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The feminine press in England and France, 1875-1900.

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THE FEMININE PRESS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE: 1875 - 1900

A Dissertation Presented

By

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To Emile,

Marc and Dominique

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A B S T R A C T

The Feminine Press in England and France: 1875 - 1900

September 1979

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The years between 1875 and 1900 saw the publication of over 270 magazines for women on either side of the English Channel: a tremendous advance on anything which had gone before in this particular section of the press and one which paralleled expansion in the industry in general, as technological advance and the growth of popular literacy combined to improve productive capacity, reduce prices, and increase the potential audience for cheap literature. At the same time, women in both England and France were experiencing a broadening of their educational and professional opportunities, as well as the gradual alleviation of their legal and civil disabilities. These changes were the result of pressure from a growing feminist movement and from the shifting economic and social needs in a period of rapid industrialization and urbanization.

This dissertation seeks to determine what factors contributed to the particular nature and evolution of women's magazines in each country, and to examine the latter for indications of changes in women's roles, life-styles, and major concerns. In particular, it analyzes the extent of ordinary women's awareness of feminist issues and their consequent response to the movement for female emancipation.

Similar numbers hid wide discrepancies in the state of the industry, its rate of development, and the nature of the audience for women's periodicals in England and France. Despite a growing influx of service features, French women's magazines remained essentially fashion-oriented and geared to the needs of a bourgeois clientele for most of the period. Produced by small firms which were slow to adapt to modern publishing techniques, their high prices and general orientation restricted their appeal for a wider audience. By contrast, English magazines were notable for their increasing variety and diversified appeal. Publishers and advertisers recognized the tremendous commercial potential of a female audience and sought to exploit it by producing journals geared to the needs and tastes of all classes of women. The big leap forwards came in the 1890's when Harmsworth, among others, abandoned the idea that popular literature should be "improving" and concentrated on entertainment and mass sales.

Over the years, the prevalent image of woman in the journals shifted from that of society queen and domestic goddess to professional housewife and potential career woman. English magazines kept their readers abreast of the campaigns for women's legal and civic emancipation, and sponsored the improvement of their educational and professional opportunities as a means of providing alternative employment for those who did not marry. Similar agitation was virtually non-existent in France outside of feminist journals as, for historic reasons, feminism was regarded as a "dangerous" doctrine. Possibly also, French middle-class women, living in a more traditional society

where their participation in the family business or trade was not yet defunct, and where religion provided an acceptable alternative vocation, felt less dissatisfaction with their lot than their English counterparts.

Despite a growing awareness of the new possibilities opening up for women, these were not yet sufficiently attractive in either country to outweigh the traditional goals of marriage and a family. Indeed, during this period the domestic ideal intensified rather than diminished, although it now encompassed the idea of a capable and confident woman rather than a ministering angel. By urging their readers to aspire to higher levels of education and domestic performance in order to justify their claims to equal respect and status in the marriage partnership, women's journals encouraged an idea of domestic feminism which potentially held greater rewards for women at that time, since it placed the highest value on women's traditional roles and contribution to society.

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INTRODUCTION

> La presse est le reflet du public auquel elle s'adresse. Elle constitue donc un moyen de premier ordre pour connaître la mentalité d'un groupe, d'une classe sociale.
>
> Jacques Godechot[1]

Nowhere is Jacques Godechot's observation more valid than when applied to magazines which address themselves solely to women. These constitute a self-contained world with its own standards, priorities, and fantasies, upon which few outside concerns seem to intrude. This quality is particularly evident in the nineteenth-century women's press, a cursory examination of which leaves one with an overwhelming impression of a small enclosed society, inhabited mainly by women of the upper and middle classes whose primary concerns are fashion, etiquette, and the social round: a matriarchy in which men rarely appear except in the fantasy life of the fiction.

It is because of this apparent irrelevance to reality that women's periodicals have been among the most neglected areas of historical literature, left only to the research of the student of fashion. Literary critics have dismissed them as trivial entertainment, or as domestic and fashion handbooks with no serious intellectual or artistic value: mere vehicles, particularly in the twentieth century, for advertisers to reach a wide consumer market. Even with the burgeoning interest in the development of the press in general, and the recognition of its vital importance for the study of social history, small attention has been paid to this particular area. While remarking on the significant

development of the women's press at the end of the nineteenth century, the editors of the recent five-volume Histoire générale de la presse française[2] devote only one paragraph and a few passing references to this subject, at the same time regretting the small amount of research which has been done in this field. The only notable exceptions are Cynthia White's Women's Magazines, 1683-1968 (1970) and Alison Adburgham's Women in Print (1972) for England, and Evelyn Sullerot's two books on La Presse féminine en France (1963, 1966) together with Li Dzeh Djen's La Presse féministe en France, 1869-1914 (1934) for France. All have their flaws for dealing with the late nineteenth-century women's press in either country. White and Sullerot (in her first book) devote only a chapter or two to this period; the later Sullerot book, although more detailed, stops in 1848; Adburgham stops in 1860, and Li Dzeh Djen, while covering this period in depth, only analyzes those magazines put out by the feminist movement, and ignores the vast numbers of others read by the majority of women at this time.

However, it is the very breadth of their appeal which should render women's magazines of particular interest to the social historian, since, besides being probably the form of literature most frequently read by women, and surely the one with the most diverse audience, they are a vital source of information on family life, social structures and mores, changing economic pressures and life patterns. In addition, they provide invaluable insight on contemporary attitudes to women's role in any period, and consequently of the obstacles which they had to overcome if they were to exert any wider influence on society at

large. Until recently the social and cultural history of women has been ignored because of the emphasis on "traditional" history in which men have played the dominant roles. It is only in the context of the revival of the woman's movement that a belated awareness of the equal importance of women's particular contribution to historical development has occurred.

With this new emphasis on rediscovering and reinterpreting women's past, all literature which illuminates any aspect of this past becomes of supreme importance. More than any other source, women's magazines provide abundant information on women's daily lives: how they ran their homes, brought up their children, spent their leisure time, if any; their family relationships, health problems, economic worries. These concerns are women's reality: the vehicle for their history. Of particular interest are any indications of the state of women's consciousness at a given time: how they themselves viewed their role and function in society and their relationship to other women in different social and economic circumstances. An additional attraction of the late nineteenth-century periodicals is that they show how women adapted their behavior and values to a period of rapid social and economic change, and at the same time provide some illumination of women's general response to the movement for female emancipation.

Such a study, of an earlier period when women's rights were under discussion, seems particularly pertinent at the present time when contemporary women are seeking to redefine their roles and self-image, because it is vital that this kind of soul-searching should not take

place in a cultural vacuum, but should attempt to relate itself to a historical context. Only through an understanding of our predecessors' motivations and reactions and the wider cultural processes which influenced these, can we hope to understand our situation today.

The primary interest of a comparative study lies in the fact that women's situation has frequently transcended national barriers, the similarities of problems and attitudes often outweighing the differences. In a wider context, nineteenth-century England and France are worthy of comparison. Considered by contemporaries as the most advanced nations in Europe, politically, socially, and intellectually, their social and economic structures remained fairly similar, despite England's industrial preeminence, and their class patterns were comparable. Their attitudes towards women also had much in common, both countries sharing a vision of women as superior beings in the moral sphere, while relegating them legally and intellectually to an inferior position. At the same time, both acquiesced in the exploitation of large numbers of working-class women in factories and workshops, while upholding the view that "ladies" were physically as well as mentally too weak for any intellectually taxing profession.

Nevertheless, attitudes were changing, as throughout Europe and America "the Woman Question" became the order of the day, and abundant literature reflected the increasing discussion of woman's public and private role.[3] Through the writings of social reformers, and notably through the reports of government commissions of inquiry, the ruling

classes came to see that the popularly held image of woman as "the Angel in the House" was an illusion, and that in realitylarge numbers of women, and not solely from the lower classes, were forced to work for their living, often in appalling conditions. The emergence of the feminist movement among educated upper-class women, with its goals of equal educational, legal, and professional opportunities, drew attetion to the fact that even the "lady" was not immune to economic hardship, and that the fight for equality was being fought, not purely on theoretical grounds, but also in response to a real need to better the lives of all women in the changing conditions brought about by rapid industrialization.

Opponents of a change in women's status based their arguments on Biblical texts and religious doctrine expounding women's essential moral weakness, while those of a more scientific turn of mind sought the backing of biological and physiological evidence for women's supposedly natural intellectual and physical inferiority, to justify their continued subjugation. The family, the home, and the state were seen as in danger of imminent collapse if women abandoned their traditional roles as wives, mothers, and daughters, particularly if they engaged in such "unnatural" activities as politics.

What was the response of the women in England and France to these discussions? Did they acquiesce in their subordinate role or were they eager to change it? Both countries nurtured a growing feminist movement in the nineteenth century: that in France dating back to the Revolution of 1789, with sporadic outbursts in the 1830's and 1848,

before a steady reemergence after 1870;[4] that in England, though less dramatic at the end of the eighteenth century, gaining gradual momentum particularly after the 1850's.[5] Each sought to change the traditional image of women at this time, and to win greater equality in civil rights, educational and professional opportunities, and political freedom, although the suffrage question was complicated in France by the issue of anti-clericalism, which resulted in French feminists' reluctance to pursue this issue before the turn of the century.[6]

However, even the most committed feminist would have agreed that she was still in the minority in either country. What, therefore, was the reaction of the majority of women to proposals for their emancipation, and to the gradual changes in their social and economic position, which recent writers have shown to have been probably more influenced by the rapid spread of industrialization, than by the fight for legal and professional equality?[7]

The woman's magazine in the last quarter of the nineteenth century is an abundant source of information on all these questions, the more so since, in common with all other forms of the popular press, this period saw a great expansion in the number and variety of periodicals specifically for women, together with their emergence as an industry. In the first half of the century, most journals for women were small affairs aimed at the leisured classes, with an emphasis on social and political gossip, light literature and fashion. Although this trend continued for a long time, by 1860 efforts were being made, in both England and France, to attract the growing number of middle-class women

who found themselves with time on their hands and social pretensions, through the introduction of "service" magazines giving advice on housekeeping, etiquette and fashion: a development which accelerated rapidly towards the end of the century, for a variety of reasons.

One of these appears to have been the economic problems experienced by the middle classes, consequent on their higher expectations, and commensurately more extravagant life-style.[8] This, together with an apparent decline in the availability of servants, who were attracted into the expanding industries by the prospect of higher wages and more personal freedom, and a definite increase in the number of complaints about the efficiency of those still in service, led to a growing demand for the more practical type of woman's paper.

Another contributory factor was the introduction of universal state primary education for both sexes in the 1870's and 1880's, which, by increasing the number of literate women, broadened the potential market for women's literature. Further educational advances, together with the needs of the economy, would expand the number of jobs available to middle-class women, and lead to an over-all increase of the number of single working women with money to spend:[9] a fact which was not lost on newspaper magnates, who sought to exploit it with cheap magazines. This rapidly expanding press was seen by advertisers as an ideal vehicle for reaching a growing market for consumer goods, and their contributions, in turn, increased the chances of women's magazines' financial viability and chances of success.

Nevertheless, given this broad expansion of periodicals and

audience, it still remains to be shown whether there was any marked difference in the message of the women's press in 1875 and 1900. In the twentieth century, women's magazines are notorious for the way in which they manipulate women's domestic habits and self-image in order to promote conspicuous consumption in the interests of their advertisers.[10] Was this the same in the nineteenth century? Do we find them nostalgically promoting the home-centered image of the past, or encouraging their readers to take advantage of new opportunities, and to move out into the world as career women? What was their attitude to women's civil disabilities: did they condone these, or urge their readers to fight against them? Finally, one must ask oneself whether it is valid to use an apparently class-oriented section of journalism as evidence for women's opinions in general.

In response to the last question, I think one can fairly contend that, although these magazines seem to be aiming only at the middle and upper classes, it would be wrong to assume that these were their sole audience. One of the prevailing fantasies nourished by all women's magazines, is the implication that their readers belong to a higher social bracket than is in fact the case. In England, the low price of many of the journals would have put them within the reach of all but the poorest women, and a glance at the menus and domestic advice of others often indicates that the readers did not, in reality, run a house with three servants, although this seems to have been the ideal to which they aspired. Similarly, job advertisements and correspondence columns reveal that they were certainly read by servants.

Although prices for women's journals in France remained proportionately higher, they also reached a fairly wide audience, at least in Paris and the larger towns. In his Salaires et Misères des Femmes, written at the end of the nineteenth century, the Comte d'Haussonville noted that the main diversion of the poor working girls of Paris was to read the serials and colored supplements in the popular press, while they were so fascinated by fashion and society gossip that, on the day following a big social event, they would club together to purchase an expensive society paper, in order to have all the details.[11] It is precisely this audience which the Harmsworth and Pearson press were seeking to exploit in England at the same period.

In order to cover as wide a spectrum of women as possible in my study, I have attempted to include a varied selection of periodicals: from the luxurious society glossy, to the cheap and trivial paper; from the purely domestic and conventional, to that openly committed to the movement for women's emancipation. Although the latter naturally tends to have more factual information on women's real living conditions and "feminist" issues, I have tried to avoid overemphasizing its significance, since, in both countries, this kind of journal was produced and read by only a small minority of women, and generally preached to the converted. Rather, I have tended to prefer those periodicals which lasted a long time, or which set a definite trend, in order to get a more comprehensive view of readers' tastes in this period, analyzing a whole year's issues of the overall sample, at five year intervals, where possible.

In the first chapter of my study, I survey the emergence and growth of the women's press in England and France up to 1875, as a back-drop against which to compare its later evolution. In the second, I present an overall view of social and economic developments which contributed to the expansion of the industry in both countries between 1875 and 1900, followed in Chapters III and IV, by a detailed analysis of the particular evolution in each, illustrated from characteristic journals of the priod. This section is supplemented by appendices containing detailed information on all the periodicals which I have come across in my research.

Finally, in the fifth chapter, I examine the image of woman's role, as projected by women's journals in the two countries, and more specifically, the response of contemporary women to such "feminist" issues as education, professional opportunities, and legal and political reform, in order to determine the relative importance of different cultural influences and national traditions on women's perceptions of their situation. Throughout, I shall look for practical indications of a changing life-style, and its effect on women's consciousness, and try to assess the major differences and similarities between the woman of 1875 and 1900, in England and France.

NOTES - INTRODUCTION

[1] Jacques Godechot, ed., La Presse ouvrière, 1819-1850, publication of La Société d'Histoire de la Révolution de 1848 (Bières-sur-Yvette, Essonne: 1966), Preface.

[2] Claude Bellanger, Jacques Godechot, Pierre Guiral, Fernand Terrou, eds., Histoire générale de la presse francaise, 5 vols. (Paris, 1963-76).

[3] E.M. Palmegiano, "Women and British Periodicals, 1832-1867," Victorian Periodicals Newsletter, 9 (March 1976), lists a great many articles on this subject in England alone.

[4] Léon Abensour, Histoire du Féminisme (Paris, 1921).

[5] Ray Strachey, The Cause (London, 1928). (Published in New York as The Struggle).

[6] See below, Chapter IV.

[7] Lee Holcombe, Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales (Hampden, Conn. 1973), argues that the growth of women's employment opportunities was mainly the result of the expanding industrial economy together with the burgeoning bureaucracy, both of which sought educated but low-paid labor.

[8] J.A. and O. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood (London, 1954).

[9] According to J. Hajnal's tables in his article on "European Marriage Patterns and Perspectives", Population in History, ed. D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, (London, 1965), pp. 101-143, while in 1900, only 15% of Englishwomen, and 12% of Frenchwomen could expect to remain single all their lives, 42% and 30% respectively, were still unmarried between the ages of 25-29 (p.102). Single women under 30 probably comprised the majority of those in regular employment.

[10] Anne-Marie Dardigna, Femmes-femmes sur papier glacé (Paris, 1975).

[11] Gabriel-Paul Othenin de Cléron, Comte d'Haussonville, Salaires et misères des femmes (Paris, 1900), p. 95.

CHAPTER I

PRELUDE TO AN INDUSTRY: THE EVOLUTION OF SUCCESSFUL FORMULAS

> Later ventures did little experimenting, being content to accept the pattern bequeathed by their humble and almost completely forgotten predecessors.[1]

From their earliest beginnings, women's magazines have represented a literary genre of their own, designed to appeal to a specific audience. Their contents have revolved around certain conventions regarding woman's role and behavior, which, though these might vary according to the fashion and social needs of the day, essentially assume that most women are home-centered creatures, eager to do the best for their husbands and families, motivations which their journals are eager to foster. In contrast to the practical assistance given to women in the performance of their domestic tasks, women's magazines are willing to indulge their readers' romantic fantasies with light literature, as well as to cultivate their presumed passion for dress and gossip, so long as these do not lapse too far into vanity and frivolity, a contingency which they guard against by maintaining an underlying moral tone.

Counsellor, teacher, friend and confidante: these are some of the functions which the editors of women's periodicals have taken upon themselves. Some of these themes were present at the beginning, others came later in the day, as by trial and error, editors and publishers evolved certain formulas acceptable to their women readers, and to an ever-widening audience.

I. Eighteenth-Century Ladies' Papers in England

a) Diaries and almanacs.

The earliest woman's magazine probably appeared in England in 1793, when John Dunton, pleased with the success of the columns addressed to "the fair sex" in his popular penny weekly The Athenaeum Mercury, decided that women merited a paper of their own, and brought out The Ladies' Mercury.[2] It promised to provide answers to "all the most nice and curious questions concerning Love, Marriage, Behaviour, Dress and Humour of the Female Sex, whether Virgins, Wives or Widows,"[3] and urged readers to send in their questions - an "advice to the lovelorn" column, in fact.

Shortlived as this particular venture was, lasting for only a few issues, the growing leisure of the upper-class and rich bourgeois woman in eighteenth-century England was giving her more time for reading, and eager publishers, already enjoying a boom in printing, sought to accommodate the market. One response was the annual almanac, the forerunner of the pocket-book diary, which retained its popularity way into the nineteenth century, and of which John Tipper's Ladies' Diary and Woman's Almanac was an early example. The first four sheet issue for 1704, though published at one and a half times the regular price for such items by the Company of Stationers, had sold 4,000 copies before the New Year,[4] and despite Tipper's death in 1713, it continued to be published annually until 1841.

The Ladies' Diary (1704-1841).

Designed "on purpose for the diversion and use of the Fair Sex,

with something to suit all Conditions, Qualities and Humours,"[5] its early numbers anticipated many of the perennial formulas of the woman's magazine, blending entertainment, domestic and beauty advice, information and moral guidance:

> The Ladies may find here their Essences, Perfumes and Unguents, the Waiting-women and Servants excellent directions in Cookery, Pastry and Confectionery, the Married shall have medicines for their Relief, and Instructions for the Advancement of their Families, the Virgin directions for Love and Marriage.[6]

Intended to serve as a guide and manual, The Ladies' Diary also carried a detailed calendar, features on prominent women, stories and poems, and encouraged readers' participation. Though the stories and advice might have been considered indecorous by later generations, since the usual theme was "virtue is its own reward" in the face of the designing schemes of the entire male sex, it was Tipper who originated the well-tried principle of introducing "nothing to raise a Blush or intimate an evil Thought," seeking to make his readers all that contemporaries considered women ought to be: "innocent, modest, instructive and agreeable."[7]

One unusual feature of The Ladies' Diary was the introduction in 1707, apparently in response to readers' demands, of the Mathematical Problem and Enigma. Himself a professor of Mathematics, Tipper claimed that this feature was so popular that from 1710 onwards he allowed it increasingly to displace domestic and household features to become the predominant feature of the magazine.[8] His claims cannot have been

totally unfounded, for the "rebus" or puzzle continued to be a stock feature of women's journals until the end of the nineteenth century, when it was gradually superseded by the "Prize Competition."

b) The essay periodical and "improving literature".

The introduction of the "Mathematical Enigma," by assuming women to have talents outside the domestic and social arena, anticipated another trend: the use of the woman's magazine as a vehicle for the improvement of the female mind, which was to be a repetitive theme throughout the eighteenth century, from Richard Steele onwards.

While his publications were intended for the public at large, Steele made no secret of the fact that The Tatler (1709), The Spectator (1711), The Guardian (1713), The Spinster (1714), The Lover (1714), and Town Talk (1715), had a female audience particularly in mind,nor of his sympathy for female causes. The Tatler promised instruction and entertainment for the "fair sex" in whose honor he had named the paper,[9] and, despite their tongue-in-cheek approach, many of his articles in The Spectator and The Tatler attacked accepted attitudes towards women's education, and showed sympathetic understanding of their inferior legal and economic position, particularly the unenviable lot of the poor spinster.[10] He felt that improved education for women would prevent "the unnatural marriages which happen every day,"[11] and, writing under female pseudonyms such as Jenny Distaff or Rachel Woolpack, attempted to give a feminine viewpoint on love and marriage.[12]

Whereas Steele expressed his views through entertaining essays, Ambrose Philips in The Freethinker (1718) took a more didactic tone,

seeking the "embellishment of the female understanding" through "philosophical lectures," although he hastened to assure his readers that the latter would not ruin their complexions, but rather "give their minds as beautiful a turn as nature bestowed on their persons."[13] The means employed were accounts of learned women's lives, together with lectures on education, science and philosophy.

This educational trend was also followed by The Visiter (1723), though leavened with cautionary tales and moral advice. Ladies were told that education was the best way to counter masculine deception, and that while household knowledge was a necessary and valuable asset, it was not sufficient to "sit down with knowing how to make a pudding and pleat their husbands' neck clothes as the only knowledge necessary to them."[14] Such practical advice betrays the fact that the editor of the magazine was probably a woman, as does her frequent anti-male stance, and resentment of woman's lot:

> If it is owned that we are endu'd with rational Faculties, why are we denied the due Improvement of them? Why are we kept in total ignorance of everything but Domestic Affairs? Drudging in a family, or perhaps taught to set off our persons in order to arrive at the Summum Bonum of every woman - a husband?
>
> The Visiter, December 10, 1723[15]

Meanwhile, other contemporary journals, such as Wilmot's Ladies' Journal, which appeared in Dublin in 1728, while urging the advantages of study and knowledge expounded in his second issue, preferred to stay on the safer terrain advocated in his first, and concentrate on essays of love and gallantry.[16] This topic had earlier proved popular

in such publications as Records of Love and Weekly Amusement for the Fair Sex (1710), a sentimental journal with no intellectual pretensions, which pioneered the magazine serial with tales like "The Wandering Dancing Master," and also the "special offer" with a book of songs.[17]

Other early eighteenth-century ladies' papers included The Female Tatler (1709), which, having begun as a scurrilous political journal run by a "Mistress Crackenthorpe," settled down after an indictment to the less risky area of "Love, Marriage and Honesty," the insipidity of its approach to the latter hastening its demise in 1710.[18] Another was The Parrot, edited by Mrs. Penelope Prattle, otherwise known as Eliza Haywood, poet and romantic novelist, which dealt in social commentary and satire.[19] Miss Haywood later brought out The Female Spectator in 1744, an essay-periodical from a "reformed society sinner," which crusaded against society through cautionary tales, while at the same time whetting the reader's appetite for scandal.[20] Like others of her kind, she professed a desire to "bring learning into fashion" by encouraging readers to take an interest in botany and astronomy, and urged them to develop their minds with geography, history, mathematics and "Improving Literature."[21]

c) Topical magazines.

Since 1731, however, Edmund Cave's The Gentlemen's Magazine had been changing the style of periodical literature, replacing the essay format with selections from current literature, and adding articles of topical interest, including accounts of Parliamentary debates. It

proved so popular that a number of imitators soon appeared, among them The Ladies' Magazine or Universal Repository (1733), which promised a review of essays, foreign and domestic news, a births marriages and deaths column, and information on the latest books. Only the Parliamentary debates were omitted.[22] However, apart from its title, it seems to have offered nothing of particular interest to women, a function better performed by The Country Magazine (1736-7), a journal intended for both sexes, which seems to have been a forerunner of Good Housekeeping, since it interspersed literary and social articles with illustrated advice on cooking, home medicine and gardening.[23]

The privilege of being "the first of its kind" was claimed in 1747 by The Ladies' Weekly Magazine, which promised, through a selection of original essays, news from town, country and abroad, and songs, to "engage your minds with pleasure and fill them with clear and instructed ideas."[24] An insight into other possible uses (or abuses) of magazines at this time, is given in the editor's promise to forbid "scandalous advertisements which tend to promote vice, encourage debauchery, and unwarranted assignations, or such as are intended to wound and depreciate the character of particular persons."[25] Unfortunately, in practice, the magazine proved dull and lasted barely three years.

