more in common with their parliamentary opponents - at least in respect to views on women - than they were willing to concede. Parties to the debate might argue about whether or not the Church or Republicans made women "vassals."<sup>71</sup> They might fight to gain women's adherence to their respective ideologies. But, ideologies aside, they agreed across the board that woman's place was in the home and that her domestic and marital duties took precedence over any rights. Gasté's lone "Pourquoi?" fell on deaf ears.

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<sup>70</sup>Ferry, *ibid.*

<sup>71</sup>The term "vassal" was used by Sée on 19 January 1880. Ferouillat concluded, on 20 November 1880, that the church had always abused woman and placed her under its yoke. Variations on ecclesiastical authoritarianism were common in anti-clerical proponents remarks as well as in the *Droit des Femmes*.

## C H A P T E R   V I

### COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

Study of publications and public debates on female education in early Third Republic France reveals that contemporary images of women were closely tied to prevailing social and socio-political ideologies. Such images were expressed in terms familiar to readers as Republican or anti-Republican (Catholic-Royalist) rhetoric. The cultural historian, must, then delve into comparative examination of political verbiage if basic assumptions about women are to be defined and translated into images of women which serve as cultural lowest denominators.

René Rémond, in the preface to his La Droite en France, posits that despite the vagaries of French politics and continuous shifts in relative meanings of political terms like "Left" and "Right," it is possible to detect and define philosophical constants for the two major polarities of French political philosophy.<sup>1</sup> Rémond's description of the main body of Rightist thought dovetails precisely with the social and political philosophy of Loi Camille Sée opponents and their colleagues on the Correspondant. Those politicians, notably Félix Dupanloup, Albert de Broglie, and Charles Chesnelong, whom Rémond singles out as major leaders of the Right in the first decades of the Third Republic, were vitally connected with the Loi Camille

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<sup>1</sup>René Rémond, La Droite en France de la première restauration à la Ve république, second edition (Paris: Aubier-Éditions Montaigne, 1963), pp. 13-18.

Sée opposition.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, the bill's principal supporters read like an honor roll of the post-1880 French Center - Jules Simon, Jules Ferry, Léon Gambetta and Octave Gréard - not to mention the Droit des Femmes coterie. All called for the kind of educational reform represented by the Loi Camille Sée. Simon and Ferry, along with Sée, figured prominently in the debates. A brief summary of basic tenets of the opposition's thought and its quarrels with Leftist philosophy should therefore be most useful in sifting out their respective positions on "woman."

Natural order vs. natural rights. Rémond considers the concept of natural order the keystone of Rightist thought. Theocracy, a static, hierarchical social and political world, are related corollaries.<sup>3</sup> Terms like "God's will," "providence," and the "good of mankind," figure prominently in the speeches and writings of the French Right.<sup>4</sup> The French Right, according to Rémond, has generally been suspicious of any change in basic societal institutions, a trait it shares with conservatives of all nations. Respect for the Catholic Church, the aristocracy and the family as tradition-

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<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 144-147, contains an interesting overview of the Right in the National Assembly during the 1870's. Rémond notes that only "intérêts supérieurs de la France, de la monarchie et de l'ordre social" prompted the normally factionalized Right to vote in a solid block. Ferry's educational measures, of which the Loi Camille Sée could be considered a trial balloon, fit Rémond's description.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 146. Léon Say [22 November 1880, J.O., p. 11368] criticized Chesnelong for promoting the subordination of the University to "theocracy."

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Richemont's speech of 20 November 1880, for the use of "providential." Talleyrand's use of the common good as justification for limiting female education falls within the rubric "the good of mankind" as used by Rémond.



ally defined have been earmarks of French social conservatism. As historians and social thinkers, Rightists have tended to be fatalists à la Joseph de Maistre.<sup>5</sup>

If Natural Order has been, as Rémond suggests, the philosophical touchstone for the French Right, the French Left (and Center) has tended to place its ideological stock in the concept of Natural Rights, the Enlightenment version of Natural Order. Thus, the French Revolution, with credo of the "Declaration of Rights of Man and the Citizen," was the seminal event for Republicans of all persuasions, and as Karl Mannheim has noted,<sup>6</sup> marked a critical point in conservative self-definition. While anti-Republican descendants of the Right tended to stress the supra-rational in history, i.e., God's will, their peers on the Left have been drawn to the role of Reason, human or vaguely divine, in history. Static continuity has characterized Rightist thought, evolutionary change Leftist philosophy. The works of Michelet, the lives and thought of French socialists, and above all the philosophy of Positivism<sup>7</sup> attest to the

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<sup>5</sup>De Maistre (1753-1851) was the theorist par excellence of the French Right. V. especially the Principe générateur des Constitutions, written 1808-1809.

<sup>6</sup>Karl Mannheim, Essays on Sociology and Social Psychology (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1953), Ch. II, "Conservative Thought," p. 79.

<sup>7</sup>Positivism is understood as the application of scientific principles, or reason, to society. Positivists believed in the possibility and necessity of engineering social change through legislation. They could entertain the idea of a new religion, v. Martin. For an anti-Positivist critique, see Alfred de Courcy, "Philosophia," Correspondant (25 September - 10 November 1880). Courcy presents the Franco-Prussian War as punishment for French apostasy, for flirtation with Positivism.

Left's faith in Progress. Camille Sée, Jules Ferry, and Jules Simon were inspired by belief in the redemptive power of Reason and sought to embody their belief in the Republican educational reforms of the 1880's

Individual differences of temperament, social origins, schooling and the degree of participation in the post-Sedan phenomenon of heightened, sometimes paranoid, patriotism, might blur the clearcut differences of philosophy which separated Republicans from their opponents, and from time to time from each other. But, on the whole opponents and supporters of the Loi Camille Sée can be designated as members of either the "Right" or the "Left" in their respective socio-political thought. Both sides to the debate perceived themselves to be in a philosophical tug-of-war disputing competing moralities and life-styles.