For more entertaining fare, ladies had to wait for Jasper Goodwill's The Ladies' Magazine and Universal Entertainer, which ran fortnightly from 1749 until his death in 1753, and was designed to be bound in volumes at the end of the year. It offered "innocent,

elevating and profitable entertainment for young masters and misses,"[26] and included articles on a variety of subjects, from wit and gallantry, to history and travel. There was also foreign news, play reviews, and a lonely hearts column, together with entertaining fiction, which, aside from a summary of Fielding's Amelia, included such gems as "Innocence Preserved," and "The Treacherous Guardian." However, its main attraction appears to have been the accounts of contemporary trials and executions.[27] Readers could enjoy "The Dying Words of John Collingwood," "The Trial of Mary Blandy for Poisoning her Late Father," or "The Account of Three Unhappy Women Executed at Tyburn," with all their lurid details. Such accounts were not for the squeamish, and indicate a very different attitude to female sensibility from that held in the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, despite such alternate attractions, the older-style essay periodical continued to appear, with journals like The Old Maid (1755), which sought to imitate The Rambler; The Young Lady (1756), edited by "Euphrosine" "to inspire and innocently entertain"; and The Lady's Museum (1760), by Charlotte Lennox, who also wrote novels and translated French works. She continued to push education, but cautioned readers that too much abstract knowledge could lead to pedantry, and that they should rather seek knowledge which would "suit the soft elegance of their form, add to their natural beauties, and qualify them for the several duties of life."[28]

One common denominator of all the earliest publications for women was their ephemeral nature. Frequently founded on shaky financial

bases, since, not being underwritten by advertising, subscriptions were their only revenue, success was vital, and they had, as yet, acquired no formula guaranteed to retain a faithful female audience. Oscillating between unleavened paternalistic pedantry, moral preaching and frivolity, they could not compete with periodicals aimed at both sexes, which contained more entertaining articles. Only The Lady's Magazine and Entertaining Companion to the Fair Sex (1759-1763), edited by Charlotte Stanhope in collaboration with Oliver Goldsmith, had any hint of where future success might lie, when it introduced the first fashion engraving in 1759.[29] However, the full benefits of developing a new formula and a steady audience were to fall to The Lady's Magazine of 1770, edited by Samuel Robinson, which flourished until the 1830's on a diet of entertaining fiction and topical news, spliced with fashion and advice.

II. Pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary Women's Journals in France

a) Le Journal des Dames (1759-1778).

By comparison with England, the emergence of a female oriented press came somewhat later in France. Louise Patouillet[30] cites the appearance of Les Spectatrices, edited by a Mlle Barbier between 1726 and 1730, and again in 1751, and also Le Magasin Français Littéraire et Scientifique, which was apparently edited from England by a Mlle de Beaumont in 1750, but Evelyne Sullerot doubts the authenticity of such claims since no other trace has been found.[31] Although there is a prospectus for the Courrier de la Nouveauté of 1758 in the

Bibliothèque Nationale, she prefers to consider the appearance of the monthly Journal des Dames, in 1759, as the starting point for women's journalism in France.[32]

Founded by a minor poet, Thorel de Champigneulles, this journal passed through several hands, including those of Catherine-Michelle de Maisonneuve, a rich widow and royal pensioner, who edited it from 1764 to 1774. Throughout its lifespan, the journal retained connections with the Court, as well as adopting the language of the "précieux" and the opinions of the Enlightenment salons. It aimed to please all tastes:

> A la femme savante, je retracerai les traits de l'histoire, . . . aux femmes pieuses je donnerai une idée des livres nouveaux, et à toutes les autres moins occupées par l'étude, je parlerai des nouveautés amusantes.[33]

In 1774, the journal came under the control of Marie-Emilie Mayon de Montenclos, a successful youthful playwright, whose feminist sympathies were revealed in her intention to use her journal to:

> rassembler le plus d'anecdotes possibles à la gloire d'un sexe presque toujours méprisé au moment même où les hommages les plus empressés lui sont offerts.[34]

She wanted to "forcer les normes . . . et rendre aux femmes la justice que les hommes leur refusent comme à plaisir,"[35] and sought other women's support.

Sullerot points out the appearance of many elements of latter-day feminist platforms in this paper, notably the demand to remove

the stigma from unmarried mothers by forcing the fathers to accept their responsibilities, which in the nineteenth century would develop into the campaign for "Recherche de la Paternité."[36] There was also a totally different attitude to those two sacred cows of the nineteenth and twentieth-century woman's press: marriage and the family, which betrays the journal's aristocratic connections, as yet unleavened by any bourgeois morality. The former was considered with cynicism, as a very boring condition for which divorce provided an attractive alternative,[37] while the latter was ignored, although there were frequent discussions of Enlightenment and Rousseauesque educational theories. In the usual ambivalent fashion of the time, the journal condemned novels for encouraging women's romantic fantasies and subsequent disillusionment with their everyday lives, while devoting extensive space to epistolary novels and sentimental confessions.[38]

b) Illustrated fashion journals.

Although the Journal des Dames contained no coverage of fashion, before 1774, this was to be amply compensated by other journals which began to appear at this time in consequence of the growing importance of the fashion and furnishing industry in late eighteenth-century Paris. Frequently these were simply publicity sheets for a fashion house or dressmaker, and all were directed not only at women, but anyone who wished to cut a figure in society.

Among these periodicals was Le Cabinet des Modes (1785-1786), the ancestor of the "illustrated glossy," which later became Le

Magasin des Modes Nouvelles: Françaises et Anglaises (1786-1789), and Le Journal de la Mode et du Goût (1790-1792).[39] This was founded by Jean-Antoine Brun de Pierrelatte, a writer of operettas, and included frequent contributions from Louis-Edmé Billardon de Sauvigny, a close friend of Roland and the Girondins.[40] Because it carried abundant publicity, financial viability was assured, but the journal was still expensive because of the hand colored illustrations: 21 livres for a year's subscription in Paris, and 30 livres in the provinces, compared to the 12 livres of the Journal des Dames. Nor, due to the vagaries of the postal service, were customers assured of receiving what they had paid for, if the number of complaints in the journal is to be believed.[41]

In format, these magazines contained about eight pages of text, and two or three pull-out sections of fashion or furnishing engravings, together with sheet music. The text usually included a few light anecdotes ridiculing the nobility, but its main preoccupation was with the constantly shifting vagaries of fashion, which it approached very seriously, justifying its position by stressing the economic importance of the fashion and furniture industries to the overall health of the country.

Although this type of journal suffered a temporary eclipse during the Terror, it was to have many imitators in the following century, beginning with Pierre de la Mésangère's Journal des Dames et des Modes, which first appeared in 1797, and lasted forty years.

c) Early feminist journalism.

Meanwhile, the early years of the French Revolution were to see the emergence of a totally new form of women's journalism: the feminist political pamphlet, whose first examples are the women's "cahiers de doléances" in 1788, and the writings of such committed feminists as Olympe de Gouges, author of the Déclaration des Droits de la Femme (1791), a complete manifesto of women's rights, which concluded with a pertinent argument for the times, "la femme a le droit de monter à l'échafaud; elle doit avoir également celui de monter à la tribune." Olympe de Gouges only achieved the former, having fallen foul of Robespierre and the Jacobins, who as true followers of Rousseau, considered women as naturally inferior to men, and responded to women's attempts to participate in the political shaping of the Revolution by banning them from the Assembly, and forbidding their meetings and publications, in 1793.[42] This was a complete set-back for feminist revindications which had received sympathetic attention in the climate of the Enlightenment, particularly from such writers as Condorcet, who was to uphold women's right to equal educational and professional opportunities, as well as civil and political equality in L'Admission des femmes au droit de la cité (1790).

Nevertheless, before the ban went into effect, journals such as Les Etrennes Nationales des Dames frequently reproduced the arguments and often the texts of the feminist pamphlets, thus indicating a common source, although Olympe de Gouges herself founded no journal.[43] Quick to adapt the revolutionary slogans of equality and freedom to women's situation, it condemned the feudal and aristocratic behavior

of husbands in an issue of October 1790, and urged that women be given the same liberties as the newly emancipated slaves.[44]

A less radical contemporary, produced by another group of women, was Le Véritable Ami de la Reine, ou Journal des Dames (1790), which reported the debates of the Assembly and campaigned for a free press, at the same time attacking profiteering, and carrying on a personal campaign for an end to bullfighting.[45]

The first allusion to woman's civic duty to educate herself in order to serve her family and the state, a favorite battlecry of the late nineteenth-century Republicans, appeared in Mme Mouret's Annales de l'Education du Sexe (1790), where she sponsored a project of the Confédération des Dames for women to take a civic oath to raise children with good morals, patriotic sentiments, and respectful attachment to King and Nation. Sullerot notes that this theme would reappear in the press of the July Monarchy which sought to sublimate a revival of feminist aspirations by emphasizing the importance of the mother's role as the cornerstone of society.[46]

Another journal of the period, the Courrier de l'Hymen, combined the unlikely functions of marriage mart, and outlet for feminist and often ardently anti-male opinions.[47] These ideas also found expression in journals not catering only for women, but to which women frequently contributed, such as the freemason journal Bouche de Fer. Demands for a national education system for girls, their legal majority at 21, political and civil rights for both sexes, and a divorce law, all surfaced at this time, and received ample coverage

in the radical press. The first was proposed in 1791, the last voted in 1792: both suffered considerable reverses in the Napoleonic and Restoration period, before being reasserted after 1870, and all received their first setbacks from the opposition of the leading Jacobins during the Terror.[48]

III. Early Nineteenth-Century Trends in England

a) The arrival of the fashion journal.

Although English women's magazines in the late eighteenth century did not share the intense political and intellectual commitment of some of their French contemporaries, and would, on the contrary, have shied away from such ideas during the conservative reaction produced by the French Revolution, they were certainly influenced by the emergence of artistic journalism solely committed to dress and fashionable life, which had first appeared in France in the 1780's and crossed the Channel with the emigrés in the 1790's.

The first purely English example of this trend was the Gallery of Fashion (1794-1803), produced by Nicolas Heidelhoff, a German refugee, who had enjoyed several years as a successful painter and engraver in Paris prior to the Revolution.[49] His beautiful monthly, with hand-colored fashion engravings and a tri-lingual text, retailed for 7/6d a copy, or 3 guineas for a year's subscription. Not surprisingly, its patrons were confined to an exclusive 450.[50] However, it was soon followed by others in the same vein: The Magazine of Female Fashions of London and Paris (1798-1806), which later became The Record of Fashion

and Court Elegance (1806-1809), The World of Fashion (1824-1891), and The London and Paris Magazine of Fashion (1828-1891), to name but a few. As in France, these journals were vehicles for the fashion trade, and even for advertising individual dressmakers. Their illustrations showed strong signs of French influence, and provided work for the numerous skilled craftsmen who had left France during the Revolution.[51] Similarly, French fashion, which in the eighteenth century had been the prerogative of the Court and upper aristocracy, now became the aspiration of the rich middle-class housewife, as many emigré dressmakers found to their advantage, while the native-born adopted French or Continental pseudonyms to attract a wider clientele.

One of the more famous journals of this kind was La Belle Assemblée (1806-1832), a predecessor of the "society glossy," which retailed for 3/- and attempted to combine attractive lay-out with interesting content. Apart from an elaborate fashion spread, and a text containing society gossip, foreign and court news, and educational articles, it also carried pull-out supplements of fiction and advertising, thus combining both the literary and artistic trends of ladies' journalism.[52] Other similar journals were Le Beau Monde (1806-1810), dedicated to the Prince Regent, and Ackermann's Repository of Arts, Literature, Commerce, Manufacture and Politics (1809-1829), although neither of these was exclusively for women.

The new illustrated journals also influenced the development of traditional women's papers, since, while their own high prices put them out of the reach of all but the few, other magazines began to add

fashion supplements to their regular offerings, and to introduce two and three-tier pricing systems to pay for these new options.

b) "The Lady's Magazine" (1770-1837) and its imitators.

Another strong influence on the evolution of women's journalism at this time was Samuel Robinson's The Lady's Magazine or "Entertaining Companion for the Fair Sex," which by appealing to a larger constituency "from the housewife to the peeress," had from 1770 on, evolved a pattern for success which would last well into the 1820's.[53] Successful imitators soon arose, among them Charles Stanhope's The New Lady's Magazine (1785-1796), and The Lady's Monthly Museum of Fashion (1798), which amalgamated with The Lady's Magazine in the 1830's. The sheer longevity of these journals put them in a different category from their predecessors, and was partly due to the financial stability which was a factor common to all. This arose from a combination of low prices and low overheads, since they did not pay their contributors, and conducted all their correspondence in the columns of the paper. In addition, they attracted considerable advertising for goods and services, such as one four-page spread for Dr. Dominicetti's Medicated Baths in the Haymarket, which appeared in The Lady's Magazine in 1781.[54]

Francis Place might carp that "The Lady's Magazine is successful because it is only 6d,"[55] but there were other elements to its popularity. Its expressed intention of providing for women's amusement and entertainment, as well as their improvement, plus its early recognition of the appeal of a fashion section for a provincial audience in

particular, held the key to the formula which was to set it apart from its pedantic predecessors. However, despite its promises to provide readers with "every innovation that is made in the female dress . . . by an earliness of intelligence which shall preclude anticipation,"[56] the innovative fashion pull-outs at first contained only lace and embroidery patterns, and readers had to wait ten years for a regular fashion column.[57] Nor was color introduced into the fashion engravings until The Gallery of Fashion appeared in the 1790's, a trend in which it was apparently upstaged by the newer Lady's Monthly Museum.[58]

Over the years, the success of The Lady's Magazine and its imitators depended on a combination of entertaining fiction, in short-story or serial form, topical information and gossip from home and abroad, reports of court cases, travel articles, fashion and advice. Not only were they less pedantic than earlier journals, but also less moralistic than the new family magazines which were beginning to appear under the sponsorship of evangelicals like Hannah More and Sarah Trimmer, although the dangers of female vulnerability to male seduction were still writ large, notably as in such lurid features as a description of a visit to Bedlam, in The Lady's Monthly Museum, where every second patient was apparently an abandoned victim.[59]

One characteristic of these magazines was their broad conception of women's range of interests. The New Lady's Magazine carried accounts of Captain Cook's voyages, and even the Prize English Oration at Oxford.[60] If fashion was not stressed before the 1790's, domesticity

was even less in evidence, although it was taken for granted that marriage represented the limits of woman's ambition. Written in a light vein, these magazines assumed either that their readers were from a class above such mundane matters, or that they wished to be diverted from home cares, and, consequently, preferred to encourage contributions and correspondence on a wider variety of subjects of interest to both sexes. Meanwhile, domestic advice was the province of the annual pocket book compendiums, such as The Ladies' Museum, published by William Lane's Minerva Press, which had nine issues between 1773 and 1820,[61] and The Ladies Companion. These succeeded the old almanacs and preceded the modern diary, combining the function of useful handbook and book of record with a little fiction and poetry.

c) The trend towards domesticity.

By the mid eighteen-twenties, new trends were emerging in women's journals. While more space was being devoted to fashion and domestic articles, topical news and informational items were disappearing, marking a narrowing of what was considered to be women's legitimate sphere of interest. In 1825, the editor of The Lady's Magazine remarked on this:

> The times have changed . . . women have completely abandoned attempts to shine in the political horizon and now seek only to exercise their virtues in domestic retirement.[62]

Perhaps the times themselves had not changed, but the journals were victims of their own success, by reaching out to a wider audience with

more home-centered tastes than the cosmopolitan and hedonistic upper classes. This could also be taken as an indication of the growing influence of evangelicalism among all classes, for piety and domesticity went hand in hand, and women became willing victims of a new image, as voiced in the Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion in 1847:

> Woman was given to man as his better angel, to dissuade him from vice, to stimulate him to virtue, to make home delightful and life joyous. . . . in the exercise of these gentle and holy charities she fulfils her high vocation.[63]

There was a tendency for more insipidity and less humor, and older journals were forced to fall into line. The merger of The Lady's Magazine with The Lady's Monthly Museum in 1832, to be joined in 1837 by La Belle Assemblée, though the resulting magazine continued for ten more years, in fact marked the end of an era.

Another influence on this trend was the appearance of a wealth of family magazines which emphasized woman's role as mother and daughter. Whereas the domestic articles in the early issues of La Belle Assemblée had flopped,[64] The Christian Lady's Magazine (1834-49), The Magazine of Domestic Economy and Family Review (1836-44), and the Maids, Wives and Widows Penny Magazine (1832 on), all pointed in the new direction.

Nevertheless, these women did not want only trivial entertainment, and if their view of their role was somewhat narrow, they did want to excel at it. By mid-century the way was open for a really efficient journal which would exploit this attitude, and aid women to

become the ideal wives and mothers they aspired to be. Samuel Beeton was to seize the opportunity when in 1852 he brought out The English-woman's Domestic Magazine.

IV. Women's Journals in France, from the Directory to 1848

In France, the swing of the pendulum towards a more insipid and frivolous women's press began much earlier than in England, influenced on the one hand, by the hedonistic bent of Directory society, and on the other, by the anti-feminist and paternalistic attitudes to women of the Empire, and Napoleon in particular. Women would have to resort to devious methods and boudoir influence if they hoped to control society or politics, as was recognized in the Correspondance des Dames in 1799:

> La folie des Français est telle que, sans estime pour presque toutes les femmes, ils croient avec raison qu'il ne peut y avoir de plaisirs et d'amusements que ceux que les femmes déterminent, dirigent et partagent. De là, ma bonne amie, l'ascendant dont nous jouissons en France, le pouvoir que nous exerçons sur les esprits, cette influence que nous avons dans toutes les affaires.[65]

a) Le Journal des Dames et des Modes (1797-1839).

The virtual monopoly of the feminine press up to the Restoration and for some time after, was held by this journal founded by the former abbé, Pierre de la Mésangère. Nicknamed by Napoleon "Le Moniteur Officiel de la Mode," it soon outstripped or absorbed such rivals as Le Messager des Dames, Le Journal des Modes et des Nouveautés, Le

Tableau Général des Goûts et des Modes, and La Correspondance des Dames. Published every five days, the Journal des Dames had a sliding scale of prices according to the number of engravings desired and contained numerous illustrations and much publicity.[66] Himself highly instrumental in reviving an interest in the decorative and fashionable arts, Mésangère later added a supplement entitled "Le Journal des Voitures et des Meubles Nouveaux."[67] Many of the engravings and much of the text was his own work, the latter concentrating on fashion information and society gossip, which had a strong appeal to the readers in the small provincial towns, who increasingly made up the bulk of the readership, especially in the later years.[68]

Over the years, the tone of the journal mirrored the transition from the cynical hedonism of the Directory to the reactionary morality of the Restoration. Woman changed from being the Queen of Pleasure to being a domestic goddess, and an increasing number of articles insisted on her duty to educate her children rather than go gallivanting in society. "On commence en effet à culpabiliser les mères qui ne demeurent point au foyer," comments Sullerot, who sees a definite contraction of the areas admitted within women's sphere of interest, as the bourgeois influence in society expanded:[69] a development which has already been noted in England at this time. During the Empire, few allusions were made to current events; indeed, Mme Récamier's outfits received more coverage than the war in Europe, which was never mentioned.[70] Editorials, generally written in the epistolary fashion, mostly concentrated on some detail of fashion or etiquette, dictating behavior as well as dress. After the 1802 Concordat with the Papacy, ladies were told, "La mode est aujourd'hui d'aller à l'Eglise, et nous en

avertissons nos fidèles abonnées."[71] The rest of the text was devoted to travel articles, theater and book reviews, and some reprints from other journals.

Among the many contributors was a maligned feminist playwright, Constance Pipelet, whose own attempt at a pro-feminist journal in 1808, L'Athénée des Dames, had collapsed after twenty-four issues, the victim of male and female ridicule. One woman reader protested:

> Je pense que vous avez grand tort de vouloir mettre en doute cette opinion commune que l'homme est supérieur à la femme. Plus nous voudrons nous débattre contre cette vérité, plus nous la démontrerons car notre rebellion même prouvera notre faiblesse et notre infériorité.[72]

In the late 1820's, several new journals appeared to compete with Le Journal des Dames, which, nevertheless, lasted until 1839 and set the tone of the French women's press until the late nineteenth century. L'Observateur des Modes (1818-1823), Le Petit Courrier des Dames (1822-1865), La Mode (1829-1856), and Le Follet (1829-1871), are but a few of the titles. All were predominantly fashion and society journals, with a romantic serial to hold the reader's loyalty, and catered for the aristocracy and rich bourgeoisie, as their average price of 40 - 45 frs. for an annual subscription indicates. Even Le Follet, which boasted of selling for half this price, was intended for the same audience, the difference in sales' revenue being compensated by ample advertisements.[73] The high price of these journals was mainly due to the large number of illustrations and colored engravings.

One notable characteristic of the Restoration journal was the way

it reflected the contemporary interest in the revival of religion. Women bore the main burden of this, and were steeped in a sense of moral guilt in even the most frivolous papers, one outcome of which was that charity and good works became an obligatory function for the society woman, and numerous fashion engravings of the time attest to this new occupation.[74]

From another angle, they stressed an image of woman as a weak and fragile creature, particularly vulnerable to "la grande passion." Here the influence of Romanticism played its part, and magazines abounded with tales of adulterous love, ending inevitably in disillusion, madness and death.[75] These presented a strange contrast to the prevailing morality elsewhere, and self-conscious editors attempted to replace them with more innocent sources of vicarious excitement, such as elaborate travelogues.[76]

The proliferation of titles continued throughout the middle years of the century. Whereas seven new papers had appeared between 1820 and 1830, there were thirty-six between 1830 and 1840, and twenty-six from 1840 to 1845.[77] Among the most long-lasting of these were Le Bon Ton (1834-1884), Le Journal des Demoiselles (1833-1922), and Le Moniteur de la Mode (1843-1913). Wordly and fashionable, they all resembled each other in appearance and content, even to the extent of carrying identical articles and engravings. Luxurious fashion plates and complicated needlework patterns abounded, price differences indicating, not so much difference of scope, as variations in the quality of the illustrations. Some papers carried as many as four or five different subscription

rates, depending on the number of supplements desired by the reader; others had international editions, published in all the principal European capitals, often in the local language.

b) Mid-century trends: domestic advice.

Sullerot notes that around the middle of the nineteenth century, a change took place in the language of women's journalism in France, with the word "femme" gradually taking the place of the older "dame." She sees this as indicative, not only of a shift in readership, but also of the growing influence of the bourgeoisie on social mores. As in England, this was accompanied by a change in attitude to woman's role, with greater emphasis being placed on her domestic functions, and particularly her maternal responsibilities, a subject never mentioned in the eighteenth-century French papers. In consequence, apart from the really successful high-priced papers, most other journals now found themselves obliged to include something more practical than fashionable gossip if they wished to hold their readers. The Journal des Demoiselles found its educational advice and household hints increasingly popular, while the introduction of the paper dressmaking pattern by L'Iris in 1832, presaged a costume revolution, by putting high style within the reach of any woman of modest means who could read and sew.[78]

Also, as in England, the growing prosperity of the middle classes left an increasing number of women with money and time on their hands who wanted advice on how to rise in the social scale: how to dress, behave, furnish their homes, and make an "entrée" into Society. These

needs would be catered for by two new mid-century journals, Le Conseiller des Dames and La Mode Illustrée, which would, in turn, intensify the trend. It should, however, be noted that the emergence of the idle bourgeois wife, who existed as a status symbol for her husband, was somewhat slower and less general in France than in England. A recent study of bourgeois women in the manufacturing center of Lille, mentions that although the shift of wives away from cooperating in the family business had been accomplished among the upper bourgeoisie by the Second Empire, women remained active beside their husbands in the lower levels of trade and commerce for many more years.[79] Meanwhile, on the level of the professions, a literary comparison of two nineteenth-century doctors' wives, shows that while Emma in Flaubert's Madame Bovary (1857) kept an eye on her husband's accounts, Rosamund Lydgate in George Eliot's Middlemarch (1871) was totally ignorant of the same.

c) The feminist revival.

Despite its apparent defeat in the early phase of the Revolution, French feminism was to experience sporadic revivals in the 1830's and 1840's which would produce a new crop of feminist journals. The impetus for this revival was in part philosophic, in part economic. On the one hand, theories of woman's role and purpose were influenced by the philosophic and social theories of men like Saint-Simon, and Charles Fourier, with their denial of any inherent reason for sex or class privilege, and consequent advocacy of equality of opportunity and civic rights.[80] On the other, the effect of the industrial revolution,

with its resulting expansion and exploitation of women's labor outside the home, would lead to the creation of a female proletariat, and the identification of the needs of women with those of the workers' struggle in general.[81] From both of these influences would emerge those dual strands of French feminism which would constantly divide it and dilute its support in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

The 1830's saw the beginnings of the bourgeois, intellectual strand of feminism, committed to demands for women's intellectual and professional equality, and legal and civil rights. The 1840's, and in particular, the Revolution of 1848, would see a more radical, political phase, in which women's interests became identified with those of socialism and the class struggle: a development which would associate the image of feminism with revolution, and hinder the acceptance of any of its theories for years to come, particularly after this image was reinforced by women's activities in the Paris Commune.[82]

Both of these trends were reflected in women's journals. The more moderate of the two was represented in Le Journal des Femmes (1832-37), edited by Fanny Richomme, a prominent lawyer's wife, "pour les femmes, par les femmes." Its contributors, who included George Sand, all came from the same social bracket: educated women, prominent in society, who wrote children's books or moral homilies, on the side.[83] Its tone was serious, and it encouraged women's sense of dignity and self respect in the face of the prevailing climate of frivolity, seeking to counter the contemporary image of fragile womanhood by emphasizing her potential contribution as an educator and

molder of society. Ironically, this was the first French women's journal to introduce recipes and practical cooking advice, as it saw this as a vital factor in raising the all-round standard of women's education, to which it was committed.[84] Also in this line was the Gazette des Femmes (1836), which published Frédéric Herbinot de Mauchamps' "Charter of Woman's Rights and Duties," advocating her right to educational and professional freedom and the removal of the disabilities in the Civil Code. This standard would be raised again by Léon Richer's Le Droit des Femmes after 1869.

The other trend appeared in the Tribune des Femmes (1832-34), whose original title La Femme Libre excited much ridicule.[85] Emerging in the years following the 1830 Revolution with its subsequent disillusion for the working classes, this journal owed many of its radical theories to the Saint-Simonian background of its founders, Susanne Volquin, Désirée Véret, and Jeanne Déroin, all working women connected with the group around Prosper Enfantin,[86] and committed feminists who would participate in subsequent journals, notably Eugénie Niboyet's La Voix des Femmes, a leading focus of feminist agitation in 1848.

Influenced also by Charles Fourier and Cabet, their main contribution to feminist theory was to identify women's struggle with that of the oppressed working classes. But, despite their socialist sympathies, their feminism sought to cross class lines, by urging other women to recognize their common oppression, and to develop a concept of sisterhood and mutual assistance. For them, women's salvation lay, not in education, but in complete economic, political and moral freedom.[87]

Subsequently, in La Voix des Femmes, and particularly in the articles of Jeanne Dérouin, who later brought out her own journal, L'Opinion des Femmes in 1849, they would sponsor schemes to help working women organize to fight for better working conditions, and for the provision of crèches and communal dining rooms for the alleviation of their domestic burdens.[88]

Despite its radical goals for women, which included full enfranchisement and economic equality, themes which would be taken up again in the 1880's by Hubertine Auclert's La Citoyenne, La Voix des Femmes revealed no signs of alienation from women's traditional biological role, and on the contrary, stressed the mother's importance as the cornerstone of the family and society:

> La moralité d'une nation tient surtout à la moralité des femmes; si les femmes ont de bons fils, la Patrie aura de bons serviteurs.[89]

This theme would be repeated in Republican journals of the 1880's, particularly in Louise Koppe's La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, a pro-feminist educational paper, whose message came near to expressing woman's duty in terms of the latter-day slogan: "Travail, Famille, Patrie." It also reflected Eugénie Niboyet's personal views as expressed in an earlier journal which she founded in Lyons in 1833, which became the first successful provincial journal for women: Le Conseiller des Femmes.[90] Like its contemporary, the Catholic Mère de Famille, this journal emphasized education and child care, hygiene and domestic economy, but it differed from the latter in

stressing social justice and woman's rights, rather than woman's duties and the "culte de famille."[91]

Born of a Protestant bourgeois family, and deeply involved with Saint-Simonianism in her youth, Niboyet's activities after 1848 revolved mostly around her commitment to pacificism and prison reform, rather than feminism. She did, however, found another more conservative journal, Le Journal pour Toutes in 1864, and also indirectly influenced women's journalism in the 1870's through her close friendship with Nelly Lieutier, editress of the popular magazine La Vie Domestique.

V. England at Mid-Century: A New Beginning

a) The first feminist journals.

In England, while no similar revolutionary impetus or heightened social consciousness contributed to the birth of organized feminism in the 1850's and 1860's, some feminist demands had surfaced among women workers in the period prior to the 1832 Reform Bill, and during the Chartist agitation.[92] Moreover, that feminist consciousness was by no means dormant in the first half of the nineteenth century is evident from the writings of Harriet Martineau and Harriet Taylor Mill, whose views found sympathy among the group of Philosophical Radicals and Unitarians which gathered around William Fox in the twenties and thirties.[93] However, the emergence of a feminist movement was rather a pragmatic response on the part of educated upper-class women to what they saw as the evils of their present situation:

the paucity of "genteel" employment opportunities for those women who did not marry, and who lacked sufficient income to live in idleness; and the problems experienced by others, like Caroline Norton, whose marriages broke down and who found themselves bereft of property, income and, often, children.

These problems were to stimulate demands for changes in the existing system, beginning with the countrywide campaign for a petition to Parliament for a change in the legal status of married women, organized by Barbara Bodichon, in 1856,[94] followed by the formation of a Society for the Employment of Women, in 1859, and agitation in the 1860's for the improvement of women's education, and for their admission to the universities, in order to improve their employment options.[95] At the same time, the ongoing movement for the extension of the franchise in nineteenth-century Britain, would precipitate demands for the inclusion of women voters, not so much on the philosophic grounds of natural right, since few admitted this for either sex, as in their capacity of property owners who had a stake in the country's government.

Thus, to a certain extent, English feminists had elements in common with both strands of the movement in France. They resembled the moderate, liberal wing in their demands for legal and educational reforms, although unlike them, they never placed the same emphasis on women's role as mothers, which at times seemed to be the main justification for women's education in France.[96] However, in their advocacy of women's suffrage, they were more akin to the French radical

feminists, although a similar identification of the goals of feminism and socialism did not occur in England until the end of the century, with such women as Annie Besant, Eleanor Marx and Sylvia Pankhurst.[97]

As in France, the movement gave birth to several new women's papers, the most important of which was The English Woman's Journal (1857-64), later succeeded by The Englishwoman's Review (1866-1910), as the main organ of English feminism in the nineteenth century. This sprang out of the small committee of women which had developed from Barbara Bodichon's original initiative, and was edited by her best friend Bessie Rayner Parkes.[98] In 1859, Emily Faithfull founded the Victoria Press as a practical answer to those women seeking work in the printing trade, and from this would emerge The Victoria Magazine in 1863.[99]

While The Victoria Magazine was predominantly a literary journal, The English Woman's Journal and The Englishwoman's Review were organs of propaganda, which sought to give women the practical information on which to base their fight for emancipation. Analyses of existing legislation pertaining to women, statistics of women's employment, and reports of working conditions, were accompanied by proposals for alternate solutions.

However, it must be stressed that, as in France, such journals accounted for a very small fraction of the feminine press, which, particularly in the climate of the Second Empire, continued to be dominated by fashion and society papers directed at the upper classes and their bourgeois imitators.

b) The impact of Samuel Beeton.

In England, it was to be Samuel Beeton who in 1852 recognized the potential market for a new type of journal, moderately priced, and directed at the middle-class woman whose chief occupation was her household, but who liked to be entertained and informed at the same time. His twopenny The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine was a bargain next to the average 1/- monthly, and sought to attain the "Happy Home" so dear to the mid-Victorians, through "the improvement of the intellect, the cultivation of the morals, and the cherishing of the domestic virtues."[100]

The educational advice was mostly of a practical nature, giving detailed instruction on household management, handling of servants, and cooking and cleaning, under the supervision of his wife Isabella Beeton. She also contributed the fashion notes, and visited Paris twice a year for the latest ideas.[101] Other attractions included the "Practical Dress Instructor," Britain's nearest approach to the French paper pattern; essay competitions rewarded with "Golden Prizes"; Cupid's Letter Bag; and high-class fiction such as Uncle Tom's Cabin and The Scarlet Letter. This successful combination sent sales soaring from 25,000 in 1854 to 50,000 in 1860,[102] and enabled Beeton to bring out a more luxurious version in that year with forty-eight pages of text and illustrations, together with colored engravings from Goubaud's Le Moniteur de la Mode.[103]

Far from portraying woman as a weak and fragile creature, Beeton, throughout, sponsored an image of a practical and capable person, the pillar of her household:

> She is the first and the last, the Alpha, and Omega in the government of her establishment, and it is in her conduct that its whole internal policy is regulated.[104]

That he also believed women to be capable of other interests outside the home, is evident in his founding of The Queen, in 1861, which he envisaged as a high-class journal to "provide a weekly record which ladies can read and profit by; one in which their understandings and judgements will not be insulted by a collection of mere trivialities."[105] Under the direction of Frederick Greenwood, The Queen's editorial pages dealt with topical events at home and abroad, as well as the social round and cultural scene. They also reflected considerable concern for contemporary social problems.

Although the shock of his wife's death in 1865 and his financial difficulties after 1866 combined to sever Beeton's direct contact with women's publishing, apart from a temporary come-back in the mid-seventies, his long-range influence continued. It was he who established a successful formula for the middle-class journal which has undergone little subsequent variation, combining equal parts of fashion, domestic hints, health and child care, moral advice and abundant fiction.

The Queen and The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine put English women's journalism ahead of its French counterpart in the second half of the nineteenth century in terms of the quality and content of its articles, although the French continued to hold the lead in terms of fashion design and quality of illustration. The big French successes

of the fifties and sixties, Le Conseiller des Dames (1847-1892), and La Mode Illustrée (1860-1937), though they included some domestic and moral advice in addition to notes on dress, etiquette and needlework, and fiction by such authors as Balzac and Hugo, were still essentially fashion-oriented, reflecting the direction given to mid-century French society by the Empress Eugénie. Meanwhile, those journals which did emphasize domestic and child-care information, seemed dull and conservative in lay-out and attitude by comparison with their English contemporaries. In France, serious articles, assuming an educated and informed audience such as appeared in The Queen at its best, could not be found until the turn of the century, outside of the feminist journals.

In both countries, however, changes had taken place by the 1870's. No longer was the woman's magazine the monopoly of the society lady, but had broadened its scope to accommodate the interest of the middle-class woman, oriented towards home and family. This trend towards an enlarged and more popular audience would accentuate rapidly in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

NOTES - CHAPTER I

[1] Bertha Monica Stearns, "Early English Periodicals for Ladies," PMLA, 48 (1933), p. 60.

[2] Ibid., p. 38.

[3] The Ladies' Mercury (1693), page 1 of the first issue quoted in Cynthia White, Women's Magazines: 1693-1968 (London, 1970), p. 24.

[4] Stearns, p. 38.

[5] The Ladies' Diary (1704), quoted in Stearns, p. 39.

[6] Alison Adburgham, Women in Print (London, 1972), p. 46.

[7] Ibid., p. 47.

[8] Stearns, p. 39.

[9] Ibid., p. 41.

[10] Adburgham, p. 53.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Stearns, p. 41.

[13] Ibid., pp. 42-43.

[14] Ibid., p. 47.

[15] Ibid., p. 48. This plea was to become a recurrent theme in some nineteenth-century novels, notably Charlotte Brontë's Jane Eyre where some paragraphs in Chapter XII directly echo the passage quoted.

[16] Adburgham, p. 77.

[17] Ibid., p. 69.

[18] Stearns, p. 46.

[19] Adburgham, p. 78.

[20] Ibid., p. 97.

[21] Stearns, pp. 53-54.

[22] Ibid., p. 51.

[23] Adburgham, p. 83.

[24] Stearns, p. 55.

[25] Ibid., quoting from The Ladies' Weekly Magazine, February 19, 1747.

[26] White, op. cit., p. 29.

[27] Stearns, p. 117.

[28] Adburgham, p. 117.

[29] Ibid., p. 121.

[30] Louise Patouillet, L'Emancipation des femmes et la presse, jusqu'en 1870 (Paris, 1928).

[31] Evelyne Sullerot, Histoire de la presse féminine en France, des origines à 1848 (Paris, 1966), p. 11.

[32] Ibid., p. 19. See also, George Guyonnet, "Les Journaux de modes que lisaient nos grand'mères" Le Vieux Papier, January 1951, p. 98.

[33] Le Journal des Dames, January 1764, quoted in Sullerot, p. 19.

[34] Le Journal des Dames, November 1774, quoted in Sullerot, p.23.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Sullerot, p. 24.

[37] Ibid., p. 40.

[38] Ibid., p. 39.

[39] Guyonnet, op. cit., pp. 100-101, claims this magazine established a model for all its successors which remained unchanged until the advent of the American-style journal at the turn of the twentieth century.

[40] Sullerot, p. 33.

[41] Ibid., p. 36.

[42] Jane Cérez, La Condition sociale de la femme: 1804 jusqu'au présent, Thèse de Droit (Bordeaux, 1940), p. 73. Léon Abensour, Le Problème féministe (Paris, 1972), p. 85. Both these works discuss the climate of reaction against women which emerged among the Revolutionary leaders of the Convention.

[43] Sullerot, p. 44.

[44] Ibid., p. 48.

[45] Ibid., p. 51.

[46] Ibid., p. 53.

[47] Ibid., p. 56.

[48] Cérez, pp. 72-77. Abensour, pp. 80ff.

[49] Adburgham, pp. 204-206.

[50] Ibid., p. 205.

[51] Ibid., p. 206.

[52] Ibid., pp. 220-224. White, p. 35.

[53] White, p. 31.

[54] Adburgham, p. 150.

[55] Ibid., p. 152.

[56] The Ladies'Magazine, Prospectus, August 1770, quoted in Adburgham, pp. 128-129.

[57] Adburgham, p. 129.

[58] Cynthia White claims (p. 33) that The Lady's Monthly Museum in 1798 was the first English women's periodical to introduce colored fashion engravings. She presumably excludes The Gallery of Fashion from this category.

[59] Adburgham, p. 213.

[60] Ibid., p. 147.

[61] Ibid., p. 162.

[62] White, p. 39.

[63] Ibid., p. 42. The Ladies' Cabinet of Fashion (1832-1870) was one of the most successful newcomers at this time.

[64] Ibid., p. 26.

[65] Sullerot, p. 78.

[66] Ibid., p. 92.

[67] Ibid., p. 70.

[68] Ibid., p. 98.

[69] Ibid., p. 110.

[70] Ibid., p. 101.

[71] Ibid., p. 106.

[72] Ibid., p. 123.

[73] Ibid., p. 138.

[74] Ibid., pp. 131-132. For further discussion of this trend, see Barbara Corrado Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth-Century England and France," in Becoming Visible, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, 1977), pp. 296-325.

[75] Sullerot, p. 134.

[76] Ibid., p. 135.

[77] Ibid., pp. 217-218.

[78] Ibid., p. 140.

[79] Bonnie Smith, "The Women of the Lille Bourgeoisie: 1850-1914," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Rochester 1975, pp. 86-87, 89.

[80] Léon Abensour, Le Problème féministe, pp. 92ff.

[81] Ibid., pp. 100-104. See also Sheila Rowbotham, Women, Resistance and Revolution (London, 1972), pp. 50-59, for further discussion of these influences.

[82] Léon Abensour, Histoire générale du féminisme des origines à nos jours (Paris, 1921), pp. 263-264.

[83] Sullerot, pp. 172-173.

[84] Ibid., p. 171.

[85] Ibid., p. 147.

[86] Ibid., pp. 150-152.

[87] Ibid., pp. 158ff.

[88] Rowbotham, pp. 117-120. See also, Evelyne Sullerot, "Journaux féminins et lutte ouvrière," in La Presse ouvrière, ed. Jacques Godechot (Bières-sur-Yvette, Essonne, 1966), pp. 87-122.

[89] Evelyne Sullerot, La Presse féminine (Paris, 1963), p. 24.

[90] Sullerot, Histoire de la presse féminine (1966), op. cit., p. 186.

[91] Ibid., p. 187.

[92] Patricia Branca, Women in Europe since 1750 (London, 1978), pp. 181-182. Sheila Rowbotham, Hidden from History (London, 1973), pp. 33-34.

[93] Valerie Pichanik in "An Abominable Submission: Harriet Martineau's Views on the Role and Place of Women," Women's Studies, 5 (1977), pp. 13-22, documents the early development of Martineau's feminist consciousness, particularly as expressed in her essay on education, published in The Monthly Repository (1823). Once in London, she gravitated to the group around Fox in the 1830's (pp. 14-15). Alice Rossi, in her Introductory Essay to John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor Mill, Essays on Sex Equality (Chicago, 1970), comments on the longstanding connections between the Utilitarians and the Unitarians, and the sympathy of both groups for the cause of female emancipation (pp. 19-20).

[94] Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: The Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882," in The Widening Sphere, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington, Indiana, 1977), pp. 8-10.

[95] Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, "Women and Degrees at Cambridge University, 1862-1897," in The Widening Sphere, pp. 117-146. See also Ray Strachey, The Cause (London, 1928) for a general history of the beginning of the women's emancipation movement.

[96] See below, Chapter V, for further discussion of contrasting attitudes in the two countries on this subject.

[97] Rowbotham, Hidden from History, Ch. 12, 13 and 15.
_____, Women, Resistance and Revolution, pp. 85ff.

[98] "Women's Newspapers: A Sketch of the Periodical Literature devoted to the Woman Question," Englishwoman's Review, 66 (1878), pp. 435-460.

[99] Strachey, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

[100] Montgomery H. Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Beeton (London, 1951), p. 45.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Ibid., p. 46.

[103] Ibid., p. 120.

[104] Hyde, quoting from the Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine.

[105] The Queen, April 12, 1862, quoted by Hyde, pp. 122-123.

CHAPTER II

AN OVERVIEW: 1875-1900

Between the years 1875 and 1900, around two hundred and seventy magazines appeared in England catering specifically for a female audience. These ranged in interest from the traditional fashion and society journals, through domestic and child care manuals, feminist pamphlets and church tracts, to professional and allied papers.[1] Of thirty-eight already in existence in 1875, thirteen were still listed as going concerns in the Newspaper Press Directory for 1900, although submerged by over one hundred later arrivals. Nor did these have the monopoly of longevity: among those magazines published for women in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, forty-two would last over twenty years, and twenty-three over thirty years; The Queen and The Lady, started respectively in 1861 and 1885, are still with us.

If these figures seem somewhat surprising by comparison with the tenuous nature of the industry in previous years, the women's publishing scene in France presents an even more amazing picture at first sight, when one considers that the more than two hundred and seventy titles listed do not include journals with a professional slant, or a church or social service orientation,[2] thus giving France a majority of nearly thirty journals over England, for those with similar contents.

In actual fact, however, this greater volume is misleading, since, from the middle of the nineteenth century, duplication had been a way of life for the French women's press, different titles from the same

Table 1 (a)

Number of New Journals and Frequency of Publication: England 1875-1900.*

Date of Origin.	Total	Weekly	Bi-monthly	Monthly	Other	Unknown
Pre-1870's	20	3		18	1	1
1870's	28	7	2	20		
1880's	53	18	2	32	6	
1890's	118	57		62	5	3

Table 1 (b)

Number of New Journals and Frequency of Publication: France 1875-1900.*

Date of Origin.	Total	Weekly	Bi-monthly	Monthly	Other	Unknown
Pre-1870's	42	8	10	20		4
1870's	52	12	15	10	2	3
1880's	67	19	16	27	3	2
1890's	88	15	21	29	4	19

*Excluding trade titles.

These tables are drawn from information in Appendices A & B which list journals of similar content in each country in chronological order.

The total quoted refers to magazine titles, some of which could appear at different frequencies over the years, and thus be counted more than once.

publishing house frequently sharing identical illustrations and text. Variety was further lessened by the fact that the more successful and enduring journals were concentrated in relatively few hands: Léon Sault directed nine, Henri Picart eight, Thirion seven, Petit and Millau six apiece, and Albert five, with the house of Goubaud head and shoulders above the rest with a grand total of twenty-seven. Nevertheless, none of these could be called publishing giants, for women's magazines, like many other French journals, continued to be produced by small publishing houses working on an artisanal level until the end of the century.[3] In addition, they retained closer contacts with the fashion industry than with the field of journalism as a whole.[4]

In England, by contrast, the production end of the market was initially less polarized, although this trend had been anticipated by Samuel Beeton long before press developments in the 1890's saw the emergence of the Harmsworth, Pearson and Newnes empires. However, in general, English publishers seem to have been more concerned with producing the "right" paper for each segment of the market than in syndicating identical material under different titles, a policy later adopted in France with the entry of the publishing giants Hachette and Lafitte into the women's press scene at the turn of the century.

A closer look at the nature and evolution of women's magazines in the last quarter of the century, which in terms of sheer numbers eclipsed anything that had gone before, should indicate both those factors which stimulated a growing production of, and receptivity to

women's publications at this time, and the ingredients which contributed to a successful journal. Obviously, popularity with its readers is a primary consideration for the latter, but was the audience in either country the same in 1900 as in 1875, and was it demanding the same kind of information and diversion from its journals? If not, what accommodations had editors and publishers made by 1900 to attract new readers while retaining the old?

I. Changes in Women's Situation in the late Nineteenth Century

With regard to the changing nature of the audience, the situation of women in both countries underwent considerable evolution in the latter half of the nineteenth century, although in some aspects the pace was somewhat slower in France, and this was to have considerable repercussions on the growth of a potential market for the women's press.

a) Education.

By 1900 it could be fairly claimed that women at all levels of society were better educated than their mothers or grandmothers had been. Universal state primary education had been introduced into England with Forster's Education Act of 1870, and made both compulsory and free by 1891.[5] In France, the Loi Guizot of 1833, which established primary education for boys, had neglected to provide for girls, but the Loi du 15 mars 1850 required each commune with a population exceeding eight hundred (subsequently amended to five hundred in 1867) to build and fund a girls' school: a law more honored in the breach than the observance before the Loi du 10 mars 1882 made instruction

obligatory for both sexes between the ages of six and thirteen.[6]

In the area of secondary education, the opportunities which had arisen for the English middle-class girl, with the establishment of Queen's College in 1848 and other similar institutions, received an added boost after the findings of the 1865 Royal Commission on Secondary Education led to the founding of the Girls' Public Day School Trust in 1872, although others had to wait until the 1902 Education Act for recognition of their rights to this.[7] In France, the Loi Camille Sée extended lycée education to girls in 1880, although the curriculum did not immediately include preparation for the Baccalauréat, and thus offered an alternative to the convent or the finishing school for those so inclined, and with the money to pay.[8]

The subsequent opening of universities and professional and trade schools to women in both countries would lead to a gradual, if reluctant, acceptance of their right to put their education to good use, and to a small breach in the male monopoly of the liberal professions with the emergence of women doctors and lawyers. Meanwhile, the health and educational needs of both countries were to lead to greater professionalism and an upgrading of the status of women in the nursing and teaching professions.[9]

b) Employment.

Side by side with these advances at a professional level, came the gradual infiltration of middle-class women into the lower levels of business and government, as bank and post-office clerks, typists and telephonists, railroad booking clerks and shop assistants. This

development was probably more in response to a growing volume of business in an expanding economy and government bureaucracy, or to the desire of employers to lower costs by paying "women's" wages, than to their conversion to the doctrine of equal opportunity.[10] Cheap labor was also a continuing factor in the employment of women in all areas of industry, although there was a noticeable variation between the two countries here, since, while the actual numbers of women employed increased in both, in England their percentage of the work force was going down, as opposed to France where it was rising (Table 2 (a) and (b)).[11] Women's wages remained universally low, however, and concerned contemporaries ascribed this to a combination of factors: a lack of trained skills; the overcrowding of those industries where women workers predominated; the persistence of an attitude among single women which saw a job as a temporary stop-gap before marriage; and the desperate need of some married women to provide for their families at all costs, all of which made women somewhat passive employees in the face of exploitation, and extremely difficult to organize into unions.[12]

Nevertheless, despite all these qualifications regarding the actual extent to which women benefited from the expansion of their employment opportunities, it is evident that more women, both in England and France, were entering the labor force at the end of the nineteenth century, particularly from the middle classes, and that a larger number represented single women without family responsibilities who spent their money as they chose.[13]

Table 2 (a)

Women's Employment in England and Wales: 1871-1901[14]

	1871	1881	1891	1901
Total Employed %of work force	3,650,000 30.7%	3,887,000 30.5%	4,489,000 30.9%	4,751,000 29%
Agriculture	135,000 7.68%	116,000 7.1%	80,000 5.32%	86,000 6.03%
Industry	1,545,000 30.46%	1,687,000 30.31%	1,951,000 30.09%	2,126,000 28.7%
Domestic Service inc. hairdressers and caterers	1,678,000 89.1%	1,756,000 87.36%	2,036,000 87.64%	2,003,000 85.19%
Commerce	5,000 2.2%	11,000 3.03%	26,000 5.68%	76,000 11.14%
Transport inc. telephonists and telegraph operators	16,000 2.38%	15,000 1.46%	20,000 1.77%	27,000 1.88%
Professional Occup. inc. entertainers	152,000 45.5%	203,000 44.4 %	264,000 47.9 %	326,000 48.5 %
Public Administration	7,000 6.1%	9,000 7.6%	17,000 10.4%	29,000 13.18 %

Table 2 (b)

Women's Employment in France: 1866-1901[15]

	1866	1896	1901
Total Employed % of work force	4,643,000 30.07%	6,411,000 33.72%	6,805,000 34.5 %
Agriculture	1,868,200 25.95%	2,754,000 32.67%	2,659,000 32.5%
Industry	1,269,000 30.25%	1,888,950 35.12%	2,124,600 36.5 %
Domestic Service	1,050,735 79.9%	737,400 77.23%	791,400 77.94%
Commerce & Banking inc. Shopkeepers	238,000 25.56%	531,000 35.64%	690,000 37.85%
Transport	7,800 3.28%	24,300 5.76%	30,500 6.12%
Liberal Professions inc. teachers		138,500 40.96%	173,000 43.29%
Public Administration	32,000 11.11%	83,000 16.56%	86,000 16.27%

c) Legislation.