Devoir vs. Droit. Since the issue of morality — lay or Catholic — dominated the debates, it is not surprising that all parties to the discussion frequently invoked what they each construed as "right" or "duty." Yet, to a degree, both sets of disputants concurred on core definitions of the two terms as they related to national responsibilities toward education in general and female education specifically. For example, there was general agreement on the right of all to primary education of some sort, if education be understood in the French sense of moral instruction. All, too, agreed on the necessity of raising up citizens to serve and to save France,<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>See, for example, the remarks Ferouillat and Martin on 20 November 1880; of Camille Sée on 19 January; and of Richemont on 9 December.

especially after Sedan. Most certainly all concurred on the central role women were to play in shaping the national destiny: they were to bear and raise sons to fight for France and daughters to bear children, especially sons. The Correspondant here agreed with the National Assembly majority. Only the Droit des Femmes of the sources studied disputed this emphasis. Heavily pacifist and pro-woman, the Droit fought both rights of the State and rights of pères de la famille over females.<sup>9</sup>

Opponents of the legislation cautioned that the State had the duty to avoid any involvement in post-primary female education, while proponents held the opposite point of view. The opposition cried out that its right to the "delicate and precious" freedom of instruction would be seriously eroded should the Loi Camille Sée pass into statute.<sup>10</sup> What did not occur with any consistency or frequency in the debates or the Correspondant, though a major theme in the Droit des Femmes, was the linking of "rights" to anything with "woman." Though Republicans approached the granting of state-sponsored secondary instruction to young women as a matter of justice, they never intended to act as women's rights advocates.

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<sup>9</sup>E.e.g., Duvaux interjection of 19 January; Keller and Chalamet *ibid*, pp. 520 and 525, J.O. 20 Jan. 1880. Supporters of the law hid arguments for paternal and husbands' rights in the bien public, natural law and criticism of priests' rights to confidentiality in the confessional. Abbé Houssaye explicated on paternal rights in the Correspondant. V. Ch. III above.

<sup>10</sup>Richemont keyed his initial presentation on 20 November with this thought. See J.O. (21 November 1880), pp. 11303 f. This had been the rallying cry for the forces of Catholic education throughout the century.



Rather, they chose to call for that instruction as a human right and national necessity, citing revolutionary precedent on the need to educate women as citoyennes.<sup>11</sup> Sée expressly excluded serious discussion of political, career or employment rights of women from consideration during the debates, and almost without exception his peers followed suit.<sup>12</sup>

Backers of the Loi Camille Sée joined its detractors in spending a great amount of their rhetorical energies reaffirming women's traditional duties. So too, did Correspondant publicists and Legouvé. The amount of time Republicans devoted to discussing women's duties was disproportionate to the demands of practical politics: the law's proponents far outnumbered its opponents and passage of the measure was a foregone conclusion. Thus, the Republicans' constant hammering away at the need to "éduquer" women to proper submission, the better that they would help their sons and husbands to become successful and gain status vicariously. Republican insistence on the behavioral implications of female secondary instruction may be interpreted in several ways. First, it could reveal subconscious masculine reservations at allowing women greater proximity to the upper reaches of the University while at the same time satisfying an impulse toward Enlightenment-inspired equity. Secondly, and in view of the recent political activism of Hubertine Auclert and the return of Louise Michel, it could be interpreted as

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<sup>11</sup>E.g., Camille Sée's presentation of 19th January 1880; Ferouillat's remarks of November 20. Both cited the Loi Lakanal.

<sup>12</sup>Camille Sée, J.O. (20 January 1880), pp. 522-523.

a limited measure of feminist success: Republicans were reacting, in classic backlash fashion, to pressures to change. Joseph de Gasté, Auclert's sponsor, was after all, physically present in the Assembly. So was Émile de Girardin, who had just made a media event of Alexandre Dumas fils' "conversion."

On the whole legislators endorsed the Correspondant image of woman and agreed that women should not be educated for careers outside the home.<sup>13</sup> They also mirrored Hugues' and Richemont's angst at the spectacle of emancipated women usurping "men's" places and strewing social wreckage in their wake: again Droit de Femmes publicists were exceptions to this rule of thumb.<sup>14</sup>

Lenore O'Boyle, in her "The Problem of an Excess of Educated Men in Western Europe, 1800-1850," concludes that Frenchmen's worries about unfair preferment for female professionals were to a great extent unwarranted.<sup>15</sup> She notes that the situation in Paris was exceptional, a corollary of the massing of professionals and civil servants in the area following national centralization.

O'Boyle also notes that privileged classes in France — and men were a legally privileged class — tended to fear, distrust

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<sup>13</sup>Paul Bert and Johannis Ferouillat seem to have countenanced modest expansion of female work opportunities in the lower ranges of government service. On the history of women in the French civil service, see Catherine Bodard Silver, "Salon, Foyer, Bureau: Women and the Professions in France," in Changing Women in a Changing Society (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1973).

<sup>14</sup>See Ch. III, above; Keller, Ravignan, Sée and Richemont in Ch. V, above.

<sup>15</sup>O'Boyle, Journal of Modern History, 42: 4(Dec. 1970), p.491 f.

and resent "social inferiors." She notes too that these negative feelings toward the "lower" classes may have operated in discussions of education throughout the 19th century. Study of the question of lay female secondary education in the early Third Republic supports O'Boyle's thesis and, furthurmore, indicates that women were regarded, in company with the working class and social radicals, as a dangerous segment of the population. The word "dangerous" was used by both sides to the debate in conjunction with proposed disposition of the female education question.<sup>16</sup>

The strongest evidence for extending Boyle's analysis of privileged classes' attitudes toward "inferiors" to male attitudes toward women, was offered by the opposition when Richemont referred to women as a "nouvelle couche sociale," and raised the specter of female nihilists overrunning France. Poriquet's image of women as a "prolétariat lettré et frisé" meshed with Hugues' fear of women as "déracinées" and Richemont's (and Eugénie Pierre's) description of educated women as "déclassées," to conjure up a female apocalypse - a cavalry of Amazons riding roughshod over treasured male prerogatives. Bardoux's refusal to discuss the "delicate thesis" of women's role in contemporary society, coupled with Republican tiptoeing around "delicate" questions of safeguarding female morality strikes one as a classic case of denial, espec-

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<sup>16</sup>See Camille Sée, J.O. (20 January), p. 520. Sée acknowledged that for the opposition the law's institution would be "dangerous," and presented non-passage as equally as destructive to proponents' hopes for society and for females. See also Chalamet, Ibid., p. 527; and Richemont, J.O. (21 November), p. 11304.



ally when opposed to the actual aspirations and achievements of women as chornicled in the Droit des Femmes. The simplest way to deal with the woman question in the National Assembly, with those of the "other sex," as Senator Henri Martin so revealingly classified non-males,<sup>17</sup> was to deny that a problem existed - as did the opposition. With a bit more sophisitication, proponents endorsed the curative properties of a good education. Fénelon had done as much.