Furthermore, legislation in the second half of the century, in England to a greater extent than France, was to strengthen the financial and personal position of married women also, by giving them control over their property and earnings, together with the final option of divorce, thus removing them from complete dependency upon their husbands. In England this was accomplished through the Married Women's Property Acts of 1870, 1874, and 1882, together with the Divorce Act of 1857, and the Matrimonial Causes Acts of 1874 and 1895 which extended its provisions.[16] In France, although divorce was legalized in 1884, economic legislation came more slowly. The Loi du 9 avril 1881, and the Loi du 10 juillet 1895, gave married women the right to deposit and withdraw money from post office savings accounts, but they did not acquire control of their earnings until the Loi du 13 juillet 1907, nor complete control of their property until the Loi du 18 février 1938.[17]

If one adds to the emerging financial independence of women the growing tendency of middle-class men, preoccupied with their business affairs, to delegate all household spending on big and little items alike to their wives, and of many working-class men to retain only a small sum from their wages for pocket money, one can see that women as consumers, whether at home or at work, were becoming an economic force whose tastes and interests had to be taken into account.[18] This development was not lost on manufacturers who hastened to influence them through advertisements in the women's journals, which were themselves

expanding rapidly to cater for a growing reading public.

II. Innovations in the Nineteenth-Century Press

Developments in the women's press, however, cannot be considered in isolation in either country, but must be viewed in the context of the burgeoning of the popular press in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a consequence of technical, educational and economic progress.

a) Mechanization.

In both England and France, steam power had been applied to the printing process at an early date, to be followed by the introduction of increasingly sophisticated printing presses, particularly after the invention of rotary printing in the 1860's, capable of turning out thousands of perfected pages per hour. Parallel advances in the field of composition, culminating in the invention of Linotype in 1886, in turn speeded up the process and expanded the productive capacity, along the way creating a demand for larger supplies of cheap paper. This would be filled by the gradual application of new methods for processing exparto grass and wood pulp, from the fifties on, not to mention legislative measures such as the British government's abolition of the import duties on paper and rags in 1861, a development which took place in France in 1886. During this time, mechanization also replaced hand labor in paper making, and in the cutting and folding of the printed page. Furthermore, in the field of illustration, it facilitated the reproduction of wood engravings, and supplanted hand

coloring with chromolithography. By the 1860's the half-tone process was making possible the reproduction of photographs, and would lead to the invention of the photogravure technique in the 1890's, although this was not generally applied before the turn of the century.[19]

All these advances contributed to making the periodical press one of the most mechanized industries by the end of the century, and combined with the better transportation and communication facilities of the railway and telegraph age to lower production costs and subsequently prices, bringing newspapers and periodicals within the range of a mass audience. The latter was itself more receptive to printed information because of the expansion of primary education and consequently popular literacy throughout this period.

b) Legislation.

In addition, the removal of stamp duties, in 1855 in England and 1870 in France, also contributed to the lowering of prices, as did the abolition of the taxes on advertisements, which encouraged outside financial backing in England after 1853. When to this was added the removal of the tax on newsprint in 1861, no further legislative barrier existed to obstruct the rapid expansion of the British press, which in 1870 numbered 1,490 publications.[20]

In France, an additional contributory element to the expansion of the press was the Loi du 29 juillet 1881, which, by removing preliminary government authorization and censorship, together with the financial caution, opened up a "Golden Age" for the French press.[21] It also had important repercussions for women too, since, for the first time, the

law did not specifically require that the "gérant" or person officially responsible for a paper, should be a man, thus opening the way for women's direct intervention in the field of publishing, where previously they had had to shelter behind compliant male associates.

III. Implications for Women's Periodicals

a) Prices.

England.

The changes taking place in the English publishing field are clearly reflected, not only in the growing numbers of women's journals, but also in their price range during the period under study (Table 3a). The most noticeable features of the magazines of the 1870's and earlier were their high prices and narrow range. Apart from nursery handbooks like Mother's Friend or Mother's Treasury, and journals intended for young girls, the majority of magazines were still expensive fashion monthlies retailing for one shilling or more. Lower-priced weeklies were rare at this time, and were usually confined to journals giving up-to-date coverage of the doing of high society, such as The Queen and The Drawing Room Gazette, which retailed at sixpence and threepence apiece. Such journals, by their nature, could only appeal to a small minority of upper-class women. By contrast, in the 1880's, publications were appearing more frequently, and prices were visibly shifting downwards. The "high-class" magazine now sold for sixpence, and there was a marked increase in the number of journals available for one penny, a trend which would accentuate rapidly in the 1890's when, on the one

Table 3 (a)

Price Range of Women's Magazines in England: 1875-1900

Year of Origin	Frequency	½d.	1d.	2d.	3d.	4d.	6d.	7d.	9d.	1/-	1/6d.	2/-	2/6d.
Pre-1870	Weekly		1		1		1						
	Monthly		2				3	1	1	8	2	1	1
1870's	Weekly		2		4		1						
	Bi-Monthly									2	1		
	Monthly		4	4	3		6	2	1	6	1	2	
1880's	Weekly		14		2		3						
	Bi-Monthly							1		2			
	Monthly		9	2	6	3	5		1	7	1		
	Quarterly					1	1		1	1			
1890's	Weekly	4	38		3		5			1			
	Bi-Monthly												
	Monthly		20	6	8	2	13			9	3	1	
	Quarterly		1		1		1						

N.B. Some magazines are counted more than once, due to changes in price or frequency. Low prices for the earlier years frequently refer to later price reductions.

Table 3 (b)

Price Range of Women's Magazines in France: 1875-1900
(Prices quoted are for the lowest annual subscription)

Year of Origin	Frequency	-6fr.	6fr.+	9fr.+	12fr.+	15fr.+	18fr.+	24fr.+	30fr.+	50fr.+
Pre-1870	Weekly		1	1	5	1	1	1		
	Bi-Monthly		4	4	1		3			
	Monthly		5	5	5		3			
1870's	Weekly		4		4	1	1			
	Bi-Monthly	1	1	2	2	2	2	1		
	Monthly		5	1	4	2	2			1
1880's	Weekly	4	8	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
	Bi-Monthly	1	4	2	1		3	2	1	2
	Monthly	3	8	3	2		2	1	2	8
1890's	Weekly	5	2		3					
	Bi-Monthly	3	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	
	Monthly	10	6	2	1		2	3	1	2

hand, the number of penny weeklies grew to over a third of the rest of the field, while, on the other, a large number of cheap monthlies appeared, devoted solely to needlework and dressmaking. Presumably the latter catered for those women who for economic reasons needed to make their own or their family's clothes, but had neither the time nor the money for the additional features available in a more expensive journal. This trend could also be seen as evidence of new pride in their appearance among lower-income women, and as an indication that the domestic training advocated for working-class girls by many educational reformers, was paying off.

France.

The price range for French magazines is somewhat more difficult to gauge because of the continued practice of multiple pricing according to the various editions and supplements. Prices in Table 3 (b) are based on the lowest annual subscription rate listed, but this gives a somewhat false impression since this edition would only include the bare text of a fashion magazine and those illustrations integral to it, but would not have the dressmaking and fancy work supplements or the beautiful water-color drawings, all of which features attracted a wide audience, and raised the price to more than double that quoted. Nor is price necessarily a reliable indicator of the quality of a magazine, since modest journals with a small circulation and lacking commercial backing or advertising would be forced to sell for the same price as a more successful paper offering far more.

Whatever its contents, however, price automatically restricted

the economic level of the audience for any magazine. Compared to a newspaper which sold for five centimes, most women's magazines averaged around fifty, and prices did not begin to come down until the end of the century when new printing techniques and publishing practices became more widespread. Then it became common for a cheap illustrated paper to average ten to fifteen centimes, while a glossy with elaborate photographs or supplements sold for fifty, multiple pricing being gradually on the way out. Since an average French working woman in the 1890's earned only 2fr.50. a day in industry, and 3 frs. a day in clerical employment, according to the Comte d'Haussonville, only the lowest-priced magazines would fall within her purchasing range.[23] She tended instead to turn to the popular newspapers for information and entertainment, which responded by introducing women's pages as a regular feature in the late 1880's.

Inevitably, in both countries, expanding circulation was an important factor in the maintenance of low prices, the one being mutually dependent upon the other. This problem led to a variety of promotional techniques, such as prize competitions, free supplements, and cut-price offers. In England, particularly in the 1890's, it led to a proliferation of journals from the same publishers, designed to corner as large a slice of the market as possible by appealing to all tastes and economic levels, with an increasing emphasis on professional and recreational interests.[24]

b) Advertising.

Promotional practices of any kind were naturally expensive, but rather than pass the costs on to the consumer, publishers sought to increase their revenue from commercial advertising, which up to this time had played a comparatively minor role in women's papers, usually being relegated to the outside covers, a position which it retained in most French papers until the turn of the century. This attitude stemmed in part from the editors' fear of appearing to endorse the advertised product, and also from the sentiment that commercial advertising was vulgar.

England.

By the 1880's however, all this had changed in England, and even the most high-class journals were seeking to attract advertising revenue through notices in Willing's Press Guide, or the Newspaper Press Directory. Already, in 1875, The Queen was reminding potential advertisers of its usefulness as a "great medium through which tradesmen can bring their announcements before the Upper Ten Thousand,"[25] announcements being what the early advertisements were, filling the triple columns of six pages at the front and back of the magazine in the style traditionally associated with the former London Times.

That this advice proved profitable to both sides is evident from the rapid evolution of advertising techniques from this earlier style to full and half-page spreads, with lavish illustrations. By 1880, The Queen was carrying twenty-five pages of such advertisements, and by 1890, as many as forty-eight, more than half the size of the whole magazine. The latter was a little exceptional, but even a new magazine

such as The Gentlewoman started off with thirty pages of advertisements in 1890, which shows how important advertising was to the financial viability of any paper, particularly one aspiring to be a high-class product. Journals with a less affluent clientele were somewhat less ambitious since they could not offer advertisers the same potential returns.

All the big London department stores regularly bought space in the quality journals, with particularly elaborate spreads at Sales time. For example, in January 1885, Peter Robinson's was tempting readers with "1000 dresses at 17/6d" (which on closer look were apparently dress lengths to be made up to the buyer's specifications).[26] Nor were clothing and domestic linens the only items offered. These were closely seconded by furnishings and furniture, china, silverware, and expensive domestic appliances, ranging from the most efficient kitchen stove and washing machine, to the latest "portable ice box after the American model," all accompanied by the subtle suggestion that readers must acquire them if they wanted to keep up with the times.

Other popular items, which dominated the advertising space in journals for women lower down the social scale, were patent medicines, baby food and articles, and foodstuffs such as Cadbury's cocoa, Bovril, Liebig's soups, and Hovis bread. Outside of the household necessities, the average middle-class housewife would have little spare money, and her largest purchase was likely to be a sewing machine.[27] Regardless of class, all women were subject to a barrage of advertismenents for toilet and cosmetic items, particularly for hair and skin care, ranging

from Pears' and Vinolia soap, to more dangerous items such as "Dr. Mackenzie's arsenic complexion wafers." They were boldly told, "Don't go bald, use Koho lotion for the hair," or were tempted with catch-all quackeries such as the "Electro-pathic Battery Belt," which supposedly cured sciatica, hysteria and nervous exhaustion.[28]

Frequently, the advertisements were an entertainment in themselves, such as one of Bovril's where a boy wrestled a lion, under the heading, "Bovril gives strength,"[29] or the Pears' advertisement showing a baby climbing out of the bath to get the soap, with the caption, "He won't be happy till he gets it!"[30]

Often products carried the endorsement of Royalty or a prominent society figure to add to their appeal, as by the nineties, ladies were apparently quite willing to barter their titles for financial reward. Pears' soap carried the conventional notice, "By Appointment to the Queen," while Hartmann's Wool Diapers, the first of the disposable sanitary napkins, boasted of being awarded the medal of the Empress Augusta, in the 1883 Berlin Exhibition as the "best dressing material exhibit."[31] Advertisements like the latter, indicate that Victorian women were neither so modest or undemanding in sexual matters as has been assumed, and this is borne out by a 1900 advertisement in Enquire Within for a sexual "Book for Ladies," accompanied by the comment, "Some may think too much is told. Such can scarcely be the case, for knowledge is power, and the means of attaining happiness."

In addition to their commercial advertising, many papers continued to run the older "Sale and Exchange" columns, although requests from

dealers in second-hand clothing for cast-off wardrobes, previously a prominent item, declined towards the end of the century, suggesting that cheap new apparel was increasingly within the range of most women. Advertisements for services and employment opportunities were also frequent, and becoming increasingly varied, in contrast to the earlier emphasis on servant and governess positions.

However, whereas at the beginning of the period, advertisements had simply formed part of a magazine's services to its readers, by 1900, the fears of earlier editors had materialized, and commercial interests had taken over, with women viewed as consumers of goods, to be manipulated and exploited for profit. On the positive side, it can be claimed that by disseminating information on new products and appliances to a mass audience through the média of women's magazines, advertisers contributed to a gradual trend towards uniformity of living and eating habits, and brought higher expectations to all classes which would act as an incentive to raising the standard of living of the country as a whole.

France.

In France, a comparative expansion of advertising techniques did not take place at this time, which is indicative of the slower pace of the life-style, and of a general aversion to change. The suspicion of commercial advertising as vulgar continued well into the 1890's with journals like La Mode Illustrée, a feeling that may have been reinforced by the financial scandals of the Third Republic, which made the French public generally distrustful of business practices:[32]

> Il apparaît certain que l'abus de la publicité occulte, financière ou autre, contribua à discréditer la publicité dans son ensemble tant aux yeux des lecteurs que dans l'esprit des annonceurs.[33]

This relative absence of direct advertising restricted the development of the French press, and contributed to its lack of abundance and dynamism in comparison to its German and Anglo-Saxon counterparts at this time.[34] In consequence, women's magazines remained much smaller than those in England, averaging eight to twelve pages, compared to the forty to fifty pages of an English journal, not to mention the eighty pages of The Queen in 1890.

This is not to say that advertising of a more subtle kind did not occur. Play and book reviews were inserted in response to payments from theatre owners and publishers, and sometimes even provided by them. Society pages were frequently discreet show-cases for florists, dressmakers, and interior decorators. Similarly the financial columns were often farmed out to prominent banks or stockbroking firms, who naturally advised investment favorable to their own interest.[35] But none of these made the same instant impression on the reader as a visual advertisement, particularly one with illustrations.

Such advertisements as there were remained small and rudimentary and were usually confined to the covers. Primacy of space went to beauty products, particularly hair restorers, depilatories and face creams. As in the English papers, one receives the impression that every nineteenth-century woman was threatened with imminent baldness! Bust improvers were another popular item, particularly the "pilules orientales"

which promised a "poitrine de déesse," or the "bretelles américaines," a kind of chest harness for men and women.

Next in line came patent medicines for anaemia, phthisis, and all kinds of digestive upsets, with a strong preference for mineral waters and tonics such as "Fer Bravais." Increasingly baby foods and aids, and foodstuffs such as chocolate and soup, made an appearance. However, domestic appliances, apart from sewing machines and ironing aids, such as "le plisseur magique," were less in evidence, suggesting either a greater availability of servants than in England, or what is more likely, a general resistance to innovation in these areas. This conservatism is borne out in an article in Le Petit Echo de la Mode in February 1880, which cautioned girls against imitating the wasteful and imprudent English practice of buying ready-made lingerie and domestic linens for their trousseau. While this same magazine sometimes carried full page advertisements for home and garden furniture, the practice was uncommon. Frenchwomen were not yet considered as potentially avid consumers, except in the area of fashion.

The remaining advertisements dealt with books, railway excursions and services. Wetnurses, midwives and governesses were always listed in these columns, and in the 1890's they were joined by the occasional lawyer offering to assist wives who wanted a divorce. Smaller magazines carried no commercial advertising at all, and limited themselves to publicizing other magazines within their group, or books from their particular bookseller. This lack of outside financial backing contributed to their relatively high price compared to the later illustrated

glossies such as Femina and La Vie Heureuse which adopted British and American advertising techniques after 1900.

c) Circulation and Distribution.

That new publishing techniques were responsible for expanding the audience for women's journals can only be assumed from their increasing numbers which were obviously catering to an enlarged market. Accurate circulation figures, however, are almost impossible to come by for this period, in either country.[36] The end of stamp duties removed the official checks on sales, and in any case, these had often only been applied to journals with a political tendency. Lacking these, one is forced to rely on the notoriously inaccurate statements of organs such as L'Annuaire de la presse française, or on the publishers themselves, who frequently had a vested interest in concealing reality in order to attract advertising revenue. Furthermore, those library statistics which exist for this period, while a useful indication of readers' tastes in general, are unhelpful on the question of periodicals, since they confine themselves to the lending library section.[37] Consequently, such figures as are available, must be taken as tentative.

In France, La Mode Illustrée boasted of a circulation of 100,000 in 1885,[38] and Le Moniteur de la Mode claimed 200,000 in 1890.[39] Both of these journals had longstanding records of success, but the latter figure was equalled by the first issue of the women's newspaper La Fronde in 1897,[40] although in this case, the numbers were undoubtedly swelled by curiosity seekers. The popular Le Petit Echo de la Mode quoted a circulation of 5000 when it changed hands in 1878, according

to Sullerot, but quickly rose to 55,000 by 1885,[41] and then by leaps and bounds, through 100,000 in 1890, and 210,000 in 1893, the year that it introduced free paper patterns, to 300,000 by 1900.[42] At the other end of the scale, L'Annuaire de la presse française lists several journals as having a circulation of 5000 in 1885, and, since it apparently did not prevent their lasting several years more, this was obviously a fairly respectable number, especially when one compares it to the official circulation figures of earlier years, where in 1866, Le Bon Ton is listed at 725, Le Follet at 500, and Le Conseiller des Familles at 1,500, none of these being among the lowest.[43]

This is also borne out in England by figures available for The Lady, which started slowly with a circulation of 1,685 in 1885, rose to 17,687 in 1895, and reached 27,949 ten years later.[44] However, numbers such as these would have been ruinous to the survival of the Harmsworth penny journals, all of which went into the tens of thousands on their first issue, and rose rapidly or were closed down. In 1894, Forget-Me-Not was up to 141,000 after only three years, and Home Sweet Home, a new arrival, sold 65,000 copies.[45] Similarly, Home Chat started off at 200,000 in 1895,[46] a figure equalled in 1896 by George Newnes' Woman's Life.[47] New publishing techniques were responsible for such figures: not only did Harmsworth carefully prepare his market through much advance publicity, but also regularly "puffed" each of his journals through others in the group, sometimes even going to the length of running a serial from one to the other, to encourage interest in an ailing journal.[48] However, an equally important factor in building up

a mass circulation for any journal was the existence of an efficient distribution network which would assure its availability over a wide area and among a varied class range.

In the early part of the nineteenth century, the circulation of women's magazines, outside of some booksellers and stationers in the capital and the major towns, was mostly limited to postal subscribers, which naturally contributed to their high price. Some of the circulating libraries carried periodicals, and by mid-century, Mudie's in London had a periodical division where leading periodicals were available on the day of issue to "town subscribers" for the equivalent subscription rate as one volume of a regular work.[49] Since ladies were frequent customers of Mudie's, one must assume that their tastes were taken into account in this department also. Possibly, like their husbands, some ladies in the country joined together to share the costs of a magazine subscription, or patronized those booksellers in the local towns who lent out journals for a small fee.[50] However, the other early sources of periodical literature for men, such as the coffee houses in town, or the ale houses in the countryside, would obviously have been off limits to women, particularly those of the class for whom the majority of women's journals were intended. Nor, at this early stage, were they produced in sufficient numbers, or at low enough prices, to interest the local shopkeepers and pedlars who sold some of the more popular periodicals and broadsheets.

The establishment of nationwide rail networks in both countries by mid-century, naturally facilitated the diffusion of all sections of

the press. As early as 1853, W.H. Smith, the most important English wholesale newspaper agency, was establishing wholesale distribution outlets in major provincial towns to relieve the pressure of business on the London warehouse.[51] In France also, in the second half of the nineteenth century, booksellers and stationers depended for their supplies on a growing network of independent news distributors, of which Les Messageries Hachette was by far the most important after 1897, when it absorbed some of its lesser competitors.[52]

In addition, the growing popularity of rail travel stimulated the demand for cheap, short and diverting literature, and railway bookstalls appeared at an early stage to cater for this. In England, from 1840 on, W.H. Smith was buying up these independent operators, whose choice of literature apparently offended many travellers, and had by 1862 acquired the monopoly of all the major lines.[53] The firm concentrated on selling cheap, but wholesome, popular works and reprints, along with newspapers and periodicals. Similarly, in France, Hachette acquired the monopoly of the railway bookstalls in 1852, for which they produced special cheap editions, and from 1854 on, were selling newspapers and periodicals although competitors constantly criticized them for favoring their own publications in all fields.[54]

It is difficult to determine the extent to which the growing numbers of free public libraries in urban centers towards the end of the century aided the dissemination of women's papers. Probably not at all, in France, where the movement was poorly organized and funded by comparison with England and Germany. Those libraries which did exist were

labelled as "cemeteries of learning" by a contemporary critic, because of their preference for heavy and often outdated literature, rather than the new popular editions.[55] In England, the free library movement was most developed in the Midlands and North of England, and women figured prominently among the clientele.[56] Like the male readers, they mostly came from the middle and upper-working class, but libraries listed artisans, milliners and servants among them. They apparently showed a preference for light fiction when borrowing books, but whether their tastes were catered to in the libraries' periodical offerings is harder to discover. Probably this depended on individual local officials, and upon the availability of funds. Booth refers to the reading room of a free Unitarian library at Highgate Hill, patronized by 1500 local families, where:

> The leading magazines, religious periodicals of all shades of opinion, (a line which no free library supplies), ladies' papers, literary papers, and illustrated journals as well as the daily press, all find a place.[57] (my italics)

However, it appears that the reading rooms of many public libraries were often frequented by unsavory characters, and their atmosphere consequently not one which would appeal to women. In fact, some libraries apparently installed separate ladies' entrances and ladies' rooms for this reason.[58]

In England, the proliferation of literature for the masses in the last quarter of the nineteenth century would lead to an increase in the number and variety of distribution outlets. Combination newsagents and

general stores joined the existing booksellers and stationers as sources of cheap, popular magazines, whose numbers astonished contemporaries:

> Periodicals edited especially to meet the wants of the British working man and his wife are launched in legions upon the bookseller's stall . . . To cast one's eyes over the pile of papers and serials in the first stationer's one comes to is to receive the impression that the working classes must be the most omniverous devourers of mental food ever known.[59]

The expansion of available sales outlets, naturally, in its turn, further encouraged the production of new journals, and the printing of larger editions for those already in circulation.

In France, the emergence of a similar nation-wide distribution network was more uneven, because the country lacked England's cultural and economic homogeneity. Its development was particularly hampered by the continuing cleavage between rural and urban areas, which was not really bridged before 1914, and which was itself a product of the educational lag between the two, the poor communications with outlying districts, and the insularity of the small rural communities for whom their canton was their whole world.[60]

Apart from some major Parisian dailies which had their own lines of distribution, few newspapers were for sale outside their town of origin, although the local press thrived. Similarly, despite an increasing variety of periodicals, these were printed in relatively small numbers, and until late in the period, postal subscription remained the most popular means of distribution to provincial clients,[61] a fact which is reflected in the pricing practices of women's magazines, where

pricing by individual copy did not finally supplant annual subscription rates until the turn of the century. Outside of Paris, where most of these journals originated, this system would automatically favor a predominantly bourgeois clientele, which, in turn, would have an effect on the nature and content of the journals offered for sale.

IV. Comparative State of the Women's Press in England and France by 1900

Since reliable circulation figures are not available for women's journals in either country, I have preferred to take the duration of a magazine as evidence of its success, assuming that any journal which lasted more than five years must have had a fairly respectable following for its kind. Tables 4 (a) and (b) indicate that magazine publishing for women was always a hazardous business in both England and France, since in the former, the casualty rate in the first year went from 10% in the 1870's to 28% in the 1890's, while in France it averaged much higher, moving from 21% to 43% in the same period, a further indication of the industry's shaky financial basis.[62]

That price alone, either in the sense of overpricing the audience, or underpricing the journal thus bringing in insufficient profit, was not the most significant feature in a magazine's demise, is demonstrated by the fact that mortality rates appear to have been fairly evenly divided between the traditionally more expensive monthlies and the cheaper weeklies. In England, higher priced-journals continued to attract a following long after the appearance of cheaper rivals, even though by the end of the 1890's, in terms of sales, the great journalistic

Table 4 (a)

Duration of English Women's Magazines: 1875 - 1900 (excluding trade)

Year of Publication	Frequency	-1yr.	2-5yrs.	6-10yrs.	11-15yrs.	16-20yrs.	21+yrs.	Unknown
1870's	Monthly	2	4	1	1	4	6	1
	Weekly	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
	Other*		1				1	
1880's	Monthly	3	4	2	8	2	7	1
	Weekly	5	4	3	3		3	
	Other*	1	4		2	1		
1890's	Monthly	12	17	11	1	1	11	3
	Weekly	18	12	8		2	11	3
	Other*	6	1	1				1

% of Failures in first year: 1870's = 10.8%
1880's = 18.8%
1890's = 28.2%

* includes journals whose frequency of publication was not mentioned.

Table 4 (b)

Duration of French Women's Magazines: 1875 - 1900 (excluding trade)

Year of Publication	Frequency	-1yr.	2-5yrs.	6-10yrs.	11-15yrs.	16-20yrs.	21+yrs.	Unknown++
1870's	Monthly	3	1	1	4	3	2	3
	Weekly/ Bi-Mon.	5	3	1	4	5	5	
	Other*	3	3	2			2	1
1880's	Monthly	7	4	4	4	3	2	3
	Weekly/ Bi-Mon.	8	10	5	3	4	3	
	Other*	5		2				1
1890's	Monthly	14	3	5	3	1	1	4
	Weekly/ Bi-Mon.	10	10	1	4	1	3	1
	Other*	15	3	2	1	1	1	4

++includes large number of journals mentioned only once, which probably lasted under one year.
* includes journals whose frequency of publication was not mentioned.

% of Failures in first year: 1870's = 21%
1880's = 29.8%
1890's = 43.2%

successes were the penny weeklies.

More important than price in gauging reasons for a magazine's failure were initial miscalculations, such as underfunding, or attempting to exploit an already oversaturated segment of the market with a similar product, rather than seeking a different angle which would attract new readers. Most important, in the long run, was the failure to attract the advertising revenue which had become crucial in underwriting production costs of inexpensive and high-priced journals alike, and whose continued support depended upon such visible results as a reliable circulation.

To achieve the latter, quality was just as important as quantity, since a magazine which boasted a small but well-heeled clientele could offer more potential returns for advertisers. Their consequent solid financial backing, explains why elegant fashion journals catering only to society women could, despite their higher price, maintain their end of the market until after the turn of the century. Of the English titles in this category, over half those listed in 1875 were still going concerns in the 1890's, and a third still existed in 1900, not to mention newer arrivals in the same genre. In France, the survival rate was much lower, partly because the publishing industry as a whole was undergoing a period of transition, which brought continual mergers of journals and publishing houses.[63] Possibly also, women's journals suffered more than other sections of the French press from the effects of the intermittent industrial depression in this period, because of their close proximity to the vulnerable fashion industry, while on the

contrary, politically-oriented papers flourished in an era of intense political polemic.[64] Only a quarter of the titles from the 1870's survived into the 1890's and beyond. On the other hand, the gaps were constantly being filled by others in the same style, which suggests that changes in readers' tastes were not primarily responsible for these failures.

However, despite the continuing popularity of journals of this nature in both countries, when one examines the expansion of the women's magazine industry as a whole, during this period, obvious differences emerge. In England the greatest changes came at the lower end of the scale with a surge of cheap journals in the 1890's. Of those titles listed in Appendix A, twenty-two date from before 1870, twenty-nine appeared in the seventies, fifty-five in the eighties, but one hundred and twenty started after 1890, and although these appear to be evenly divided between weeklies and monthlies, when one excludes specialized needlework journals from the latter, the great majority are seen to be penny weeklies catering to a mass audience.

Hence, in England, the increase in the number of women's journals in the last quarter of the nineteenth century seems to have resulted from a combination of the emergence of a larger reading public through expanded educational and professional opportunities, with the availability of new publishing techniques which made possible the production of a cheaper journal within the range of their purses, not to mention the adaptation of the format of this journal to suit the tastes and needs of a broader audience.

That the existence of a larger reading public was not alone responsible, is demonstrated by the situation in France. Here, although women experienced a similar expansion of their educational and professional opportunities, the women's press, despite a period of steady growth, did not experience the same tremendous leap forward in the 1890's (Table 1b). Nor was there a corresponding change in the balance of popularity between a weekly and monthly press. Whereas in England the former doubled, in France the proportions remained fairly evenly divided between the two. This latter discrepancy stems from the fact that the French press retained its traditional close ties to the fashion industry, while in England a large number of the new weeklies were penny stories, an area of the market yet to be explored in France, where popular fiction remained the province of the popular dailies with their "feuilletons."

This contrast between the kind of journal available to women is indicative of a more important element of difference between the two countries at this time, since, in France, the women's press did not undergo the same degree of popularization as England before the turn of the century. It is difficult to establish whether this delay was due purely to publishing conservatism, such as has already been noted in connection with the slow acceptance of advertising, and the effects of a limited distribution network, or whether some deeper psychological explanation is involved. Was there, perhaps, more reluctance to come to terms with the image of the economically independent working girl which ran counter to all bourgeois notions of woman as the mainstay of

home and family? From the journals themselves, it is clear that, despite the high proportion of working-class women who had traditionally been employed in France, there was far less agitation than in England for middle-class girls to enter the mainstream of the labor force in large numbers. However, this need not imply a commitment to their existing in idle gentility, a situation which in fact did not extend nearly so far down the social scale as in England. The mores of a traditional economy with home and business closely intertwined had persisted far longer in certain sectors than in England, and apart from the richer bourgeoisie, many wives and daughters were active participants in the exploitation of the family shop or business, not to mention the farm.[65] Meanwhile, some of the pressures which accounted for demands for middle-class employment in England, were undoubtedly diffused by the existence of the alternative option of the religious vocation, which was attracting increasing numbers of women throughout the nineteenth century.[66]

Whatever the reason, while the number of French women's journals increased to accommodate an expanding middle-class audience, they did not actively seek to attract different classes of readers before 1900.

NOTES - CHAPTER II

[1] Appendix C is a list of English women's periodicals for the years 1875 to 1900, catalogued alphabetically and containing details of price, publisher, frequency of publication and range of content.

[2] Appendix D is a similar list for France, but does not include journals affiliated to professional, church, or social service organizations.

[3] Bellanger, Godechot et al., Histoire générale de la presse française, op. cit., III, 239.

[4] Sullerot, La Presse féminine (1963), op. cit., p. 21.

[5] For a study of the evolution of state primary education in England in this period see Mary Sturt, The Education of the People: A History of Primary Education in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century (London : 1967).

[6] La Documentation Française, No. 71, November 1952, pp. 11ff. For a contemporary analysis of educational legislation for women in France before 1870 see Julie Daubie, Du Progrès dans l'instruction primaire: Justice et liberté (Paris, 1862), and for a more recent study, Sandra Horvath, "Victor Duruy and the Controversy over Secondary Education," French Historical Studies, 9 (1975), pp. 83-104.

[7] Josephine Kamm, Hope Deferred: Girls' Education in English History (London, 1965), is a general study of the evolution of girls' education, while her book How Different from Us: Miss Beale and Miss Buss (London, 1958), deals more specifically with the development of girls' secondary education in the nineteenth century.

[8] Lilian Waugh, "The Images of Woman in France on the Eve of the Loi Camille Sée," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Massachusetts 1977, sees this law, not as a victory for women's educational freedom, but as a Republican attempt to wrest control of women's education from their Catholic opponents and use it in their own interest, without changing its essential domestic orientation.

[9] Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, "Women and Degrees at Cambridge, 1862-1897," in The Widening Sphere, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington, Indiana, 1977), pp. 117-145, sees women's conquest of the universities as a hollow triumph from a professional point of view since most were

channelled back into the teaching profession which had always been considered as their traditional vocation.

La Documentation Française, No. 71, p. 18, lists 573 women doctors and 37 women lawyers in France in 1906 and comments, "jusqu'en 1914 toutefois, les femmes exerçant une carrière libérale resteront une exception, presque une curiosité."

[10] Lee Holcombe, Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales (Hampden, Connecticut, 1973), stresses the influence of social and economic conditions on women's entry into the professions and clerical work.

Louis Frank, La Femme dans les emplois publics (Brussells, 1893), demonstrates how very limited the penetration of women was in these areas in most European countries, usually being confined to the lowest echelons of civil service positions.

[11] This would seem to indicate that the economic situation of the English working class was improving, since, according to Peter Stearns, "Working-Class Women in Britain, 1890-1914," in Suffer and Be Still, ed. Martha Vicinus (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972), pp. 100-120, English husbands were reluctant to allow their wives to work unless it was vital to the family income, seeing a working wife as a poor reflection of their own status.

[12] B.L. Hutchins, Women in Modern Industry (London, 1915), Ch. IV. See also, Patricia Branca, Women in Europe since 1750 (London, 1978), Ch. I, where she claims that outside of a few professional women, no nineteenth-century women were career-oriented. Their first priority was always marriage, and the temporary nature of their work commitment, which adjusted according to family need, was responsible for their tolerance of poor working conditions.

[13] Already in 1845, Disraeli was commenting on the growing independence of English working-class girls in Sybil.

At the end of the century, Charles Booth commented, "Financial independence and freedom from parental restraint bring about an early escape from the discomforts of home. As boys and girls, and as young men and women, the sexes meet and keep company together." Life and Labour of the People in London, 3rd. ser. (London and New York, 1902-1904), Final Volume pp. 43-44.

Peter Stearns, op cit., p. 111, notes that even those English working girls who remained at home retained some part of their earnings for their individual expenses and pleasures, rather than handing over the whole as was the custom on the Continent.

[14] Table 2 (a) is compiled from figures in Brian Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, Abstract of British Historical Statistics (Cambridge, England, 1962), p. 60.

[15] Table 2 (b) is compiled from tables in Madeleine Guilbert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914 (Paris, 1966), pp. 13-14.

[16] Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: The Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882," in The Widening Sphere, ed. Vicinus, op. cit., pp. 3-28.

See also, Ray Strachey, The Cause (London, 1928), for an account of the struggle for women's legal reforms.

[17] Paule Nancel-Pénard, L'Evolution de la jurisprudence relativement à la femme depuis 1804, Thèse de droit (Bordeaux, 1940).

[18] J.A. and O. Banks, Prosperity and Parenthood (London, 1954), see the second half of the nineteenth century as a period of increasing middle-class expenditure on items of conspicuous consumption, which were symbols of status and upward mobility. Purchases of food and clothing ranked high among these, and would be the responsibility of the wife, as would the acquisition of the increasing number of household appliances which were considered necessary as servants became more expensive and less easy to find.

Patricia Branca, in The Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home (Pittsburgh, 1975), while contesting the Banks' assumptions regarding middle-class prosperity, does see women in complete control of the household budget. See also Branca, Women in Europe since 1750, op. cit., pp. 106-107; 135. Both Branca and Stearns, op. cit., p. 111, claim that the same was true in the working classes, where women not only bought the family food and clothes, but also paid the rent, subscribed to insurance schemes and burial societies, and generally controlled all expenditure.

[19] For detailed discussion of technical improvements see: Bellanger, Godechot et al., Histoire générale de la presse française, III, 61-132.

Colin Clair, A History of Printing in Britain (London, 1965), Ch. IX, "The Dawn of the Machine Age," (also Chs. X and XIII).

Phyllis M. Handover, Printing in London from 1476 to Modern Times (London, 1960), pp. 148-171 deal specifically with developments in nineteenth-century periodicals.

[20] Kenneth E. Olson, The History Makers (Baton Rouge, 1966), p. 14.

[21] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 7-22, has a full discussion of the implications of the 1881 Press Law.

See also Irene Collins, Government and the Newspaper Press in France, 1814-1881 (London, 1959), for an analysis of the evolution of press legislation in the nineteenth century.

[22] In order to obtain a more accurate comparison with France, Table 3 (a) is based on English journals listed in Appendix A which excludes titles having a professional, church or social service affiliation.

[23] Comte d'Haussonville, Salaires et misères des femmes, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

If anything, the figures quoted by Madeleine Guilbert in Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914, op. cit., p. 18, which are taken from the 1893 report of the Office du Travail, present an even grimmer picture, with 3frs. a day only being earned by the elite of working women in Paris, which itself paid higher salaries than the rest of France.

[24] The Newspaper Press Directory, ed. C. Mitchell, then W. Wellsman, (London, 1846+), lists an increasing number of professional and recreational journals for both sexes, each year in the 1890's, indicating a great expansion of the market for periodical literature of all kinds.

[25] Advertisement for The Queen in the 1875 Newspaper Press Directory.

[26] The Queen, January 1885.

[27] Branca, Women in Europe since 1750, op. cit., pp. 107-108, notes that by the end of the century, women were increasingly resorting to installment buying for larger purchases such as sewing machines.

[28] Home Chat, 1895.

[29] Home Notes, 1894.

[30] The Queen, 1890.

[31] The Queen, 1885.

[32] Georges Weill, Le Journal: origines, évolution et rôle de la presse périodique (Paris, 1934), pp. 399ff.

[33] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 287. The editors, however, only partly accept Weill's thesis regarding the French public's resistance to advertising, since placards and other forms abounded. They advance the hypothesis that either the advertising rate for journals was too high, or that it was poorly organized. This would explain the continuing reluctance of commercial enterprises to use the medium of periodicals for their publicity, a situation which was already evident in the 1840's, when the publisher Girardin first tried to attract advertising revenue (Weill, p. 208).

[34] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 287.

[35] Theodore Zeldin, France: 1848-1945, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1973, 1977), II, 511-524, claims that through practices such as these, financial interests came to invade the whole press, and seriously compromised its independence.

[36] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 147, "Une des grandes difficultés de la presse de la IIIe République est la quasi-impossibilité de reconstituer l'évolution des tirages de chaque organe."

[37] e.g. George Humphrey, "The Reading of the Working Classes," Nineteenth Century, 33 (1893), pp. 690-701, and Walter M. Gattie, "What English People Read," Fortnightly Review, 1889, pp. 307-321.

[38] L'Annuaire de la presse française, ed. Emile Mermet (Paris, 1880+), 1885.

[39] Sullerot, La Presse féminine (1963), op. cit., p. 11.

[40] La Fronde, December 10, 1897, Editorial.

[41] L'Annuaire de la presse, 1885.

[42] Sullerot, p. 33.

[43] Archives Nationales F.[18]294: Ministère de l'Intérieur, Division de la presse. Notes et statistiques générales, 1858-1889. By comparison, in the same year, La Mode Illustrée and Le Moniteur de la Mode are listed at 52,000 and 4,000 respectively.

[44] Figures of The Lady Publishing Company, quoted in White, Women's Magazines, op cit., p. 68 fn.

[45] Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, Northcliffe (London, 1959), p. 165, letter from Harold Harmsworth to his brother Alfred, July 20, 1894. A letter from Alfred to his brothers, October 22, 1894, claimed, "Forget-Me-Not has been fluctuating between 145,000 and 148,000 for a long time" (p. 177).

[46] Home Chat, March 1895. By June the figures had fallen to 185,000, and were causing the Harmsworths considerable anxiety, Northcliffe, p. 180.

[47] Newsagents Chronicle, November 27, 1897, quoted in Richard Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago, 1957), Appendix C, p. 396.

[48] Northcliffe, pp. 115, 117.

[49] Guinevere Griest, Mudie's Circulating Library and the Victorian Novel (Bloomington, Indiana, 1970), p. 39. One exchangeable volume cost 1 guinea a year.

[50] Arthur Aspinall, "The Circulation of Newspapers in the Early Nineteenth Century," Review of English Studies, 22 (1946), pp. 29-43.

[51] Viscount Chilston (Eric Alexander Akers-Douglas), W. H. Smith (London, 1965), pp. 22-23.

[52] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 285-286.

[53] Chilston, pp. 26-27.

[54] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 286. Unfortunately most of Hachette's records were destroyed in the war, so it is impossible to get a detailed picture of the workings of the firm.

[55] Robert F. Byrnes, "The French Publishing Industry and the Crisis of the 1890's," Journal of Modern History, 23 (1951), p. 232.

[56] Gattie, "What English People Read," op. cit., gives statistics and information concerning library patrons, pp. 310-311.

[57] Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, 3rd. ser. I, 125-126.

[58] Altick, The English Common Reader, op. cit., pp. 238-239.

[59] Edward Salmon, "What the Working Classes Read," Nineteenth Century, 20 (1886), p. 108.

[60] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 174ff.

See also Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914 (Stanford, California, 1976).

[61] Hist. gén. de la presse, III, 285.

[62] The figures in Table 4 (b) are somewhat deceptive in the 1890's because they include a large number of ephemeral feminist papers.

[63] Byrnes, "The French Publishing Industry in the 1890's," 238-241.

[64] Byrnes sees this atmosphere of political polemic as an explanation of the fact that periodicals thrived while book publishing was in a period of crisis, p. 240.

[65] Bonnie Smith, "Women of the Lille Bourgeoisie," op. cit., pp. 86-89.

See also Mary Hartman, Victorian Murderesses (New York, 1977), Ch. V "Sex and Shopkeeping," for accounts of the contrasting life-styles of a French and English shopkeeper's wife in the 1870's.

[66] Bonnie Smith notes that 3500 new women's religious orders were authorized in the nineteenth century, p. 234.

See also Zeldin, France: 1848-1945, II, 1010.

CHAPTER III

ENGLISH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: 1875 - 1900

I. Some General Themes

The variations in the evolution and attitudes of the French and English women's press at this time should be seen as reflecting underlying differences of opinion between women in the two countries with regard to their own potential, their family role, and their place in society. Despite constant reference to women's common interests and situation, when confronted with similar problems, their responses and proposed solutions were frequently somewhat different, indicating that the elements of unity between the two groups of women were often outweighed by the influence of peculiar national historical and cultural traditions. Not the least of these was the Roman Catholic heritage of France, which had reasserted itself with even greater force in the nineteenth century than in the pre-Revolutionary years.[1]

There were even noticeable differences in that one belief common among women of all shades of opinion in both countries: that woman's true fulfillment could only come through marriage and family life. Where in France this conviction was buttressed by considerations of religious or civic utility, depending on whether one belonged in the conservative or radical camp,[2] in England such justifications were rarely voiced, to the regret of such imperialist stalwarts as Lady Hamilton, president of the Pioneer Club, who felt that:

> to teach our women who through motherhood make the men and nation to preserve it at all hazards as an imperial treasure would be by no means an unworthy mission.
>
> The Lady's Realm, March 1899[3]

The majority of her compatriots preferred rather to see the wife in the less august, but personally more rewarding role of helpmeet and companion, although marriage itself as an institution was endowed with such significance:

> Marriage is the keystone of the social arch and with it public morals stand or fall. It is the foundation on which the family is built and the family is the foundation of society.
>
> The Queen, May 17, 1890[4]

a) Women's emerging self-confidence.

When comparing women's journals in the two countries, one's overall impression is that Englishwomen, at least among the upper and middle classes, led far more active and independent lives than their French counterparts. This is particularly noticeable in the case of young single women who, in England, were portrayed as controlling their own lives and moving out into the world, both in their professional and leisure activities, while in France they appeared to continue to live a rather sheltered existence, confined to home duties, until released by the comparative independence of marriage. Alongside this impression, one is aware of considerable resentment, both among English editors and readers, of the disadvantages attached to women's inferior status, and the obstacles to their full development, which in French journals tends

to be obscured by assertions of the superiority of the womanly virtues of resignation and duty. Despite their repeated assertion that marriage was the ultimate goal for all women, in English journals the fact that, by force of circumstance, many would be left single, was not ignored, nor were solutions left to the concern of declared feminists alone.

This would seem to indicate that the various campaigns for women's emancipation in England, active since the 1850's, and eventually beginning to achieve results in the 1870's and 1880's,[5] were far from being of interest only to a committed minority, but were impinging on the consciousness of women at large and causing them to reassess their individual options.

One can further hypothesize that the presence of a woman on the throne of what was still the most powerful country in the world must have been a great boost to Englishwomen's morale. For while no feminist sympathizer herself, Victoria's standing as the matriarch of Europe, together with her staunch support of family and civic virtues, must have done something to magnify her countrywomen's own self image, and their consciousness of women's contribution to society. This is implied in adulatory articles such as "What We Owe Our Queen,"[6] which while praising her performance as wife and mother, made a distinct connection between her family role and her status as ruler, from which readers could draw the conclusion that "wife and mother rules."

At the same time, on another level, women having no ambitions beyond their own fireside were constantly being called upon by magazine editors to be proud of women's progress, and basked in the reflected

glory of others' achievements. Nor had they any illusions about being beholden to men in these matters. In an article on women doctors in India, the writer noted with pride that:

> The women of England have achieved much in a short time . . . The men have given them nothing. What they have won has been by their own exertions. Man's gallantry to women is a choice copyright statement, but when applied in connection with the efforts of women to compete with men in the struggle for existence, it has not even a conventional significance.
>
> The Lady, July 30, 1885

Contemporaries commented on this emerging self-confidence, which they ascribed to women's broader educational opportunities:

> It is hard to see how an impartial critic can doubt that to this opportunity, of which thousands of girls have since 1850 availed themselves, is due a great widening of outlook and increase of self-dependence, not only in these girls, but no less markedly in their mothers.
>
> Hearth and Home, April 12, 1900[7]

An awareness of the significance of the emancipation movement for women's lives was mirrored to varying degrees in all English women's magazines. Even those which on the surface gave the impression of catering only to beings in a mythical world where abundant servants and an elegant social round were the norm, in actual fact were by no means oblivious to the harsh realities faced by the majority of nineteenth-century women of all classes, and consequently supported any suggestions for the alleviation of their plight.

b) Support for women's educational and professional opportunities.

In this direction, one of the first priorities of all journals was the improvement of women's education, both at the academic level and in domestic matters, for it was felt that women were doubly handicapped in their own homes and in the wider world by their ignorance in these spheres. Upper-class magazines in particular were ardent champions of higher education for women, asserting that "the same course of training that is good for male students is equally good for women,"[8] and downplaying all opponents who claimed that this would prove injurious to women's health with studies to the contrary.[9] Numerous articles appeared on "A day in the life of a Girton student," possibly not so much with the intention of attracting girls to college, as to reassure anxious parents that their daughters would not emerge as unmarriageable freaks. In 1898, The Lady's Realm assured readers:

> Far from making women uninteresting, college life seems to possess unlimited powers of keeping them young and fresh longer than does any other life.[10]

In addition, journals regularly publicized new colleges and training courses, prize givings and Tripos Results, to the extent of giving far more coverage to women's academic achievements and ambitions than any comparable women's magazine today.

Furthermore, they urged parents to be more realistic in their expectations, and to accept responsibility for preparing their daughters as adequately for life as their sons, cautioning them against the vain belief that a few accomplishments would prove sufficient economic

insurance in an emergency:

> English parents recognize the duty of 'starting their boys' in a profession or trade, but girls are simply left to chance. If they do not marry, they are constantly cast on the world practically destitute.
> Hearth and Home, June 18, 1891[11]

Women themselves were warned not to overrate their abilities, but to acquire professional training before seeking employment:

> Unfortunately so many ladies in search of employment think themselves geniuses, and having waited till they are in sore need of money before they turn their attention to work, are most indignant at being told that they will need a few months' training before they can be paid for their work.
> The Queen, June 5, 1880[12]

Recognizing that overcrowding of the "genteel" professions was one of the most serious problems facing middle-class women, journals were constantly on the look-out for new possibilities, ranging from chicken farming to opening tea shops, and even to the upgrading of domestic service. Commenting on Mrs. Walter Ward's scheme to train gentlewomen as domestic helpers, Frances Low, an editorial writer for The Queen, wrote:

> We hold the belief, confirmed by the testimony of many unknown correspondents, that many capable gentlewomen of all ages who dislike the wear and tear and drawbacks of the life of a clerk or typewriter or journalist or daily governess would gladly fulfil domestic duties if their conditions were made bearable and the work regarded as dignified and worthy.
> The Queen, January 6, 1900[13]

However, here one must suspect editors of indulging in purely wishful thinking, given the contemptuous attitudes of most readers to servants in general, despite the unremitting efforts of the journals to make them treat the latter as human beings like themselves.