Duty as control. Repeated reiteration of the pot-au-feu theme by those disputing the Loi Camille Sée can be used as an index of legislators' anxieties about women leaving home duties to seek personal fulfillment away from the foyer. By continually pointing out that women's duties were in the home, proponents of the bill could reassure themselves that increased educational opportunities for women would lead to a "rational" appreciation by women that their duties to home, family, and country took precedence over any incidental personal desires. By designing the female lycée curriculum to preclude all female career preparation except gentile domesticity, the legislators in fact instituted a fail-safe mechanism to avoid the social upheaval they feared would result from female secondary and higher education.

If Leftists depended on a carefully engineered curriculum and educating women to a keener sense of Republican duty to control

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<sup>17</sup>Martin, J.O. (21 November), p. 11313. Martin could have used a more inclusive term, such as "our daughters, our sisters," or even "our women." He did not group women as fellow citizens of men in any of his remarks, even though union of female and male minds was his stated goal.

female ambitions, Rightists leaned heavily on religion and Catholic institutions - including the family - to inhibit unseemly or dangerous female conduct. Their fierce defense of the convent and female religious as the ideal milieu and model for female education continued the tradition of control of women by piety which pervaded Dupanloup's tracts on female tutelage.

Translated by Richemont and Correspondant writers into secular terms, the nun became the strong, Christian wife, paragon of self-abnegation, long-suffering and submission.<sup>18</sup> Richemont made a special point of noting that Christian wives were granted some measure of superiority over their husbands - in all things spiritual but not intellectual - going so far as to advise women to conceal their intelligence and "even their genius" from their husbands by substituting increased affection toward their spouses for possible intellectual aspirations. Both pro-clerical and anti-clerical legislators agreed that female career aspirations were best deflected into teaching children, an emphasis which implied spatial removal of women from adult male fields of endeavor, especially from the high prestige fields.

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<sup>18</sup>See, for example, the Senate debates of 20 November 1880. Dantier's selection of the nun as the female prototype is another prime example of this tradition. V. Chapter III, above, p. 105. If the nun's goal was service of her spiritual groom, Christ, that of her more mundane sister was service of a husband. Keller was reassured of this by a Republican who asked whether marriage, which Keller considered the most important moral question for girls, would be taught in the new schools, responded with the statement institutrices would "enseigneront les devoirs de la mère de la famille." Duvaux, J.O. (20 January 1880), p. 520.

In view of Republican quarrels with convent education it is interesting to note Republican acceptance of the convent, minus its Catholic ties, as the keystone of the new lycée system. Strict supervision of women and narrow role socialization pervaded Ferry's internats just as they did the model convents. Although some Republicans, including Ferry, were reluctant to adopt the internat because they preferred more constant parental supervision of girls, they were more concerned about secular control of the entire lycée system than about the internat per se. Within the internat the State could act in loco ecclesiae as well as in loco parentis. Pragmatic reasons existed for the internat as well as ideological arguments: many mothers were unqualified to assume the instruction of their children and externats were not universally available.

Droit des Femmes vs. National Assembly. Feminists affiliated with the Droit des Femmes inverted the National Assembly's approach to female education. They spoke, as we have already noted, primarily of rights, and not of duties. Paternal despotism rather than the rights of the père de la famille absorbed their attentions when they talked of family affairs. Like fellow Republicans, they inveighed mightily against priest and Pope. But they did not substitute secular male power - legislative power in this instance - for religious paternalism. Richer and his staff made no fine theoretical distinction between celibate and non-celibate abuse of power.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>That is, the regular contributors. Occasional columnists like Émile Deschanel, Eugène Pelletan and Ernest Legouvé, tended to be more traditional in their views of male authority.



Yet, while Droit des Femmes regulars held views of women's rights widely divergent from the majority of their contemporaries, they ironically agreed with their times on at least one point: women were "natural" teachers. To the extent that they stressed what was presented as a genetic predisposition rather than an outgrowth of female socialization as a nurturer, they undermined their own egalitarianism. Eugénie Pierre's "Institutrice" series illustrated how compelling prevailing notions of female talents were. Mme. Griess-Traut talked of females' "qualités affectives" but never resolved the question of their origin. Was it biological or social? French feminists may have been making the most out of what society allowed women to do, but they ended up adding to what Senator Ferouillat (20 November 1880) termed undue romanticization of the role of mère de la famille.

On balance, however, French feminists differed markedly from their contemporaries on the Correspondant and in the Assembly when it came to assessing the role of women within the family and the condition of women within its "cercle atrophiant." They might share in patriotic fervor with both Right and Left - although they tended toward internationalism and pacifism; and they might echo the sentiment that women held the key to French destiny. They, too, believed in the crucial importance of education. But Droit feminists did not place the awesome burden of determining French destiny on women's shoulders alone; nor did they second the idea that woman was the "other," an inheritance from both secular and Christian traditions. Richer's theory of female and male "equivalency" bordered on allot-

ment of specific human characteristics to one sex or the other, but Richer never crossed the line into mutual alienation or necessary complementarity because he lay such stress on common humanity and individual talents.

Feminists agreed with proponents of the Loi Camille Sée that "Two Frances," one male and one female, existed. But they lay the blame for domestic and social discord at the feet of legislators and the Church. Like non-feminists or anti-feminists, feminists believed rapprochement of the sexes was possible. But they did not hold to the idea that it could be affected by educating women to more sophisticated subordination to men. Rather than educate women to understand their husbands' politics and professions, feminists wanted women to themselves be educated to full employment outside the home. They saw economic independence as a necessary complement to legal emancipation, although on the whole those feminists associated with the Droit des Femmes considered abrogation of the Code Napoléon their first priority and equal salaries took the back seat to legal reforms.