In the beginning, this interest in women's employment took the form of the occasional article on women in medicine or horticulture, sometimes in the form of a profile of a prominent woman who had broken new ground, but by the end of the century most magazines were carrying regular columns on "Women at Work" as part of their accepted counselling services. These replied to readers' queries, publicized new openings, and gave practical information on educational requirements and training schemes. In 1890, The Queen alone carried eighty articles or news items on women's employment between January and June, an average of three a week, and an indication of the importance placed by women's journals on this question.

c) Attitudes to women's employment.

While most of these efforts were directed to helping the middle-class woman to find employment, there was also concern for the conditions of working women at large. Articles stressed the benefits of mutual aid and cooperative societies, and encouraged women to unionize in order to increase their bargaining power with employers. They also advocated the extension and better enforcement of existing factory legislation, and constantly championed the introduction of female factory inspectors as the best guarantee of improved work conditions.

Not only were women's journals extremely useful as vehicles for channelling information on educational and professional issues to a wider audience, but they also made an important contribution to changing the attitude of the upper classes to the whole principle of women's work, thus helping it to acquire greater respectability. As early as 1875, The Queen was attacking those for whom "senseless social conditions stand in the way" for "their unwillingness to resist their own and other people's prejudices."[14] Contributors urged women to turn away from the notion that marriage was their sole option, and face the reality that many would remain single:

> The situation has to be faced. It is useless to shut one's eyes to it and refuse to see the facts. Worse, it is cruel, for by so doing, a sort of blame or disapproval falls on the individual women who are literally simply doing what they are compelled to do by the mere fact of their existence in England at the present day.
>
> The Lady, May 7, 1885[15]

It was further implied in the same article that women who remained at home were wasting their talents:

> To keep house for herself and to adorn her own hearth with the domestic virtues and graces seems but a narrow and selfish interest for a woman of capacity.

This was echoed in a 1900 issue of Forget-Me-Not which questioned, admittedly in a semi-humorous vein, whether there was any justification to "encourage women to regard themselves as a leisure class to be supported by their menfolk."[16]

However, there are other indications that by the end of the century, the pendulum was swinging in the opposite direction. Some editors, overwhelmed by the growing fashionability of work among the upper classes, felt forced to backtrack, and to divert their readers' energies into volunteer work, ostensibly because of concern over the overcrowding of those few professions open to educated women, but possibly also from a desire to retain the requisite social distance between the classes:

> There is ample opportunity for service of every kind today, for the development of every order of talent, and the selfishness of the well-to-do woman who competes with her penniless sister cannot therefore be justified on the ground that otherwise she would be idle and useless.
>
> The Queen, January 6, 1900[17]

d) Views on women's suffrage.

This is but one example of the journals' ambivalence towards the logical consequences of those advances in women's status which they had been championing. Another is their attitude to women's suffrage. Editors blew hot and cold on this issue, reluctant to abandon the principle of women's political participation, particularly after changes in the franchise meant that many of them were better educated and possessed more property than some new male voters, but unwilling in practice to contemplate its extension beyond the economically independent single woman. Unlike some French editors, they voiced no fears that votes for women would bring victory for the forces of reaction and the Church, although the spectre of enfranchised women all voting Conservative was

certainly a consideration in the opposition of certain Liberal politicians.[18] They did, however, share in their French colleagues' belief that giving the vote to married women would create divisions within the family, and thus undermine the main bastion of the social order. On this particular issue, they took refuge behind arguments upholding the virtues of expediency, rather than equal rights:

> Considered abstractedly, every human being may from one point of view be considered equal, but for the result of an endeavour to carry this assumed equality into practical politics, we may look to the history of our next door neighbour for the last one hundred years, when we will come to the conclusion that the so-called rights of man and of woman also, are not the safest foundation for laws which determine the happiness of mankind and the destiny of nations.
> The Queen, February 28, 1885[19]

e) Marriage: a constant goal, but on changing terms.

Such arguments could be extended to matters other than the suffrage issue, and there is more than a suspicion that, while outwardly championing women's independence of thought and action, editors really intended the main beneficiaries of their efforts to be single women, who for them would always be the exception to the rule. Despite all assertions to the contrary, they obviously found it impossible to believe that anyone would accept this state out of choice, rather than necessity. For it would be wrong to assume that, because Englishwomen were increasingly vaunting their independence and taking advantage of new opportunities, their ultimate goals had changed. Throughout this period, women's magazines continued to reflect a universal belief that

women were best fitted, and by nature intended, for the role of wife and mother. Lady Hamilton's fervent assertion that:

> Marriage and motherhood is the glorious summation of a woman's self development, the one thing she was created for, the one thing she should be educated for,[20]

is admittedly an extreme example, but even those papers with a professed commitment to feminism were unwilling to abandon this idea. An article on women's emigration in The Englishwoman's Review, saw it as an unhappy alternative because "the increasing scarcity of men makes it more and more doubtful that they can ever fill the natural sphere of women: marriage" (my italics).[21] That this limited view of women's capacities extended to her wider social role is evident in the arguments in favor of teaching domestic science in the new schools, where it was claimed that:

> Whether she devotes her life to her husband or to work among others, the realization of what constitutes an ideal home forms the basis of woman's work in the world.
>
> Hearth and Home, June 21, 1900[22]

Thus women at the close of the nineteenth century found themselves bombarded with contradictory advice which must have fostered self-doubt and uncertainty, rather than confidence, in a period when many of them were taking the plunge into a new life-style. On the one hand, they were presented with a host of new opportunities and urged to develop their professional skills in the event that they might never marry, rather

than take the traditional path of marrying at all costs and repenting at leisure; on the other, they were cautioned that only in marriage could they hope to find true happiness and self-fulfillment, and that any other alternative was a deceptive mirage. An example of this latter attitude comes in a column from Enquire Within, November, 1890, which starts off with praise for the achievements of Kate Marsden, the explorer, but concludes:

> The priceless treasure of life lies by the home fireside; the bewildering honour and fame, in gaining which so many are ruined, brings but little satisfaction when possessed.[23]

In a similar vein, an article in Home Chat on March 30, 1895, entitled, "How to stay happy while single," nonetheless urged readers:

> Marry whenever you can, for there is not enough of work or fame or fortune in the world, to fill the void in a woman's heart when she is forty and stands alone.

Nevertheless, despite jeremiads of this nature, from warnings in Home Notes that "the prevalent discontent of the woman today with her home duties is certainly a growing evil"[24] one is left with the overriding feeling that these were last ditch attempts to put a halt to the increasing numbers of women who were questioning their traditional roles. This impression is heightened by correspondence in the July 1890 issue of The Gentlewoman, on "Do children bring happiness?", and a symposium on "Does Marriage Hinder a Woman's Self Development?", in The Lady's Realm for March 1899, since the fact that women's journals,

and particularly those aimed mainly at the leisured classes, should sponsor such discussions, says much for the evolution of Englishwomen's attitudes by the end of the century.

In The Lady's Realm symposium, extremist positions naturally emerged on both sides, but while it was clear that the majority of the distinguished lady participants, chosen for their social prominence or professional success, still viewed marriage as an ever present good, they contended that it had been changed for the better by women's emancipation:

> Women of our day are more fortunate than women in the past. They have discovered a very vital truth in marriage: that if the woman be independent of her husband, she receives a respect and consideration which was one of the rarest experiences when she was a dependent creature.
>
> Sarah Grand[25]

The more optimistic among them painted rosy pictures of twentieth-century marriage as providing the perfect environment for women's emotional and professional development:

> The time is fast approaching when, without the slightest spur on her femininity, a woman may go hand in hand with her husband, yoked in truest fellowship, yet each striving in his or her separate way, according to the light that is within them, towards all noble ends.
>
> Lady Laura Troubridge[26]

This was doubted by the more realistically inclined, who recognized that even these superwomen would be beset by divided loyalties, to which more often than not, their career ambitions would fall victim:

> Women are still too concentrative to do two things well. Matrimony is itself a career, and if the man happens to be interesting, the woman is almost sure to give him her best, and put what is left into any work she attempts.
>
> Gertrude Atherton[27]

This writer consequently advised women with any real career ambitions particularly in the creative arts, to put aside all ideas of marriage, an idea which would have seemed heresy in a woman's magazine, a few years earlier.

Of course, for the majority of the magazine's readers and their compatriots, these discussions were purely hypothetical intellectual exercises for upper-class women with time on their hands, since they themselves were still faced with few attractive alternatives. Most women expected to marry at some time in their lives, and, if they had worked at all, to abandon their jobs at this time. This factor was no small contributor to that lack of commitment among working girls which was the despair of union organizers and any others seeking to improve women's pay and work conditions,[28] especially since it was a pattern increasingly followed by working-class women, except in cases of extreme economic hardship, as more prosperous working-class husbands came to adopt the middle-class symbol of a non-working wife, as a status symbol of their own.[29]

Nevertheless, whether the ideal image of women was the domestic goddess, or the emancipated "New Woman," was irrelevant in practice. Even opponents of women's emancipation were forced to recognize that the feminist movement was not solely responsible for changes in women's

lives, and that there was no stemming the tide. Traditionalists like Mrs. Lynn Linton[30] accepted as regrettably inevitable the impact of economic forces engendered by industrial progress, which:

> released the activities of women and is the real cause of the embarrassing influx of these feminine activities into offices and affairs hitherto held by men.
>
> Woman, January 3, 1890

In the face of these new realities, women's magazines were forced to adapt to their readers' new life-styles. However, their objectives, then as now, continued to be divided between providing them with practical assistance in their daily affairs, while through features and fiction presenting them with an idealized image of the lives they would like to lead. But, although the ultimate purpose of women's magazines might remain unchanged, their readership did not, and the years between 1875 and 1900 saw the industry gradually adapting its content and approach to fit the needs and dreams of a wider, more popular audience.

II. Magazines of the 1870's

In 1875, the English magazine scene had changed little from the previous decades. A small group of around twenty journals, highly-priced, and oriented towards fashion and society like the French models they frequently copied, continued to cater for the upper-class woman and her middle-class aspirant. In the lower price range, women who had left the school-room but had no interest in the nursery found little

choice among those journals specifically for women, although the increasing number of cheap family periodicals on the market did provide them with an alternative.[31] Samuel Beeton's innovative attempts in the 1850's to reach lower down the social scale with his twopenny English-Woman's Domestic Magazine, had fallen victim to higher costs as his ambitions soared, and that magazine now retailed at one shilling, thus pricing it out of the range of the average middle-class housewife.

Beeton himself, having sold the copyright of this and other journals to Ward, Lock and Tyler at the end of the sixties in an effort to avert bankruptcy, unable to stomach his subordinate position as adviser, finally broke with them in 1874. From 1875 until his death in 1877, backed by his former collaborator the French publishing firm of Goubaud,[32] and assisted by his long-time colleague, Matilda Browne,[33] he attempted to start afresh with a new, modestly-priced journal, Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion. Once again, he was aiming at a wider audience with "the first journal to appear exclusively devoted to the two chief interests of women."[34] Although this might seem a somewhat narrow interpretation considering the much broader scope he had conceived for women's papers in the early days of The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, and for The Queen in particular,[35] it still says much for Beeton's instinctive flair for anticipating a possible market, that cheap magazines devoted predominantly to needlework and dressmaking would snowball in the next two decades, as the sewing machine became a common feature in even modest homes, and processed foods and other household aids left the average housewife with more leisure time than she had previously

known.

The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine (1852-79)

Although past its heyday in the 1870's, this journal still retained much of its earlier variety, and despite its increased price, had not degenerated into a magazine for the social butterfly. An average issue contained fifty-six grand folio pages with extensive fancy-work supplements whose numerous designs were so heavily overprinted that one wonders how the reader managed to distinguish any pattern at all! The domestic advice of yesteryear, though still present, had gradually been swallowed up by fiction, an indication that the higher price was limiting its appeal to a more leisured class of women. Each number carried a minimum of two short stories and two serials, whose general tone is suggested by such titles as, "Thrice Wedded and Never a Wife," "Since I Died," "Hedged with Thorns," and "Forgotten Lives," each with the requisite number of orphans, death-bed scenes, secret marriages, and unexpected legacies, usually enhanced by an exotic foreign setting.

When readers had recovered from wallowing in these sentimental outpourings, they could turn to "Spinnings in Town," a chatty column containing recipe hints and news of the latest novelties. One issue of 1874 welcomed the opening of a ladies' tea room as a particular boon to ladies from out of town, on shopping expeditions or taking their children to the pantomime, who might otherwise have had problems finding a suitable place to eat and freshen up.[36] Since other journals also heralded similar developments as a godsend, this gives some insight into

the more intimate inconveniences of gentility at this time.[37] It also provides evidence that women's independent social activities were moving outside the home, a development to be aided by cheap-day railway excursions which were prominently advertised in all women's magazines, and which would extend to the opening up of women's dining and social clubs in the 1890's.

Another regular feature, "The Englishwoman's Converzatione," also covered a variety of topics, with readers not only exchanging domestic hints, but also views on subjects ranging from the utility of pantalettes and the backboard, to the colonial situation in India. Less adventurous contributors simply sought advice on purchases and etiquette, or names of old clothes dealers and palm readers.

Throughout this magazine, as in many others, Paris was still upheld as the supreme arbiter of taste and fashion, and the paper prided itself on its dress patterns from "Les Magasins du Louvre," its water-color illustrations by Jules David, and fashion advice from "Madame Goubaud." In addition, a "Paris Column" sought to keep readers abreast of all the social and political gossip across the Channel. One could accept these features as mere panderings to readers' social snobbery and curiosity, but it is more disturbing to find this attitude carried over in a series of articles on Continental housewives, which portrayed them as paragons of domestic management and household economy, always maintaining a ladylike demeanor even when unassisted by servant help, while their English sisters were belittled for lacking comparable talents, and caring more for outward appearances than the efficient running of

their homes. "Oh, that Englishwomen would care less about Mrs. Grundy and more about living within their means," lamented one writer,[38] a criticism which appears unwarranted when one scans the rest of the journal, since most readers come across as practical and resourceful women, whose first devotion is to their homes and families. The fact that few of them had other options is reflected in the stoic consensus that woman must make the best of what she has, either materially or emotionally, and that happiness is mainly a question of attitude.

Nevertheless,while apparently still acquiescent in their traditional roles as wives and mothers, they were by no means uncritical of their menfolk, and resented the latter's superior attitudes:

> There is a good deal of Bottom the Weaver in many an Englishman. He can play Lion and Sucking Dove, Wall and Moonshine. From the loftiest affairs of state down to midwifery and babies' ailments, he understands them all, and takes the management of it all upon himself. Therefore shall woman be hissed down if she presumes to interfere even with affairs which concern vitally her own health, her own happiness, her own education, her own money, and her own children. Bottom the Weaver will admit of no argument and no rivalship.[39]

The same writer pointed out that the contradiction between men's acceptance of working-class women's heavy labor, and their opposition to women in more genteel occupations, arose purely from self interest:

> A woman may be a blacksmith, a forger of iron, a stone breaker in the mines, but if she puts forth a daring hand to seize a higher, <u>easier</u> work, she shall be branded as unfeminine, she shall be stopped, shut out and pelted at every point.[40]

Readers continually fed with such ideas as part of their leisure reading, would presumably soon become fertile soil for feminist propaganda.

The Queen (1861+)

Although The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine ceased to exist as an independent entity after 1879, Beeton's other venture, The Queen, now under the control of Horace Cox, continued to flourish and to become the longest-lived of all English women's journals. Despite the criticisms of modern writers such as Quenton Crewe, who sees it only as the mouthpiece of a privileged class which, as such, had a very limited point of view,[41] The Queen had much to commend it, standing head and shoulders above its competitors in quality and content throughout the period. Indeed, particularly in the 1880's, the versatility of its interests and the calibre of its articles could compete favorably with many similar journals today. In all areas it was instructive, rather than purely entertaining, and appealed to a variety of tastes. The socialite, the model housewife, the sportswoman or the aspiring career woman, could all find something of interest in its pages.

Some of Crewe's criticisms are of course valid, as The Queen, subtitled, "The Court Chronicle," regarded itself as the journal of Society, and as such carried abundant coverage of the doings at Court, together with all the other events and personalities of the Season. But it took its second subtitle, "The Lady's Newspaper," equally seriously, assuming its readers to be educated, articulate women with interests outside their immediate family and social circle. Consequently, leading

articles frequently commented on items of national and international political significance, such as the Irish Question, political reform, the assassination of the Czar, or the crisis in the Sudan, while the column "Gazette des Dames" dealt with those issues of particular interest to women, such as protective factory legislation, or reported meetings, or articles from other journals, on the feminist cause.

From the beginning, The Queen was a strong advocate of women's emancipation, including the franchise, recognizing that the attainment of the latter would hasten progress in all other areas:

> This one clear gain . . . to reach which women are at present striving, may help, if it is attained, to lighten the lifepath of thousands of struggling women who need help in their fighting of the battle of life.
>
> The Queen, May 15, 1880[42]

Opponents who claimed that women had no right to an independent voice, since they were economically and personally dependent on men, were confronted with evidence of thousands of women, forced to fend for themselves, many of whom had never known male support, even in childhood:

> To what men do these women owe allegiance? To the abstract ideal it must be, for in actual life, men have hindered rather than helped their progress.
>
> Ibid.

The writer went on to warn the Liberal government that women were looking to it in particular for results, in accordance with its avowed commitment to parliamentary reform:

> Can it be wondered at that women ask those who have promised so much in their desire to be 'logical' in the treatment of men, not to forget that there is a 'great deal of human nature' in women too, and that the 'flesh and blood' argument is good for women as well as men.
>
> Ibid.

Nevertheless, despite this support, the goals of The Queen remained those of the early advocates of women's suffrage: the extension of the vote to women householders. When the goals of the movement expanded explicitly to include married women, as, in 1875, it had foretold they would logically have to,[43] The Queen felt compelled to protest:

> The giving of the vote to married women would have a disastrous effect. If the woman voted with the man, dragging her into the sphere of political strife is useless and unnecessary. If on the other hand, she voted against her husband, conflicts would result, and homes that might otherwise be happy, would be embittered by the strife of party politics.
>
> The Queen, March 28, 1885[44]

Despite its relative cooling on the suffrage issue, The Queen did remain firm in its support for women's educational and professional advancement, arguing that women should be given the chance to be judged on actual performance, rather than abstract theories of their natural potential. It countered evidence of women's underachievement in the past with the defence that this stemmed from lack of proper training, rather than biological inferiority. However, despite its confident assertions of women's abilities, it was well aware of the weight of responsibility resting on the efforts of the few brave pioneers:

> The success of the scheme for higher education depends less upon colleges and endowments, or even the position the students gain in the Mathematical or Classical Tripos, than upon the work they perform in after-life.
>
> The Queen, July 14, 1890[45]

Admittedly, this education was intended only for a small elite. For the masses, a later editorial proposed compulsory specialization in domestic subjects from the age of twelve, so that with this, and a "thorough training in the 3 R's . . . The average home in this country would undergo a revolution of great benefit to the state,"[46] a proposal which reveals an upper-class bias increasingly in evidence towards the end of the century.

However, in spite of its obvious class-consciousness, The Queen was constantly urging its readers to get involved in women's social and charitable causes, not simply from paternalistic motives, but for the mutual benefit of all. The journal actively encouraged all forms of co-operative organization among working women, in particular, The Women's Protective and Provident League, which was the forerunner of The Women's Trade Union League.[47] It tried to persuade its non-working readers that they also could effect changes in women's work conditions through consumer agitation:

> Women are powerful, they can combine. They have much influence both direct and indirect. We appeal to all our readers of every rank to unite to help these most helpless ones.
>
> The Queen, May 29, 1880[48]

Unfortunately, on this particular occasion, where they sought

customers' support for seats for shopgirls, their good intentions backfired, since many of the victims wrote to express a desire, not so much to rest their weary feet, as to have shorter hours, and a more considerate clientele.

A similar conflict of class interest runs through the endless discussions of "the servant problem," common to all women's journals at this time. While readers, on the one hand, constantly attacked servants as lazy, immoral and ungrateful, The Queen, on the other, tried to convince them that mistresses should raise wages and improve working and living conditions, since domestic service was no longer a feudal relationship, but a contract between employer and employed. To outraged readers whose "pampered servants" demanded fires in their rooms, and other "privileges" such as medical attention when sick, the domestic editor replied:

> Social life has moved on for all classes since then, and things nowadays required as necessaries by servants would then have been great luxuries even for the rich.
>
> The Queen, June 26, 1880

A later editiorial pointed to the greater freedom allowed by contemporary society to young girls in general, and asked why maids should be treated any differently:

> When we think of the curious amount of liberty given to the modern young lady, how she is allowed to roam absolutely alone in the streets of London, and all large towns, how the chaperone is becoming obsolete and the range of social subjects for discussion is widening so as to leave no topic whatsoever

> in the shade, it does seem a little strange, that the maid, because a maid, should be held incapable of taking care of herself if her tether is relaxed.
>
> The Queen, January 25, 1890[49]

Finally, in 1900, it abandoned the fight, concluding that, "Women do not want to be served by intelligent equals. They desire inferior servants, not employees,"[50] and prophesied that the servant shortage would continue to worsen as girls found higher paying jobs elsewhere with none of the petty indignities and limitations on freedom attached to domestic service.

Among its suggestions for improving servant performance, one throws some light on the conduct of their mistresses, since The Queen was constantly admonishing them to get directly involved in the running of the household, whatever their income level, rather than abandon control to subordinates. They counselled mothers to pay as much attention to their daughters' domestic skills as to their more decorative accomplishments, since these would prove more useful after marriage. Consequently, the journal was full of advice on all aspects of running a household, such as managing a budget, choosing and purchasing food and other household necessities, cleaning, cooking, and baby care, all from a strictly "no frills" point of view. In 1900, readers were assured that £3.10s was an adequate weekly housekeeping allowance for a family of six, although this seems to contradict earlier articles, such as those in 1885, which warned young women never to contemplate marriage on less than £200 a year, unless there were strong prospects for later

improvement.

However, the journal was full of such discrepancies. Accounts of lavish balls preceded menus for using left-overs; designs for elaborate evening gowns faced instructions for "making over" a blouse or skirt, implying either that The Queen was read "below stairs," or that many of its readers were struggling hard to keep up appearances. Side by side with this genteel poverty, the etiquette columns, in particular, reveal a rapidly mobile society whose women wanted to be counselled and reasurred on correct behavior, with card and mourning etiquette causing the most headaches. Not all readers were content with this state of affairs. In 1880, a debate raged in the "Boudoir" column over the aspirations of prosperous farmers' wives and daughters. Some readers scorned their pretensions, while other decided that social acceptability should depend on one's means and behavior. An American reader found the whole discussion ludicrous and reminiscent of the Ancien Régime!

Along with these changes in the make-up of polite society, went changes in tastes and acceptable behavior, particularly in the use of leisure time:

> There is hardly an amusement or occupation which Englishwomen do not share with their husbands or brothers. Their holidays and country life are spent in the fields or on the moors, on the mountains and on the rivers, on the cricket ground and in the lawn-tennis court, in touring, hunting fishing, botanising, sketching and what-not. And right well they follow these pursuits, throwing their heart and souls into them without for a moment forgetting feminine grace and reserve.
>
> "Pastimes," The Queen, September 19, 1885

Young women were in the forefront here, and The Queen devoted an increasing amount of space to catering for their sporting interests.

Another rapidly expanding area was the travel section. While foreign watering places and sea resorts remained popular with many, other readers wanted to get off the beaten track, and numerous articles gave addresses and information on what to see in less travelled areas. Apart from recreational travel, with a widespread colonial empire, an increasing number of readers accompanied their husbands on foreign service. For them there were suggestions for "A trousseau for Ceylon" (or India, or New Zealand, as the case might be), and articles attempted to prepare them for daily life and local customs in their new surroundings. By the end of the century, The Queen was also appearing in a special lightweight edition for the Englishwoman living abroad.

Over the years, The Queen underwent several other changes, both in response to competition within the magazine industry, and in an effort to adapt to a shifting audience. In 1875, its appearance had still resembled that of a regular newspaper, with closely printed triple columns, advertisements in the style of The Times at the front and back, few illustrations apart from the fashion watercolor and the needlework designs, and no fiction. By 1900, it had evolved into a lavishly illustrated eighty-page glossy, with more than half its space devoted to pictorial advertisements. Fiction was introduced in the eighties, in the face of competition from the new lighter journals, The Lady, and The Lady's Pictorial, and possibly to pick up adherents

of the now defunct The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine. In the nineties, changes of a different nature occurred. Rather than attempt to compete with the outstanding success of the popular women's weeklies, The Queen chose to concentrate on the upper end of the market, and to compensate for lack of mass sales with a "quality" audience, which would attract copious advertising revenue. The coverage of Royalty and Society functions expanded, a trend accentuated by the introduction of photographs, since every lady of fashion apparently wished to record her doings for posterity. By the end of the century, The Queen had become not only the verbal, but also the visual record of Society, its final arbiter in taste and fashion: an image it was to retain into the twentieth century.

III. Magazines of the 1880's

Until the 1880's, The Queen experienced little competition from imitators since, despite the growing proliferation of women's journals, the trend seemed more towards papers specializing in individual areas, than to those with a general appeal. Although fashion still led the field, an increasing percentage of the new magazines were child care and domestic manuals, or devoted to dressmaking and needlework. In 1879, Weldon's, who themselves specialized in the latter area, attempted to fill the gap by bringing out Weldon's Ladies' Journal, a threepenny weekly for the average housewife, based on Beeton's successful formula of fashion, fiction and domestic hints, a recipe which kept it in business until 1954.

The Lady's Pictorial (1881-1921)

Two years later, another threepenny weekly, The Lady's Pictorial, started out with more noble intentions, hoping to attract genteel readers on modest incomes with articles of the same quality as The Queen, laced with the added attraction of fiction. The first issue expressed a devout commitment to women's emancipation, and particularly to the promotion of women's employment opportunities, assuring readers:

> You cannot bank the surging stream, nor combat successfully the mighty influence of hand and heart and brain. It is equally impossible to stay the vast tide of feminine capacity. Tests and exams, bans and obstacles may be created, but the Divine Mission working through a chosen channel will accomplish its purpose . . . Let us accept the inevitable and believe that a turning point would seem to have arrived in that solitary lot in life which has hitherto been appointed for women.
>
> The Lady's Pictorial, March 5, 1881

The editors consequently welcomed the admission of women to the Cambridge Tripos Examinations, and urged their election as school board members and Poor Law Guardians.

Unfortunately, this promising beginning soon lost momentum. Items on women's employment became more intermittent, and features on prominent professional women turned into profiles of Society beauties. For like most other women's magazines seeking a broad appeal, The Lady's Pictorial soon discovered that, outside of its fashion and domestic advice, readers were most attracted by the fiction and celebrity columns, both of which took them outside the monotony of their

everyday lives. From its first cover portrait of Princess Victoria of Schleswig-Holstein, the doings of English and international royalty and high society became a staple ingredient of the journal, and it openly admitted that this was not so much for the information of the participating class, as was the case with The Queen, as to attract middle-class romantics:

> The members of the middle-class are fond of hearing how the Upper Ten Thousand divert themselves, and how kings and queens, princes and princesses, spend the little leisure time that their prominent positions leaves them; how lords and ladies, poets, artists and musicians, love and marry like all the young men and women, and how the world goes round with them and theirs for ever.
>
> The Lady's Pictorial, March 5, 1881

A taste for the same was also evident in the fiction, in stories like "My Lady Coquette," and "Countess Daphne," which transported readers to another world.

Presumably finding its threepenny price unprofitable, the magazine raised it to sixpence in 1884. This may have lost some readers at the lower end of the scale, but was compensated by a higher proportion of advertising from such stores as Mappin and Webb, the silversmiths, and some of the more exclusive department stores. By 1891, it had expanded to thirty-five pages of text, with an equal amount of advertising coverage. New features increasingly documented the social round in town and country, down to the smallest detail, such as descriptions of trousseau and wedding gifts. Nevertheless, despite this abundance of triviality, The Lady's Pictorial continued to make sporadic attempts to

arouse both its readers' conscience and consciousness to more serious affairs, especially when these involved the welfare of other women.

The Lady (1885+)

Another journal of the eighties which hoped to capitalize on the success of The Queen, was The Lady, introduced by Thomas Gibson Bowles, the founder of the satirical weekly, Vanity Fair. Although Bowles gave over the editing of his new venture to a Miss Stewart, he retained very definite ideas about how it should be run. The first issue proclaimed:

> Our object is, and constantly will be, to cover the whole field of womanly action and ascertain what kind of information it is that women of education must need, and to provide them with that precious information.
>
> The Lady, February 19, 1885

However, in a private letter to his business manager, Mr. Tiller, he cautioned against pomposity and an excess of seriousness:

> We must beware not to make The Lady all leading articles. We want 'How to knot a Tam o'Shanter cap,' 'How to remove freckles' and all that kind of thing, addresses of places where things are to be got, prices, and in short, specific information that ladies want.[51]

Whatever the nature of its subject matter, he was determined that the journal should always aspire to a high professional standard:

> We are bound to get rid, once and for all, of the old idea that anything will do for women. It is not true, and if it were true, there is no reason

> for the existence of The Lady. Women, though less good perhaps at creating, are better at criticising, and will damn us at once if we are not up to a fairly high standard.[52]

From its beginning, the sixpenny weekly was intended "for gentlewomen," and in particular, "the younger set." Articles covered the usual social round, with emphasis on hunt balls and weddings, introduced the latest fashions, and gave news of recent books and plays, all written from a light amusing angle. Lily Langtry's appearance as Lady Teazle in The School for Scandal, was greeted with:

> It is sincerely to be hoped that Mrs. Langtry will shortly appear in a part which cannot possibly be converted into a milliner's model, for until then it is impossible to express a fair opinion of the play.
>
> The Lady, February 19, 1885

In contrast with the established policy of women's magazines, and possibly in conformity with the proprietor's own distinctly nationalistic political views,[53] The Lady rejected the predominance of French fashion, and emphasized the "Englishness" of its whole approach, a tendency which would increasingly be adopted in the following years by other women's papers, as nationalist fervor increased, and one which was not confined to England.[54]

> We shall distinctly refrain from any attempt to imposed upon English ladies, either the fashion, the habits, or the methods which are at variance with our national needs or traditions,

promised the first issue, although this did not prevent the inclusion

of "A letter from Paris," and "A letter from Rome," among the regular features of the journal.

In addition to social and fashion coverage, five pages were devoted to household and childrearing advice, geared particularly to the needs of the novice rather than the experienced hand. In all cases it was taken for granted that she had several servants, and as in The Queen, the problems of their management took up endless columns. Aside from these traditional staples of women's journals, The Lady carried reports of parliamentary debates, an employment bureau, which in the early years was mainly a discreet outlet for readers' goods and services, and advice on legal affairs and financial investment. There was also a children's page, which was expanded into a separate supplement in the 1890's.

Although its initial slow start belied its later longevity,[55] the journal soon began to pick up subscribers, and with the new editorship of Miss Rita Shell in 1894, was well on the way to success.[56] She developed the very popular "small ads" column of the paper, and also a "Where to live" column, which gave much needed assistance to women branching out on their own, and indicates an expansion in their numbers. In addition, the price was dropped to threepence, and the appearance of the paper improved, particularly with the inclusion of photographs, all of which attracted new readers.

In order to foster a sense of intimacy and fellowship among readers, the impersonal reports of parliamentary debates were replaced by the internal discussions of "The Ladies' Debating Society," where

readers exchanged opinions on topics such as "Should control of the children be vested in the father or the mother?," or "Should married women work to supplement their income?" In the former case, as with debates on women's suffrage, the majority of readers appeared content with the status quo,[57] but the latter issue provoked strong responses on both sides. Many readers opposed married women's work except in cases of dire necessity, on the grounds that it added unfair competition to the overcrowded labor market for women, while some implied that no true wife should have the time:

> From the moment she marries, her chief interest consists or ought to consist in studying the tastes and wishes of her husband and looking after her household . . . if this be conscientiously done, only a small portion of leisure will remain for the enjoyment of her own peculiar gifts.
>
> The Lady, February 28, 1895

Still, there were others who saw economic independence as a matter of pride and dignity for every woman, whether married or single:

> To be independent is a thing that every married woman must value highly, however dear to her her husband may be, and if he does not see fit to make her so, the desire she has for creating a private purse of her own can be quite understood.
>
> Ibid.

Another reader denied that women should feel demeaned for not contributing to the family income:

> If she does her duty in the house according to her station she is earning her keep, as if she was standing in a factory.
>
> Ibid.

As usual, the editors tried to placate both sides, but after giving full weight to the natural desire of a trained woman for the professional fulfillment of a career, concluded:

> The duties of wife and mother are of an incomparably greater importance than the utterly false sense of pride which would prompt a woman to feel any loss of dignity from the fact that she was dependent on her husband. It places marriage on a horribly commercial basis.
>
> The Lady, March 21, 1895

This statement could charitably be interpreted as a tactful reassurance to an audience in which housewives predominated, that their role was not becoming obsolete, as more women from the middle class entered the work force, but it is probably just one more example of the constant ambivalence of this and other women's journals to the consequences of women's emancipation. While it continued to champion women's entrance to the professions and to expose the hypocrisy of those who obstructed them,[58] the underlying message of The Lady remained that marriage was a woman's proper sphere, with the implication that the main purpose of her new-found talents should be to enhance her domestic life. Within these limits women were to be allowed more flexibility: the "New Woman" might enjoy a momentary period of independence before settling down, and the dashing "mater" could retain her youthful appearance, and participate in her children's lives and confidences, but in the final analysis, apart from the few cases of necessity, woman's field of action was to be in the home circle, as the power behind the throne.

Woman's World (1887-90)

One somewhat less successful venture into women's journalism at this time was Cassell's The Lady's World, a fashionable monthly initially launched in 1886 as a "mirror of English Society at the present day in its most attractive aspects,"[59] but from 1887 to 1889 given a new image under the editorship of Oscar Wilde. On his insistence the title was changed to Woman's World, since he considered the former name "inapplicable to an organ of women of intellect, culture and position."[60]

In conformity with his own conception of the journal's function as a "reflection of the thought and culture of the women of this century,"[61] he sought contributions from a wide range of talented women, particularly those with university connections, expressing to Nellie Sickert, at Cambridge, from whom he was seeking an article on political economy, the hope that they would find the magazine to be "an organ through which they can express their view of life and things."[62] In addition, for less exalted motives, he solicited articles from women in the highest echelons of Society, from the Queen down, arguing that "all women are flattered to be asked to write," and hoping that their names, if not their views, would attract a wide clientele.[63]

The initial result was all that he desired. "Gracefully got up in every respect" according to The Times,[64] the magazine was spaciously laid out, with decorated headings and capitals, and elaborate engravings. In contrast to the usual anonymity of women's journalism, a variety of signed articles from the titled and the famous, including Wilde's own literary criticism, attracted the interest of high society.

Princess Christina of Schleswig-Holstein wrote on nursing, the Countess of Portsmouth on "Woman's Position," Clementina Black of The Woman's Protective and Provident League, on distressed needlewomen, and Mrs. Henry Fawcett on women's suffrage. In addition, there were articles on his mother's protegée, The Ladies' Dress Reform League. A series of inside articles on contemporary women artists and musicians, while highlighting women's achievements, anticipated the "human interest" stories of the nineties, and the latest fads and fashion of polite society at home and abroad were given ample coverage.

However, the chances of the journal's long-term success, after its early notoriety had worn off, were slimmer. Priced at one shilling, with no pretence to being a "service" magazine of any kind, its hope of extending its audience was small. Written by and for an elite, its contents were a bizarre mixture of social snobbery, feminist and social concern, and intellectual preciosity. Most readers would probably have preferred a romantic serial by Ouida to her comments on the virtues of agricultural labor for women. Similarly, the highly elaborate ecclesiastical or medieval needlework patterns, while well suited to disciples of William Morris, were probably beyond the talents or the interests of the average reader. There seemed to be a marked preference to view life and people from a historical angle, with features on fashions and furnishings in Ancient Rome or Egypt, presumably because these lent themselves more to graceful engravings. Meanwhile, progressive views on women's or social issues sat strangely beside the ingrained snobbery of some of the other articles. Lady Portsmouth's assertions of the

growth of a new feminine solidarity where:

> It is no longer only gratitude or self interest that breathes in the response from woman to woman. Some new spring of feeling attracts women of all classes to each other,[65]

is belied by the disdainful comments of others on working women's incapacity to better themselves:

> As a class these girls have no ambition beyond early improvident marriage, else they would not endure their wretched lot.[66]

Harriet Brooke Davies, whose articles revealed sympathetic understanding of poverty in the East End, could be less tolerant on issues nearer home, such as the perennial "servant problem," where she recommended that in order to provide the upper classes with:

> that ever present necessity, a good servant . . . composition and the use of the globes, and perhaps history and geography might amongst the children of the working class be advantageously omitted, and lessons in elementary housework substituted.[67]

By the end of 1888, faced with a declining subscription, Cassell's wished to reemphasize the fashion and society angle, while Wilde proposed lowering the price to sixpence.[68] This was but one of many disagreements provoked by Wilde's waning interest and declining participation, which eventually led to his dismissal in 1889, after which the magazine gradually reverted to its previous format, although this failed to prevent its early demise.

While the overall number of women's magazines increased in the 1880's, the higher precentage of failures would seem to indicate that, although the market was by no means exhausted, as the outstanding success of the nineties would support, it was going through a period of readjustment.[69] The potential for an expanding readership existed with the increasing numbers of literate women emerging from the board schools every year, but despite some lowering of prices, this market had not yet been tapped by the industry. Most successful magazines continued to be geared to the upper-middle classes, and women of more moderate means, or more popular tastes, still suffered comparative neglect from women's publishers.

IV. Magazines of the 1890's

In the nineties, the problem of untapped readers would resolve itself in two ways: firstly by the continued diversification of journals to suit different tastes and interests, and secondly by applying the same principles to women's journalism which had proved so successful in launching such popular journals as Titbits and Answers: the provision of "wholesome and harmless entertainment to people craving a little fun and amusement," based on "the kinds of things people are interested in rather than the kinds of things they ought to be interested in."[70]

The growing trend towards specialization has already been mentioned, particularly with regard to papers devoted entirely to dressmaking and needlework. Another expanding field was that devoted to newer hobbies and recreational activities such as cycling and

photography, with journals such as Wheelwoman, and The Sportswoman. A third included the increasing number of professional journals, such as Typist's Gazette, Nursing Notes, and Infant's Mistress, Kindergarten and Needlework Teacher, while an ever enlarging segment of the market was comprised of penny novelettes purveying cheap romantic fiction to working girls, under fancy titles such as Empress, or Duchess Novelette.

a) "Quality" papers.

Even the more general magazines began to narrow their approach to attract a specific section of the audience, rather than all competing on the same broad ground. The more expensive journals, such as The Queen, abandoned the attempt to seek a wider audience and concentrated on the upper end of the market. That this was a viable economic decision was borne out by the success of numerous newcomers in this area such as, The Gentlewoman (1890-1926), The Ladies' Field (1896-1927), The Lady's Realm (1896-1915), and The Lady's World (1898-1926), all of which, for sixpence, provided their readers with a weekly or monthly record of the life and doings of high society, complete with glossy presentation and lavish photographs. Bright and entertaining, these journals were not intended for the vicarious enjoyment of the masses, but for the amusement of the "inside set," or those who aspired to be thought so. Ella Hepworth Dixon, who edited The Englishwoman (1895-1899), had been a frequent contributor to Woman's World, and like the latter, the new "quality" papers all thrived on the

contributions of the famous, with editors of The Gentlewoman openly boasting of its Court connections, and promising that it would be written "by gentlewomen for gentlewomen."

However, unlike the society journals of an earlier period, those of the nineties did not concentrate solely on dress and the social round, but recognized that their readers had a broad range of intellectual, recreational and philanthropic interests which they engaged in outside the closed circle of the home.[71] Articles on travel, sport, and gardening, were sandwiched between accounts of women's clubs and professional activities. It is interesting to note that while the consequences of women's emancipation come through, both in the broader scope of feature articles and in the fiction, where heroines now included bachelor girls in their own apartments, and doctors with successful practices, this no longer seemed to be an issue which had to be constantly justified, so much as an accepted situation which women could take or leave, as need or desire occurred.

b) Magazines for middle-class suburbia.

Apart from the occasional menu, the new upper-class journals abandoned the domestic side of women's life, and this was picked up by other cheaper papers which appeared, such as The Princess (1890-1898), Enquire Within (1890-1923), Woman (1890-1912), and Hearth and Home (1891-1914). These were firmly aimed at the middle-class housewife, isolated in the new suburban villas, for whom her home had become her sole existence, but who needed to be guided and reassured,

and to sense a feeling of class solidarity with others of her kind in the struggle to keep up at least the appearance of middle-class life and status, on an income which was frequently little better than a manual worker's.[72]

The new journals were mostly penny weeklies, catering to women managing on a small budget without domestic help, although the illusion of servants was still upheld, even if it might only be a daily skivvy. Their main concentration was on nursery, home, and health care, with modest menus for suet puddings, hints on how to mend china with boiled milk, and simple patterns for women's and children's clothes. Apart from the household advice, the contents were mostly composed of trivial anecdotes and fiction. Chatty, and frequently annoyingly coy in tone, some, like The Princess and Enquire Within, reveal a fairly low opinion of their readers' intelligence, spelling out even the simplest information in greatest detail. Generally conservative in outlook, they sought to reassure readers who had already committed themselves to a woman's traditional role, that they had no need to feel threatened or discontented, since being a housewife and mother were still the most praiseworthy occupations:

> To be a good mother, that is after all the noblest ideal for women, and failing that, for obviously we cannot all marry and be mothers in these complex times, the next best thing is to be one of those sensible creatures who make the best of their surrroundings and vocation. (my italics)
>
> Woman, July 24, 1890[73]

Women who led professional lives were constantly relegated to this

second-class citizenship, and while recognition was given to their more notable achievements, were made to seem objects for pity, rather than emulation. The previously mentioned article on Kate Marsden, the explorer, concluded:

> Undoubtedly, the woman who is content with her domestic surroundings reaps far more real happiness from her existence than one who endeavors to map out a career for herself.
>
> Enquire Within, November 15, 1890

To a certain degree, one can argue that the journals were only being realistic, since at this time few girls from this class could ever hope to acquire the higher education needed for entrance to the more interesting professions, but sometimes the attitude descended into blatant anti-feminism, as in the early issues of Woman.

Woman (1890-1912)

With the ambiguous motto, "Forward, but not too fast," this journal had initially reiterated the conventional promise of all new papers, to provide a periodical which would serve the interests of all:

> Our raison d'être is neither politics or the doings of 'Society' of reality or imagination, the ventilation of imaginary grievances of the sex, the school of sickly sentimentality, nor the advertisement of vice and the vicious, but simply to inform and entertain modern woman, not as she might be, but as we find her.
>
> Woman, January 3, 1890

However, despite their claims to impartiality and open-mindedness, the editors of Woman had a very clear conception of what a "true

woman" should be, which excluded all those they stigmatized as "the anti-man and self-defence school: women in name only." Contributions from such noted anti-feminists as Mrs. Lynn Linton, and novelist Marie Corelli, stressed the old fashioned ideal of feminine abnegation:

> To make the happiness of those around them, to care for the well-being of the men with whom they are connected, and for the best interests of the children . . . to be able to merge themselves with others, to love beyond self but never beyond self-respect.
>
> Woman, January 3, 1890[74]

Nevertheless, even writers such as these were forced to recognize that, in practice, this ideal was becoming out-dated:

> A flavour of the evil independence and go-ahead slap dash manner of American women, mingled with a spice of Parisian immorality, has insensibly stolen into the formerly restful and contented spirit of English households. . . .
> The altered sentiments and assertive attitude of the women of England bode a more serious change for the future than can be all at once realised, and a change that works in direct contrariety to the physical law of nature can scarcely be wise.
>
> Woman, January 18, 1890[75]

Other contributors rebutted these reactionary views with a more realistic attitude to women's changing life-style:

> It is an intense satisfaction to know that women are gradually getting alive to their possibilities in life, and are so surely-with many abortive efforts maybe-evolving to a higher, though different ideal than our grandmothers.
>
> Woman, February 1, 1890[76]

These encouraged women to become more aware, not only of their possibilities, but also of their responsibilities, pointing out that, despite new employment opportunities, many women were no better off than before. They drew attention to articles by Lady Dilke,[77] among others, on the necessity for women's unionization, as:

> too important an utterance to be overlooked by a journal which hopes to include among its supporters the toilers and spinners of the sex as well as its more leisurely members. It is a cause which addresses itself not alone to the hunger-bitten drudges of East London and the slaves of the forge and chain yard, but to 'Woman the worker,' whatever her place in industry, whatever the nature of her employer.
>
> Woman, January 18, 1890

In later years, under the editorship of novelist Arnold Bennett, who was not only associated with this journal from 1894 to 1900, but also contributed extensively to Hearth and Home, Woman shook off its domestic image and became more entertaining and varied, under the slogan "For up-to-date womankind."[78] One article by Harry Adney, entitled "Must Women Marry?" saw the vogue for cycling as symbolic of women's new independence,

> which is the outcome of strength of character by which the average girl of the future, at an age when the average girl of the past looked upon a man as the embodiment of possible matrimony, will be capable of cultivating a special comradeship with and influencing men, without flirting with or marrying them.
>
> Woman, March 6, 1896

Others were more reluctant to dismiss the goal of marriage so

cursorily, but did feel that preliminary experience in the wider world of the work force would equip a woman better for the eventual strains in any relationship, as well as, by providing viable alternatives, helping her to be more discerning in her choice of husband, thus avoiding later unhappiness.

Bennett himself had a great deal of respect for working women, whose position he considered an unenviable one, particularly in the harsh world of business. He wrote a handbook on journalism for women, in which he tried to counter what he considered to be their overriding handicap: a lack of precision and professionalism, due to faults in their early training, commenting, "At present it seems as if the women who write for women are content to remain all their lives mere amateurs of the pen," and prophesying vast opportunities for those, "who will devote to these neglected women's subjects skilled craftsmanship and the enthusiasm of an artist."[79]

Hearth and Home (1891-1914)

Hearth and Home, the other journal with which Bennett was associated, was initially somewhat more serious than others in its approach, bridging the gap between the society and the domestic magazine, by aiming at a slightly more affluent middle-class audience.[80] Published by Mayson Beeton and Co., who also produced Myra's Journal and The Princess, its homely title belied its contents, since originally it resembled a cheaper version of The Queen, combining domestic information with considerable coverage of women's activities outside the home:

> Whether it be the socialistic legislation regarding female labour in Germany, the advanced claims made in America for perfect equality alike in medical schools or manual employment, or the burning question surrounding the elevation of Indian women, they will meet with free and fair discussion in our column.
>
> Hearth and Home, May 1891

Its editorial page, "World of Women" was openly committed to feminist reforms and suffrage, while opposed to extremism and the "anti-men" movement, denying the right of the latter to consider themselves as sole spokeswomen for the rest:

> It seems very difficult for the ladies of rapid progress to grasp that the majority of their sex are quite as dissatisfied with a domestic life of dulness, ignorance nad pattiness, as they would be with a career of mathematics, platforms and restless earnestness.
>
> Hearth and Home, May 1891

Unfortunately, a serious approach to the problems of women's lives apparently appealed less to the general reader in the nineties than to the more elite audience of The Queen in the eighties. Within three months, "World of Women" had been replaced by the more gossipy, "People, Places and Things," and by 1900, like many other journals of this era, it had succumbed to the guaranteed attractions of Royal and Society gossip, and abundant fiction.

Consequently, the feminist commitment took a back seat, although Hearth and Home did offer £50 scholarships to deserving girls, nominated and chosen by readers. It also maintained an Employment Bureau, where women who appeared desperate for any occupation ranging from cooking and

cleaning to clairvoyance and detective work, had to be gently guided into the paths of reality, and advised on ways to acquire marketable skills.

In common with other journals, it participated in the continuing vogue for prize competitions of all kinds, the prizes becoming increasingly valuable and attractive. In return for sending in short stories, household hints, and photographs of favorite children or dogs, readers were offered the chance to win diamond tiaras, fur capes or cases of champagne. This was a glimpse at a dream world for women expected to feed a household on 10/- a head, or to clothe themselves on £25 a year, although it must be stressed that figures such as these put readers of Hearth and Home among the more comfortable section of the middle class, since they assume an income of £300 a year, which seems to have been well above average.[81]

c) Harmsworth and popular journalism.