The Droit des Femmes both allayed and fanned the fears of those who dreaded female acquisition of political rights. Léon Richer would wait for a marked diminution of Catholic influence over women before granting women the suffrage. Auclert and her more radical friends demanded the vote at once. Feminists would have rephrased Rousseau to proclaim "women are born free, but grow up to be in chains." They sought to loose the chains of domesticity and forge independent identities for women. Dependency was the ideal

for their contemporaries.

Class bias. Publicists writing for the Droit des Femmes differed from their opposites on the Correspondant and from members of the National Assembly in expressing general concern and interest in women of all classes and in their willingness to openly discuss problems pertaining to the feminine condition. Prostitutes, factory laborers, shopkeepers, artisans, aristocratic divorcées, harassment by the police de mœurs, all manner of wage labor as well as domestic life and child-rearing, were regular features of the Droit. The feminist paper contained, in short, every topic which appeared in feminist papers and works across the Channel and in the United States. Most of its contributors were from the middle and upper middle classes and their breadth of approach was proportionate to their degree of education and feminist activism. Education consonant with one's native abilities was seen by Droit writers as a right as well as the means to self-improvement.

By way of contrast with the Droit, writers associated with the Correspondant and legislators generally ignored day-to-day problems of women, rarely concerned themselves with female wage labor, and chose to minimize all discussion of women outside the context of family and foyer. Since the domestic attainments of wives and daughters of the legislators and their class peers dominated talk of female education during the Loi Camille Sée debates, women of other classes were discussed little if at all. Or, women outside the home were discussed in their supposed archetypal forms, as Louise Michels and Hubertine Auclerts, as foreigners and anarchists.



The same approach to women and the same narrow class focus applied to journalists on the Correspondant, as it did to Dupanloup and to a lesser degree to Legouvé.

Female sexuality. There was little or no discussion of female sexuality per se in the three major sources utilized for the main body of this thesis. Legislative preoccupation with the maternal role and wifely duties, prevailing etiquette, and the nature of the legislation itself kept talk of sexual "duties" out of the Loi Camille Sée debates. Chivalric concern for the honor of women kept the lid on all but occasional allusions to sexuality. The issue of morality and the "delicate" task of policing females hinted at legislators' uneasiness with female sexuality and introduced the topic through the back door. The general topic of female sexuality was largely ignored by the Droit des Femmes in the period 1877-1880, although discussion of prostitution and of Josephine Butler's continent-wide campaign to eliminate it was routinely offered.<sup>20</sup>

Correspondant contributors presented a dismal picture of the consequences of unleashing ambitious Republican femmes savantes or citoyennes on France. Their Marthe de Lartics and Hubertine Mauclets were generalized images of uncontrolled, i.e., non-Catholic, females giving full rein to naturally passionate and immoderate natures. Their targets were supposedly that most sacred of societal

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<sup>20</sup>See, for example, the lead article, "Discours de Mme. J. Butler," Droit (February 1877); "La Police des mœurs," in the same issue; "Toujours la police des mœurs," Droit (July 1879); and "Les Femmes esclaves," Droit (November 1880).

bulwarks, the foyer, plus the femme chrétienne et française, and most presumptuous of all, the Church itself. In short, the femme libre challenged God. As a counterweight to the femme libre, the Correspondant offered their ideal, variously portrayed as Navah, Marie and the nun. The complete woman, according to the Correspondant, was content to complete a man's life by offering him the perfect supportive milieu, love, understanding, the pot au feu, and sons. In addition, or more accurately, as a pre-condition to the above ideal, she would incarnate the most self-effacing and other-serving of Christian virtues. And, she would be the perfect home economist. Yet, she was still the "other." Only by complete identification with a husband through the auspices of the Church, could that socially destructive "otherness" be subdued and harmony reign in France.

## CHAPTER VII

## CONCLUSION

Study of images of woman in France during the years 1877-1880 reveals the preeminence of a disquieting picture of woman as destroyer, despite the simultaneous presence of a contrary image which presented woman as the bedrock of social stability. An alternate image of woman as simply human, an admixture of magnificent potential and frequent fallibility, more like than unlike man, was forwarded by feminists and their supporters. But, proposed as it was in direct response to the dominant tradition, the feminist image only served to throw the contrasting dualistic image into high relief. As developed by the National Assembly during the course of the Loi Camille Sée debates, the more common prejudicial image was symptomatic of a national preoccupation with order, a preoccupation shared by both opponents and proponents of the law and addressed by feminists in their alternate synthesis of people perceived through the humanist and egalitarian traditions.

Yet, while legislators' and publicists' concern for educating France to greater unity contributes substantially to historians' understanding of the intensity of all the debates on Ferry's educational reforms, of which the Loi Camille Sée was but one, it does not in and of itself satisfactorily explain contemporary French attitudes toward women, attitudes which while widely shared in Europe and America,<sup>1</sup> were

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<sup>1</sup>On the relationship of social prejudices to female education outside France, see James E. Russell, German Higher Schools: The His-



not tied so closely outside France to sweeping reforms imposed on a nationwide basis by a central government. The disorder and conflict which non-feminist French commentators feared the most was that which they perceived as the result of loosening links in the domestic chain of command, as loss of powers of the *paterfamilias*, be he humble lower class père de la famille, aspiring bourgeois, nouveau arrivé grand bourgeois or scion of the old nobility. In a society which, with its heritage of Comte, de Maistre, Bonald, LePlay, and Rousseau, worshipped stability even as its latter-day philosophes, like Michelet and the positivists, cried for full fruition of the Revolution, continuity of the domestic monarchy was more often than not accepted as a sociological given.<sup>2</sup> The family itself was seen as the necessary bastion of male authority, an authority which could only be validated (outside the Code Napoléon) by submission of the mère de la famille and other female kin to the husband. Thus Camille Sée's insistence on educating women to obedience to the personal will of their spouses

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tory, Organization and Methods of Secondary Education in Germany (New York: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1899); and O. Boelitz, translated by I.L. Kandel and Thomas Alexander, The Reorganization of Education in Prussia (New York: Columbia University Teachers' College Bureau of Publications, 1927), pp. 94-106 and 540 ff. See also, Martha Vicinus, "The Perfect Victorian Lady," and Kate Millett, "The Debate Over Women: Ruskin vs. Mill," in Vicinus, Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1972).

<sup>2</sup>Gunter W. Remmling, in his Road to Suspicion: A Study of Modern Mentality and the Sociology of Knowledge, Chapter 13, "The French Encyclopedists," discusses the Enlightenment roots of later French preoccupation with theories of order. Similarly, Irving L. Zeitlin, in his Ideology and the Development of Sociological Theory (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), "Auguste Comte" notes the continuation of hierarchical concepts of social order in Comte's theories of inequality of the sexes. Both owe a great deal to Mannheim.

could accompany protestations that he was freeing women from the tyranny of priests.

Sée explicated the same relationship between government, governmental forms and the sexes that John Adams did when the latter termed Abigail Adams' proposals that women be included in the Constitution "laughable." Writing on the question of the extension of the suffrage, and with his wife's protests against husbands' tyranny fresh in mind, John vigorously disagreed with a colleague's proposal to broaden the franchise to include all males over the age of 21. Adams expressed the fear that too literal application of democratic theory, i.e., bringing all persons under one Natural Law, would wreck social havoc (and tarnish the glitter of special privilege) by tending to "confound and destroy all distinctions, and prostrate all ranks to one common level."<sup>3</sup> The ultimate distinction in Camille Sée's France as in John Adams' America, was seen as sex, or more precisely, an assumed natural superior (male) - inferior (female) relationship between the sexes.

Richemont, Dupanloup, Sée and Ferry concurred as a sexual peer group when they agreed that education should maintain that distinction as the cornerstone of social order. Their discussions of morality, invocations of various versions of the "patrie en danger" theme, and allusions to rebellion (of women/lower classes) against constituted secular or ecclesiastical authority masked an ideology which sought to

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<sup>3</sup>V. correspondence of John Adams and Abigail Adams, 31 March and 14 April 1776; and John Adams' letter of 26 May 1776 to John Sullivan, Rossi, Feminist Papers, pp. 10-14. Sullivan did not broach the question of woman suffrage, limiting his pleas only to extension of the vote to all free males.

guarantee continuation of the male-female status quo.

Gunter W. Remmling, in his Road to Suspicion: A Study of Modern Mentality and the Sociology of Knowledge (1967), points out that the term 'ideologies' denotes "complexes of ideas that channel behavior toward the maintainance of the existing social order," while the term 'utopias' refers to "complexes of ideas which inspire desires and activities that aim at changes of the existing social order."<sup>4</sup> Remmling's definition of ideology, borrowed in great part from Karl Mannheim, describes Third Republic French anti-feminist thought quite precisely, be it manifest in policies of proponents or opponents of the Loi Camille Sée, the Correspondant's fiction and non-fiction, or the work of Dupanloup and Legouvé. Concomitantly, the French feminist Droit des Femmes' vision of the future fits just as easily into the utopian style of thought, for it was predicated on changing the societal norm for male-female relations from superior-inferior model to essential egalitarianism. It was comitted to destroying the concept of social sex to a degree hitherto unprecedented in the French experience.

Images of woman in the Correspondant, the National Assembly, and the Droit des Femmes reflected the social philosophies, or ideologies if you will, of their respective proponents, and in the case of non-feminist legislators, united otherwise bitter enemies around the common goal, or lowest common ideological denominator as it were, of

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<sup>4</sup>G. Remmling, Road to Suspicion, p. 110. For the extent of Remmling's debt to Mannheim, see Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia: An Introduction to the Sociology of Knowledge (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936), especially Ch. II, "Ideology and Utopia."



subordination of women to men in both the public and private spheres. In the case of Republican legislators adherence to a conservative social-sex ideology led to some philosophical distortions of their more liberal heritage, distortions upon which feminists capitalized and built their own case for completing the French Revolution.<sup>5</sup> For example, Republicans claimed "Liberty, Fraternity and Equality" for all the French and Sée was fond of pointing out that the Revolution was the cornerstone of female emancipation. Yet, he was one with the opposition in claiming that the first condition of social order was the greater liberty of males, their right to female submission within the bonds of matrimony and their exclusive claim to professional "places." Women, then, were seen by Republican powers that be as social saboteurs if they disputed that image. It was a perception but degrees removed from the Rightist portrait of women as anarchists, nihilists and man-hating Amazons.

Opposed to the image of woman as social saboteur, the most dangerous of the new "couches sociales" spawned by modern industrial society, was the image of woman as builders, or rather, maintainers and defenders of society as constituted. Politicians of all persuasions urged early Third Republic Frenchwomen variously, to recapture the conservative Catholic past, consolidate Republican gains and help to secularize France: they never suggested "their" women change their own socially subordinate status. Catherine Bodard Silver's comment

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<sup>5</sup>See, especially, Léon Richer's comments on the Socialist Workers' Congress in Marseilles, Droit (December 1879). p. 178.

that "public administration and education have played central roles as stabilizing and conservatizing forces" in French life, seems most appropriate to the maintenance of a restrictive image of woman in the early decades of the Third Republic. Both passage of the Loi Camille Sée and its subsequent enforcement testify to the close relationship between governmental policy and social conservatism:<sup>6</sup> if woman was seen as guardian angel of the foyer, it followed that her education should make certain she so believed.

If a condition of domesticity served as the milieu for dominant Third Republic images of woman, marriage and economic dependency framed that milieu - a fact French feminists perceived and deplored. Not only was marriage seen by the vast majority of middle and upper-class French as desirable for women and society, it (or life as a nun) was also considered a necessary precondition for controlling female moral and physical frailty. Within marriage woman would be protected from mundane temptations and afforded the physical necessities of life. That she should willingly accept the estate of dependent for her own good and for the bien public was a given in the Loi Camille Sée debates as well as in Correspondant writings. Any thought system, person or instrument which could be perceived as loosing the bonds of such dependency was suspect. Thus Camille Sée and Émile Keller sparred over whose ideology more effectively found females to the home and the home to the public good. Thus their partisans infused personal politics into

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<sup>6</sup>Catherine B. Silver, "Salon, Foyer, Bureau," p. 79. Silver notes the persistence of prejudicial attitudes among working women.

ideological discussions on the form and content of French instruction.

Proponents of the law, speaking from a strong offensive position, were less hysterical about the social consequences of female rebellion than were their ante-bellum adversaries, but they were equally concerned with using women as ideological shock troops, to be controlled by enlistment in their commanders' (heads of the family) partisan political battles. Women, who were generally seen by both sides to the debate as essentially passive creatures (unless, heaven forbid, aroused by rampant sexuality, false sentiment or misguided individualism), were ironically perceived as highly politicized, despite consensus among the disputants that politics and women didn't mix.

In her Crise de l'humanisme: Le conflit de l'individu et de la société dans la littérature française moderne (1958), Micheline Tison-Braun singles out déracinement, the fact and fear of rootlessness, as the major cultural concern of post-1870 French intellectuals. Braun notes also that between 1890 and 1914 fear of déracinement was so pervasive in France that it fostered adoption of authoritarian traditions over more liberal French traditions of individual freedom.<sup>7</sup> Adolphe Thiers, early in the Third Republic, had remarked that the Republic would be conservative, or it wouldn't be at all.<sup>8</sup> Both Thiers and Tison-Braun could have singled out contemporary attitudes toward women

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<sup>7</sup>For Tison-Braun's discussion of déracinement and authoritarianism in post-1870 France, see her Crise de l'humanisme (Paris: Librairie Nizet, 1958), Vol. I, pp. 25-39 and 62-75.

<sup>8</sup>Thiers, as cited by Gordon Wright, France in Modern Times: 1760 to the Present (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1960), Ch. XVIII.



as their major case in point when discussing their nation's post-1870 struggle to define its particular unity, its particular social order. Certainly, to the staff of the Correspondant and legislators in the National Assembly the continuation of the female status quo was the sine qua non of social cohesion, no matter what ideology was associated with the articulation of societal norms. Thus, Republican and anti-Republican alike resorted to descriptions of female rebellion when searching for metaphors to convey disunity or anarchy.

Although both sides to the Loi Camille Sée debate agreed on the necessity to control women within the home, to in Sée's colorful phrase, "shut them up" (renfermer) within the domestic circle, on balance Republicans seem to have been more worried about the immediate prospects of wifely insubordination. It was the Republicans who kept raising the question of ideological divorce between spouses, not their opposition. Catholic legislators and their sympathizers envisioned hordes of Hubertine Auclerts and Louise Michels descending on society in fury, but were relatively unperturbed about the theoretical rebellion of their own wives. To Republicans, not to their detractors, fell the task of explaining to Republican women (and feminists of both sexes) just why the "Égalité" of the Revolutionary trinity did not apply to women. Loyalist Catholics, who believed in the monarchy and had no difficulty applying that theory to home polity, were not the least concerned with justifying the divine right of husbands. Heaven would reward the femme chrétienne et forte. Secular belief in the equality of souls, on the other hand, demanded a temporal accounting. Thus Republicans who sought to Republicanize women to insure their own ideological

interests were forced back to a dualistic interpretation of Natural Law to justify their illiberal actions toward women. The theory of male-female equivalency, explicated by Legouv   and all but abandoned by L  on Richer, who kept the formula but saturated it with egalitarianism, admirably served S  e and his peers when they sought to integrate women into the Republic, but not into the Revolution.

Thus, the heavier emphasis on female duties and greater stress on the sanctity of male rights, which dominated Republican arguments for female education: women were to be educated so they could raise more and better Republican sons; equivalent female education would assure p  res de la famille a good measure of domestic tranquillity along with the evening's poulet au pot. Thus, too, the worrisome debate over the morality of the state's assuming responsibility for an instruction which most wished could be achieved at home. The "delicate" question involved in the Loi Camille S  e debates was not so much the issue of female conduct outside the home, but public assumption of instruction for that part of the population which, as Dupanloup had so aptly stated, was destined for a life that was "  minnement priv  e." French feminists took issue with the National Assembly's overview of women's destiny. While they agreed that France's answer to the woman question - the ultimate social question to Richer's way of thinking<sup>9</sup> - would determine the future path of French destiny, they refused to limit women's experiential sphere to domesticity and a few low status

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<sup>9</sup>Richer, op. cit., p. 178. "La R  publique ne sera r  ellement la R  publique, que le jour o   tous les int  r  ts seront prot  g  s, et tous les droits sauvegard  s, sans distinction de sexe comme sans distinction de caste. C'est l   toute la question sociale."

jobs. They insisted that the sexes were more like than unlike and expressed disbelief at anti-feminist assertions that change of social role definitions would somehow denature both sexes.

Joseph N. Moody's belief that the process of image formation affords important insights into the social experience, is upheld by the study of images of woman in early Third Republic France. Adherence to a prescriptive image of woman by members of the National Assembly resulted in passage of a law - the Loi Camille Sée on secondary education - which was designed to train women not to rebel against narrowly defined domestic roles. Images of women which fed into the legislative mill and emerged as the Loi Camille Sée in turn revealed a high degree of abstraction of "woman" herself, a phenomenon which was manifested in legislators' inability to grant to women as human beings the same broad experiential rights they assumed were men's birthrights, at least for men in their own socio-economic ranks. The legislators who dealt with the question of women's secondary education in 1878-1880 did so as persons defensively defining their own self-interest along lines not only of partisan, but of sexual politics. There could be no more telling an argument for their fears of déracinement, or dethronement from their positions of domestic monarchs, than the fitful policing of the "others," i.e., of the women who were charged, with neither direct political nor economic power, with the mission of saving France. Joan of Arc prayed and led her forces into battle. Her 19th century sisters prayed and watched the poulet au pot. The difference was not lost on feminists. . . nor on their adversaries, both Catholic and Republican.



## A P P E N D I X    A

TEXT OF THE LOI CAMILLE SÉE<sup>1</sup>

Paris, 21 décembre 1880

LOI sur l'enseignement secondaire des jeunes filles

Le Sénat et la Chambre des députés ont adopté,

Le Président de la République promulgue la loi dont la teneur suit:

Art. 1<sup>er</sup>: Il sera fondé par l'État, avec le concours des départements et des communes, des établissements destinés à l'enseignement secondaires jeunes filles.

Art. 2 : Ces établissements seront des externats.

Des internats pourront y être annexés sur la demande des conseils municipaux et après entente entre eux et l'État. Ils seront soumis au même régime que les collèges communaux.

Art. 3 : Il sera fondé par l'État, les départements et les communes, au profit des internes et des demi-pensionnaires, tant élèves qu'élèves maîtresses, des bourses dont le nombre sera déterminé dans le traité constitutif qui interviendra entre le ministre, le département et la commune où sera créé l'établissement.

Art. 4 : L'enseignement comprend:

1. L'enseignement moral;
2. La langue française, la lecture à haute voix et au moins une langue vivante;
3. Les littératures anciennes et modernes;
4. La géographie et la cosmographie;
5. L'histoire nationale et un aperçu de l'histoire générale;
6. L'arithmétique, les éléments de la géométrie, de la chimie, de la physique et de l'histoire naturelle;
7. L'hygiène;
8. L'économie domestique;
9. Les travaux à l'aiguille;
10. Des notions de droit usuel;
11. Le dessin;
12. La musique;
13. La gymnastique.

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<sup>1</sup>Journal officiel (Wednesday, 22 December 1880), p. 518.

Art. 5 : L'enseignement religieux sera donné, sur la demande des parents, par les ministres des différents cultes, dans l'intérieur des établissements, en dehors des heures des classes.

Les ministres des différents cultes seront agréés par le ministre de l'instruction publique.

Ils ne résideront pas dans l'établissement.

Art. 6 : Il pourra être annexé aux établissements d'enseignement secondaire un cours de pédagogie.

Art. 7 : Aucune élève ne pourra être admise dans les établissements d'enseignement secondaire sans avoir subi un examen constatant qu'elle est en état de suivre les cours.

Art. 8 : Il sera, à la suite d'un examen, délivré un diplôme aux jeunes filles qui auront suivi les cours des établissements publics d'enseignement secondaire.

Art. 9 : Chaque établissement est placé sous l'autorité d'une directrice.

L'enseignement est donné par des professeurs hommes ou femmes munis de diplômes réguliers.

La présente loi, délibérée et adoptée par le Sénat et par la Chambre des députés, sera exécutée comme loi de l'État.

Fait à Paris, le 21 décembre 1880.

JULES GRÉVY.

Par le Président de la République:

Le président du conseil, ministre de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts,

JULES FERRY.

PROGRAMME DU DROIT DES FEMMES

La Loi dit:

La fille, à partir de quinze ans répond seule de sa vertu.

La séduction n'est pas un délit.

La corruption, même d'une fille mineure; n'est pas un délit.

La recherche de la paternité est interdite.

La recherche de la maternité est permise.

Les enfants naturels sont à la charge de la mère seule

Toute promesse de mariage est nulle fût-elle suivie de l'abandon de l'enfant.

L'homme, dans le mariage, exerce seul l'autorité paternelle.

Pour marier les enfants, le consentement du père suffit; si la mère refuse le sien, on passe outre.

Nous voulons:

Que la jeune fille, même au-dessus de quinze ans, soit garantie par la loi contre les surprises des coureurs d'aventures.

Que la séduction soit punie;  
Que la corruption soit punie.

Que la recherche de la paternité soit permise, comme est permise la recherche de la maternité.

Que le père naturel soit responsable;  
Que l'enfant naturel soit à la charge de ses deux auteurs.

Qu'une promesse de mariage ne soit pas considérée moins sérieuse qu'une promesse de vente, et qu'elle donne droit, en cas de rupture, à des réparations morales ou autres, proportionnelles au dommage causé.

Que l'autorité sur les enfants soit commune au père et à la mère.

Que le consentement de la mère soit aussi nécessaire, pour le mariage, que celui du père.



### La loi dit:

Le mari a l'administration des biens personnels de sa femme.

Le mari peut vendre, si cela lui plaît, le mobilier conjugal.

Il peut disposer de tous les effets mobiliers, valeurs, meubles, bijoux, etc., sans consulter sa femme, et cela même à titre gratuit, même au profit d'une tierce personne (lisez: d'une Concubine).

La femme ne peut ni faire, ni recevoir une donation, fût-ce d'un membre de sa famille, sans le consentement de son mari.

(Les femmes) Ne peuvent être tuteurs ni membres d'un conseil de famille, les mineurs, les interdits, les hommes d'une conduite notoire, les individus condamnés à une peine infamante . . . et LES FEMMES!

L'adultère du mari, perpétré en dehors du domicile conjugal, n'est pas punissable.

### Nous voulons:

Que l'administration des biens personnels de la femme n'appartienne pas de droit et exclusivement au mari.

Que le mari ne puisse vendre, sans le consentement de sa femme, les meubles garnissant le ménage;

Qu'il ne puisse disposer librement et seul, soit à titre gratuit, soit même à titre onéreux, des valeurs ou effets mobiliers dépendant de la communauté ou appartenant à l'un des époux.

Que la femme puisse faire et recevoir des donations sans le consentement de son mari, en se conformant aux prescriptions de la loi.

Qu'elle cesse, en ce qui concerne les conseils de famille, d'être assimilée aux mineurs, aux imbeciles et aux repris de justice.

Que l'adultère du mari soit assimilé à l'adultère de la femme; c'est-à-dire, que l'adultère perpétré par le mari, en dehors du domicile conjugal, soit aussi criminel que l'adultère accompli dans la maison commune.

La loi dit:

Le meurtre commis par l'époux sur l'épouse ainsi que sur le complice, à l'instant où il les surprend en flagrant délit dans la maison conjugale est excusable.

Le meurtre commis par l'épouse, dans les mêmes circonstances, n'est pas excusable.

La femme ne peut être admise comme témoin dans les actes de l'état civil, les testaments, les baux, ventes, partages de famille ou actes publics; sa signature ne fait pas foi!

Nous voulons:

Que le témoignage de la femme fasse foi dans les actes d'état civil et les actes publics, comme il fait foi devant les tribunaux criminels.

NOUS DEMANDONS EN OUTRE:

Au nom de la sainteté même du mariage,  
Au nom de la pureté des mœurs,  
Au nom de la morale,  
Que le régime hypocrite de la séparation de corps, — qui rompt le mariage sans le dissoudre, sépare les époux sans les déshonorer, — soit remplacé par le divorce entouré de toutes les garanties légales jugées nécessaires.

## A P P E N D I X C

SELECTED BIOGRAPHIES OF DROIT DES FEMMES PUBLICISTS

Hubertine Auclert (1848-1914). Auclert was orphaned as a child and at age 24, as Dzeh-Dzen puts it, "ran" 20 miles from her hometown of Bourbonnais to Paris to join Léon Richer and Maria Deraismes and work for the Droit des Femmes. Auclert referred to her conversion to feminism and subsequent homeleaving as her "coup de foudre." She devoted her life to women's rights, especially to suffrage. Auclert impressed both her opponents and her admirers with her devotion to feminist causes. Theodore Stanton, for one, called her "radical, earnest, indefatigable."

As a delegate to the Socialist Congress in Marseilles (1879), Auclert managed to get female suffrage on the party platform, and, by dint of her initial speech on women's political and social rights, was picked as the head of the Marseilles' congress Commission sur la question des femmes." In 1880 Auclert became a cause célèbre for refusing to pay her taxes unless she were granted the municipal suffrage. She led other feminists, including Eugénie Pierre, to mairies in January and February 1880 to register to vote in Paris. Women in Lyon, Ponthieu and Marseilles followed her example. Alexandre Dumas, fils, was quite impressed with her actions, and they influenced his conversion to the ranks of pro-women celebrities. Victor Fournel of the Correspondant, on the other hand, called her "la Clorinde des revendications féminines" — an allusion to a female Amazon leader in Tasso's Jerusalem Delivered who was baptised by her Christian lover after he unwittingly wounded her fatally. Fournel wished upon her a husband who would exercise his rights, including the right to beat her, to their fullest (Correspondant, 10 May 1880).

In 1881, Auclert, impatient at Richer's gradualistic approach to woman suffrage, formed her own women's rights journal, La Citoyenne; backed, among others, by Deputy Joseph Gasté. The paper remained in publication until 1891. Léon Giraud, "Draigu," was also instrumental in helping her found the Citoyenne. Despite moving to Algeria with her husband Antonin Levrier in the late 1880's, Auclert continued to direct the paper. The Citoyenne folded when her editor and she disagreed late in 1891. On the death of her husband Auclert returned to Paris, where she contributed articles on women's rights to Le Radical under the rubric "Le Féminisme" (1896-1909). Auclert also wrote for Durand's La Fronde.

In 1924 when dedicating a plaque to the site where Auclert lived and died in Paris, Marguerite Durand credited Hubertine Auclert with "un sens rare de l'actualité." Auclert involved herself,



through frequent and sometimes successful petition drives, in public policy-making. Her efforts led to inclusion of women in local government and to some alleviation of working conditions for factory employees. She was widely known as an organizer and orator. Her motto was: "Être toujours à la lutte!"

Maria Deraismes (1825-1894). Deraismes was born and died in Paris. Raised during the heyday of Saint-Simonianism, she was guided by its principles throughout her life and transmitted her socialist views to those on the Droit des Femmes. Deraismes was a bourgeois intellectual, known in her time as savant, artist, philosopher, orator and writer. Her modest wealth allowed her and her sister, the widow Feresse-Deraismes, to fund their own and others' feminist activities. Although possessed of great beauty, some income and outstanding intellectual ability, she resisted the pull of conventional fame and opted to devote her life to women's rights.

Maria Deraismes made her début as a feminist in 1866 when, encouraged by Richer, she broke with tradition and spoke at a public conférence. The aim of her attack was Barbey d'Aurevilly's Bas bleus. Deraismes at first limited her criticism to literary, moral and philosophical topics, but between the winter of 1868-69 and early 1870, she switched all her attentions to dealing with the woman question.

Deraismes was associated with the "Société pour l'amélioration du sort de la femme" (as president for a time) and participated in several anti-clerical groups. In 1881 she chaired an anti-clerical congress in Paris. Deraismes' anti-clericalism led her to become the first, and only, female member of a French Masonic Lodge - Loge des Libres penseurs du Pecq - in her time. She joined the lodge on 14 January 1882 and was later ejected.

Maria Deraismes was associated with the Droit des Femmes from its inception, but disagreed with Richer on suffrage, a disagreement which strained her friendship with Richer after 1880. Deraismes was a key figure in the organization of international feminist events from 1878, when she helped organize the first international women's congress in Paris, until her death. She believed that women, freed from clerical influence and educated to their full potential, would be "moral, educating, economic and pacifist" agents. More radical politically than Richer, less so than Hubertine Auclert, she was the towering figure in 19th-century French feminism. Her Oeuvres were published in 1895-1896. In honor of her work and in tribute to her popularity nationwide, a statue of her was erected in Paris in 1898.

Léon Richer (1824-1911). Léon Richer, pro-feminist and Mason, was born and raised in Paris and its environs. Educated for the profession of notary, but unable to secure a "place" as notary because of family

financial problems, Richer worked for fifteen years as a notary clerk. Sensitized in that position to the hardships experienced by women under the Code Napoléon, Richer became interested in women's rights. What began as occasional involvement in public conférences, turned in 1869 into fulltime commitment to women's rights. Underwritten by support from one M. Pains - which in time amounted to a capital fund of 20,000 francs - and personally supported by a small inheritance, Richer gradually accrued the human capital he needed to assure the Droit's survival. Sullerot singles out the Droit as the only feminist paper born in France during one of France's "grandes périodes conservatrices," i.e., the beginning of the Third Republic.

Ill health forced Richer to suspend publication of the Droit in 1891, just one month after Auclert's Citoyenne ceased publication (15 November 1891). He was never able to return to work, although he remained in constant touch with the French and international woman movement until his death. Richer considered education and divorce prime goals of reform and, like his colleagues, was an outspoken anti-clerical. His Lettres d'un libre-penseur à un curé de village, 2 vols. (Paris: A. LeChevallier, 1868-1869), earned him a certain amount of well-deserved notoriety and helped forge the alliance between feminism and anti-clericalism which anti-feminists so feared. In 1883 Richer put together his writings on the Code Napoléon and proposed a reform which eliminated all inequalities between the sexes (Code des Femmes).

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(n.b. Although both the Droit des Femmes and the Égalité were issued daily early in their existence, they were both on a weekly or monthly schedule during 1877-1880.)

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