If the growing diversification of journals in terms of price range and audience appeal was one trend of the nineties, another was the apparent craving of readers for entertaining literature rather than instruction, already noted in the shifting tone of Hearth and Home, and even earlier with The Lady's Pictorial. Nowhere was this trend so evident as among the working classes, and among working girls, in particular, who as yet, having neither household nor children to occupy their concern, were more interested in acquiring pretty clothes and enjoying their new-found independence, and no one recognized its

potential so well as Alfred Harmsworth.

Furthermore, if one is to believe contemporary critics, while there was no lack of available literature for working-class readers, that which enjoyed the most popularity was certainly in need of improvement, being dominated by sensational weeklies, and the penny dreadful novelettes, with their steady diet of love and murder:

> They thrive on the wicked baronet or nobleman and the faithless but handsome peeress, and find their chief supporters among shop girls, seamstresses and domestic servants.
> Edward Salmon, "What the Working Classes Read,"[82]

Salmon also saw this literature as a potentially subversive social influence, since it thrived on pitting high-class scoundrelism against lower-class virtue:

> Crime and love are the essential ingredients, and the influence exercised on the feminine reader, often unenlightened by any contact with the class whom the novelist pretends to portray, crystallizes into an irremovable dislike of the upper strata of society.
>
> Ibid.

Other critics felt that it might lead girls to like it too much, and deplored what they saw as the questionable morality of the predominant message which stressed "the desirability of making the acquaintance of handsome strangers."[83]

The extraordinary success of Newnes' Titbits in the 1880's had proved that a popular market did exist for less lurid literature, even if it was not much superior on a literary level, being devoted to

trivial anecdotes and light humor, and Alfred Harmsworth fully intended to exploit it further when he brought out Answers in 1888. Determined to capitalize on his success with the latter, and to profit from his earlier experience with The Lady's Pictorial, and possibly also influenced by the fact that his rival Newnes had acquired Weldon's in 1891,[84] he next decided to enter the field of women's journalism with a paper that would fill the gap between cheap sensationalism and the glossies. His intentions were not only to reach down as far as readers were concerned but also for them to reach up in terms of what they bought for leisure reading. In November 1891, he founded the Periodical Publishing Corporation for the purpose of launching a new penny weekly, Forget-Me-Not (1891-1918), aimed at giving "better value for one penny than the few existing papers."[85]

As with all his papers, he placed great emphasis on getting the right tone and appearance:

> In its wrapper of delicate forget-me-not blue, it will be as bright and as pure as the flower from which it gets its name.[86]

The adjectives are typical of Harmsworth's own sentimental attitude to women, which was strongly influenced by his intense emotional dependence on his mother and his desire for her constant approval.[87] This was to be reflected in the proper "ladylike" tone, the graceful drawings of women in sentimental poses, and the propagation of suburban notions of gentility. Under the control of his brother Leicester, and the editorship of Winifred Johnson, the journal was gradually

steered towards the romantic interests of the single girl, and by 1900 carried daring features on "When to kiss and how to kiss," and "How far may a girl encourage a man?," while the Confidential Chat column dealt increasingly with readers' emotional dilemmas.

Chatty and anecdotal in approach, Forget-Me-Not's staple fare of domestic, fashion, and beauty advice was heavily larded with fiction. Typical of the latter were "Confessions of a Wallflower," and "Diary of a Red Cross Nurse," which offered topical color with an account of Sister Freda's romances at the Transvaal Front. In all respects, the magazine was very similar to its twentieth-century counterparts, and by 1900 its success was well established, having moved from a weekly circulation of 82,000 in 1892, to 145,000 in 1894,[88] which Harmsworth claimed was "larger than all the ladies' journals that have been established for twenty years."[89]

Other publishers of popular magazines were soon competing in the same market, each angling his product to a particular interest group in order to maximize commercial success. Arthur Pearson of Pearson's Weekly aimed fairly and squarely at the older maternal audience with his Home Notes (1894-1957), whose motto was, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world." Its "Fireside Talks" and features on "Health in the Home" and "The House Beautiful" firmly convinced his readers where their true role lay, reinforcing their natural conservatism and timidity with sickly complacency:

> No matter how high your ambition, no matter how great your talents or your influence, before

> everything else look to your home . . . Home is the true kingdom of the woman and while she does her duty there, no one will ever find fault with her.
>
> Home Notes, February 3, 1894[90]

George Newnes' Woman's Life (1895-1934), "The latest, most up-to-datest woman's paper,"[91] was directed at the suburban wife or daughter who yearned for a more glamorous life-style, spicing many of its mundane features with royal titbits, such as "Hats and Bonnets of Royalty," "Valuable Prams for Royal Babies," and "Queen Victoria at Tea," and encouraging dreams of endless prince charmings with articles such as "Mill girls who marry millionaires" in 1896.

With Home Chat, (1895-1958), Harmsworth once again hoped to top all these rivals by promising a journal of sixpenny quality for the "price of a postage stamp," and further exploited his readers' aspirations to gentility by assuring them:

> The note of Home Chat will be its daintiness. It will appeal to those who love dainty homes, dainty dress, dainty fiction, dainty tables and dainty engravings, and will aim at rendering signal service to the mothers, wives and daughters of the British Empire.
>
> Home Chat, March 20, 1895

Again under Leicester's direction, this time with Maud Brown as editor, its advent was carefully prepared in the usual Harmsworth manner, through "puffing" in his other journals, and much advance publicity. This resulted in its overreaching Harmsworth's goal for a first issue sale of 200,000 copies, although sales figures subsequently dropped back to 185,000 for a short while, causing some worries as to its

viability.[92]

Although Newnes' Woman's Life also reached 200,000 in 1896,[93] it was probably Harmsworth who was most attuned to the women's publishing scene at this time, at least for the mass audience. Apart from Home Chat and Forget-Me-Not, he controlled Home Sweet Home, Home Companion, Golden Stories, and Sunday Stories, not to mention introducing a novel feature into daily journalism in 1896, with the woman's page of the Daily Mail, edited by Mary Howarth, possibly in imitation of the French popular dailies whose techniques he studied closely.[94] It is also possible that he was influenced by the success of the French women's newspaper, La Fronde, when, in 1903, he attempted to launch the Daily Mirror as a "newspaper for gentlewomen," staffed entirely by women, an attempt which ended in fiasco. After aninitial circulation of 276,000,it soon dropped to 25,000, and was converted into a half-penny picture paper. Observers blamed its failure on the inexperience of the female staff, and the lack of demand for a separate daily paper of this nature among women themselves.[95]

The new penny journals of the mid-nineties all had several things in common. Produced with the aid of the latest printing techniques, they were larger and more profusely illustrated than the cheap journals of earlier years, and consequently more attractive to readers. All were subsidized by abundant advertising which they had to justify through high circulations. These were kept up by a continual search for novelty and reader appeal, usually through new variations on the old ingredients of readers' participation and prize competitions.

Another attraction was their chatty approach and habit of treating all subjects from an angle within the readers' range of experience, in particular their emphasis on the virtues of everything British, as opposed to the international flavor of the more expensive journals. This familiarity was particularly noticeable in their treatment of Royalty, whose "homely" side they were constantly revealing to their readers, as part of the aura of "cosy" domesticity and genteel living which they sought to create for them.[96]

Another common feature was the constant exploitation of women's yearning for Romance, with the eternal propagation of the myth of Love Triumphant, which once achieved leads to happiness ever after. This message came through not only in the fiction, but also in the increasingly popular love-lorn columns. These marked a return to a feature of eighteenth-century women's journalism, but were totally different from the advice columns of the period immediately preceding them, which had concentrated on fashion and etiquette.

This emphasis on love and romance highlights another growing practice of journals of the nineties: their tendency to encourage women to see themselves through men's eyes. This is found in articles on "Women who influence men," "Girls men dislike," or "Women men admire," in all of which readers were advised to mold themselves to fit the bill. But while they were being given hints on how to manipulate men to their own advantage, such as "Butter him up," "Never contradict," and "Answer frowns with smiles," they were not advised to be humble and servile, or to let themselves be exploited by tyrannical husbands.

For there does seem to have been a general realization that, while the eventual goal for women remained marriage, the changes in girls' education and employment options, together with increased legal and financial protection for married women, had altered their status in the partnership. Forget-Me-Not reminded its readers that every self-respecting wife should expect a personal allowance as her rightful due, while Home Chat noted that:

> More equal education . . . has undoubtedly brought a better balance and better relations between the sexes in spite of the screams of the horrified few, which however become fainter and fainter every year.
> Home Chat, June 22, 1895[97]

All took for granted the fact that most of their readers would have to earn their own living at some time in their lives, cushioning hard reality with polite suggestions on "How to make a little money":

> In these chatty articles we hope to make it quite plain that girls can quietly at home, without relinquishing any domestic duties, or social pleasure, learn how to arm themselves so that, should the occasion offer, they will be able to take their stand as bread winners with their brothers.
> Home Chat, March 30, 1895

The polite fiction that this was still an option for most girls, rather than a necessity, was outweighed by the practicality of the articles referred to which recommended shorthand and typing lessons, and itemized the skills needed to become bank and post office clerks.

Women's changing economic situation, both at home and in the working world, was also recognized by Investment Columns which advised

them on budgeting their money, and on insuring themselves against sickness or old age. Even the conservative Home Notes chided women "who trade on ignorance" and "being just a woman" in these matters, as "the worst stumbling block in the paths of women's progress."[98]

Nevertheless, despite these elements of practicality, one's overall conclusion, after reading these journals, is that women's magazines were increasingly becoming escapist literature to cushion their readers from the hardships of the real world, be it the cut-throat competitiveness of the women's employment scene, which they idealized as the free life of the Bachelor Girl, with Mr. Right around every corner, or the strains of domestic life, where housewives waged a constant struggle to keep up status and appearance on a small budget. Reality was occasionly allowed to peep through, but the eternal promise was "Love conquers all."

V. Feminist Journals

One group of journals which throughout the period always saw reality in its starkest terms, were those openly committed to the feminist cause, although in England, this position did not necessarily involve conflicts with the regular magazines, since when the latter broached topics involving women's emancipation, they generally adopted the same line of argument, even using the same personnel. Thus, Emily Faithfull, editor of the Victoria Magazine and Woman and Work, contributed a regular column to The Lady's Pictorial;Clementina Black, Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, wrote for Woman's World; and

Mrs. Henry Fawcett was frequently interviewed in all the journals on the question of women's suffrage. Indeed, until the popularization of the women's press in the eighteen-nineties, both groups of journals were essentially serving the interests of the same audience of educated middle-class women, albeit from different angles, and feminists were willing to recognize that, while the contribution of the feminine journals might only be a minor one, they could be useful vehicles for disseminating information to a far wider audience than the committed few who read their own journals.[99] However, they argued that the occasional sympathetic article was insufficient for the systematic furtherance of their cause, and justified their own separate purpose as that of providing the factual groundwork on which to base the propaganda: compiling statistics, publishing investigative reports on women's condition at home and abroad, and keeping an accurate record of all legislation and events involving women's interests:

> A woman's newspaper must be the concave lens that concentrates the scattered rays into one focus for the increase of light and vital warmth . . . it is obliged to record all events that bear upon the subject from the highest to the most insignificant. It is bound by its 'raison d'être' to keep on 'pegging away' at the risk of being a bore since it is carried on for principle, not for profit.[100]

Within the feminist camp, there was a certain amount of division of labor. Some, like Emily Faithfull's Woman and Work (1874-76) and E. M. Hubbard's Women's Gazette, later Work and Leisure (1875-93), concentrated on news of women's employment, the former providing a

weekly job register, and the latter, news of new opportunities and training schemes. The Women's Trade Union Journal, later The Women's Trade Union Review (1897-1919), was the organ of the Women's Protective and Provident League, afterwards known as the Women's Trade Union League. The Journal of the Women's Education Union (1872-), edited by Miss Sheriff and Mr. Bartley, concentrated on the issue of education, while the principle organ of the suffrage cause was Lydia Becker's Woman's Suffrage Journal (1870-90). Somewhat separate from the rest, although staffed by many feminist activists, was The Shield, which from 1870 on was the organ of Josephine Butler's campaign for the deregulation of prostitution and the suppression of vice.[101] Praised by The Englishwoman's Review in 1878, as the paper "which has for many years carried on its hard task nobly and unflinchingly,"[102] the campaign it espoused was generally given a wide berth by feminist leaders who feared that its moral implications would reflect adversely on their own cause.

The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions (1866-1910)

Among those journals which sought to represent the women's movement as a whole, this sixpenny monthly was the most important, having inherited the mantle of the English Woman's Journal (1857-64), as the recognized organ of the feminist movement in Great Britain. Edited in the last quarter of the century by C. A. Biggs, from 1870 until 1889, and from then on until her death in 1903, by Helen Blackburn, it carried information on every aspect of women's issues. It not only gave its

readers news of the progress of emancipation at home, but also information on the status of women abroad, since like all feminist papers, it saw the women's struggle as a universal one, while admitting that local conditions might mean that progress would occur in different places at a different rate.

English feminists' priorities, as expounded in the Englishwoman's Review, were an end to the legal barriers to women's personal and economic independence through the attainment of married women's rights to control their property and earnings; the removal of restrictions on women's educational and employment opportunities; and the extension of the franchise to women. Unlike the majority of French feminists who preferred to defer the suffrage issue on the grounds that until women were adequately educated and legally and economically independent their votes would tend to have reactionary results, their English counterparts, in common with Hubertine Auclert the one French exception, saw possession of the vote as the main guarantee of success in other areas:

> Security of position is the condition of wise action and the ever growing work of women requires that Parliamentary representation which alone gives sufficient security in a self governed country.
>
> The Englishwoman's Review, August 1884[103]

They were initially rather vague on the necessary qualifications for suffrage, since married women would automatically be excluded by their legal status as under the "couverture" of their husbands, but

they did not wish to exclude them "in perpetuam." Therefore they favored household suffrage which would enfranchise single women ratepayers, but would leave the door open for married women's eligibility once the issues of their personal freedom and control over their property had been settled. This was to lead to dissension in the feminist ranks in later years, since some women considered it politically expedient to support single women only, as this was less likely to antagonize a wider public.

In the seventies, following the acquisition of the municipal franchise in 1869, the journal's articles reflected a confidence of achieving success within a decade. However, after Gladstone's 1884 Reform Bill, while extending the vote to agricultural laborers, had continued to ignore propertied women, feminists realized that their complacency was unfounded, and that they must, in future, rely on their own efforts, rather than seek support from Members of Parliament who would always be swayed by considerations of political expediency or party interest. Consequently articles reverted to a repetition of arguments justifying votes for women as part of the overall goal of achieving complete equality of the sexes. This by no means implied, however, that they considered universal adult suffrage a universal right. As Eleanor Marx, a feminist and Socialist, remarked after attending a suffrage meeting in 1893, where a proposal for female adult suffrage was rejected:

> Fine lady suffragists of the Mrs. Henry Fawcett type are quite of the opinion that the poor should

> keep their place, and if common women as well as common men were to get votes there's no knowing what they might make of them.104

Nowhere was the class bias of the British feminist movement so evident as in its attitude to women's employment. Having emerged in the 1860's out of the need to offer alternative options to the sole genteel profession of governessing, it continued to see the issue of women's work through middle-class eyes, and despite endless reports on conditions in factories and workshops, the plight of working-class women was often alien to its whole attitude, which constantly upheld freedom of choice, and opposed government intervention through protective legislation.

Even feminist writers' assertions of middle-class girls' right to work sometimes sound half-hearted to modern ears, since there was considerable reluctance to reject the domestic side of woman's role. Thus, Emma Edge, in her "Plea for the Entire Freedom of Women in Education and Employment" assured her readers:

> Let me not be misunderstood, I am not arguing that daughters should as a matter of course leave their homes like sons to gain a livelihood, but simply that all women who have the ability should be brought up and empowered to do so in case of need. (my italics)
> The Englishwoman's Review, September, 1880

They themselves were not blind to the dangers of ambivalence on this issue, or of a lack of commitment to true professionalism, particularly when this involved the question of working for decent wages.

They attacked "that unfortunate prejudice which exists against ladies working for money," and condemned women who were prepared to accept little or no payment for their services for undermining both their own value and respect for women's labor, not to mention undercutting those who really needed money.

However, throughout the period, the journal remained adamant in its opposition to protective legislation for working women, which it believed: "lessens their wage earning capacity, limits their personal liberty, and inconveniences them in their private lives."[105] It justified its position on the grounds that such legislation was based on the assumption that women were inferior and therefore unable to protect their own interests; that restrictions on female labor automatically reduced women's work options, since where the sex/wage differential was small compared to the overall profit margin, employers would replace them with men or machines; and that in certain areas, women excluded from a trade might be unable to find alternative employment. Another argument attacked the reactionary effect of these laws since it predicted that many women would be forced back into domestic service, where conditions were just beginning to improve because of the competing attractions of other jobs.

Not until the end of the period was it ever suggested that these objections could be reconciled by extending industrial protection to both sexes, since the principle itself was condemned as a product of "aggressive philanthropy" which impeded "freedom of contract."[106] Although the journal had supported women's trade unions from their infancy, its

position on this issue would bring it into conflict with trade union leaders who were sponsoring the closer regulation of factories, and the suppression of the sweated industries. So too would its opposition to the amalgamation of women's unions with men's, which female unionists saw as their only hope of success, given the apathy of most working women and their reluctance to organize, while feminists saw this as eventually leading to the subordination of women's interests. In contrast, some feminists within the trade union movement, particularly those like Eleanor Marx with Socialist sympathies, saw working women's exploitation from the angle of class rather than sex, and therefore advocated joining with their menfolk to end their joint exploitation, condemning middle-class feminists, such as those represented by The Englishwoman's Review, as "in a large measure directly or indirectly interested in the capitalist exploitation of both sexes."[107]

The Victoria Magazine (1863-80).

Similar attitudes to those of The Englishwoman's Review were present in other feminist journals of the period, notably The Victoria Magazine, a shilling monthly, which was predominantly a literary and educational journal. Emily Faithfull, the editor, who had founded the Victoria Press in 1859 to promote women's training in the printing trade,[108] saw its purpose as threefold: to promote feminist issues; to provide an outlet for women's creative talents; and to give them experience and training in journalism and the publishing trade. It contained mostly fiction, poems, and educational travelogues,

interspersed with articles on women at home and abroad. The purpose of the fiction seems to have been to provide role models for emancipated women, given the number of heroines who were doctors or journalists, although in the case of the former, the authors were usually careful to point out that they had been forced to qualify abroad. By the time the journal ceased publication in 1880, women's professions were still in their infancy, a fact for which it blamed women as well as men:

> A far more serious opponent exists in the foolish pride of those very middle classes who would be most benefitted by the opening of new professions to them.[109]

Nevertheless, despite its advocacy of women's employment, The Victoria Magazine, like The Englishwoman's Review, had no intention that women should abandon domestic responsibilities, as was clear from editorial comments on the opening of a household section in September 1876:

> We do not agree with those who believe housekeeping to be the role and 'whole duty of woman,' but we yield to none in our anxiety that women should interest themselves in domestic economy, for with it is connected the comfort and even the health of society.[110]

Towards the end of its existence, The Victoria Magazine apparently failed in one of its objectives: that of involving women in the technical side of the journal, since it was published by Simpkin and Marshall from 1877 until it folded in 1880. Thus another journal, the weekly Women's Penny Paper, could fairly claim to be "the only paper in the

World" (or at least in England!), "conducted, written, printed and published by women," when it came out in 1888.

The Women's Penny Paper, later The Woman's Herald (1888-93).

Edited by Helen Temple, and published by the Women's Printing Society, this journal aspired to be more radical than its predecessors whom it attacked for their conservatism and timidity:

> They seem to dread nothing more than leaving the grooves already formed. There appears to be as yet no bold and fearless exponent of the women's cause in the Press who grasps the nettle and seeks to speak the truth without fear of consequence.[111]

It saw its function as providing something wider than a feminist pamphlet, aiming at providing readers with a selection of weekly news:

> so that women who have not leisure to read the daily paper may so far acquaint themselves with important events of the day as to be able to form and express an opinion on them.[112]

This implies that it was also aiming at a somewhat lower economic level than the others, as does the tone of its plea for sisterhood:

> She who does not practise altruism, she who is not willing to share her last morsel with another woman, she who neglects to help her sister woman, of whatever race, nation, or creed, who is deaf to the cry of women's misery, she who hears another woman slandered and does not undertake her defence, as she would undertake her own defence, is no true woman.[113]

That it was also prepared to mention subjects which other feminist papers generally avoided, is evident in its inclusion of articles in

praise of Josephine Butler's campaign for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.[114]

Unfortunately, this radical idealism petered out fairly quickly, as, presumably to attract more commercial advertising revenue, it introduced more marketable features on beauty and home life, travel and the nursery. It even included that staple attraction, Royalty, in an 1890 editorial, which reached the depths from the point of view of feminist consciousness, by gushing, in a tone of syrupy adulation:

> One cannot name any of the Queen's daughters who are not distinguished in a remarkable way as compared with other women, for virtue, talent, grace, and every gift which is to be envied.[115]

Absorbed by The Woman's Herald in January 1891,[116] it returned to more serious paths under the editorship of Christina Bremmer, becoming the organ of the Women's Liberal Federation in April 1892. This, however, did not prevent it from attacking the Liberal cabinet in 1893 for its coolness on the suffrage issue, and from singling out Labouchère and Gladstone, in particular, for their misogyny:

> Men have become besotted by their long monopoly of power. They have attributed to God the evil they themselves have wrought. This is an old trick, but as far as women are concerned, it is played out . . . We call upon women to think, and to cast from them old conceptions of women's subordinate place in the economy.[117]

Unfortunately, the militancy of these words in January 1893 was shortlived, as the journal came under new management in the following month. Edited by Lady Somerset, with the motto: "For God, Home and

Every Land," it pledged itself to be:

> The independent exponent of the great body of conviction and sentiment that is represented by the various associations of progressive women pledged to religious, social and political reform.

However, this was but a prelude to introducing Lady Somerset's main interest, which was the Temperance issue, although she did consider that success in this campaign depended on women getting the vote. In 1894, the paper changed its name to The Woman's Signal and became an organ of the Women's Temperance Union.

The Woman's Weekly (1898).

Another shortlived women's newspaper which professed feminist sympathies, was The Woman's Weekly, which appeared in July 1898, as an offshoot of the Westminster Gazette. Although it dealt with women's issues, most of its coverage was of a more sensational nature, with exposés and reports of crimes and trials. However, it is interesting for its inclusion of one issue, to which considerable attention was paid in French feminist papers, but which the English ones virtually ignored: the prevalence of the double sexual standard,[118] particularly as it applied to responsibility for illegitimate children. An August 1898 article, "One Law for Both," attacked contemporary hypocrisy and the consequent unfairness of the law:

> Unfortunately the ruining of young girls is regarded as no offence in England, and the difficulties that are thrown in the way of a woman when she seeks compensation from her betrayer seem to have been made

> for the express purpose of shielding a man from any punishment for his conduct.

Unfortunately, there was no follow up, as the journal disappeared in the following month.

This highlights a problem common to all feminist journals determined to "further a cause, not pay a dividend":[119] that of retaining an audience's interest and consequently the journal's financial viability for a prolonged length of time. Their success in the seventies and eighties owed much to the enthusiasm engendered by the conviction that the woman's movement was in reach of its goals; in the nineties as the momentum slowed, feminist journals became bogged down in constant repetition of the same issues and arguments, and gradually lost even sympathetic readers, who could find coverage of issues pertinent to women's emancipation, as well as more entertaining literature, in the conventional women's papers. In addition, they were hampered by cliqueishness, as well as dissensions within the woman's movement on matters of policy and goals, not to mention the limitations imposed by their narrow class appeal, which precluded their extending their audience beyond upper-middle class circles. Only The Englishwoman's Review lasted throughout the period, and even that had become a quarterly by 1900.

By the end of the nineteenth century, the trend in women's literature was away from seriousness in favor of diversion. Women wanted to be entertained, rather than preached at or instructed. In one sense,

this could be taken as evidence of a feminine backlash, since compared to the journals of the eighties, those of the nineties were lightweight affairs. In another, however, it can be seen as illustrating a new-found confidence in women, who knew what they liked, and what interested them, and were able to impose it on editors and publishers. A similar development has been noted in our own day, when, despite the gains of the feminist movement, and the expansion of feminist consciousness, traditional women's magazines are enjoying their biggest boom in two decades.[120] At the end of the last century, women, particularly from the upper-middle classes, were also speedily adjusting to their new-found opportunities and freedoms, and so apparently felt less need to be continually reminded of them in their journals. Thus, while society magazines portrayed women as active in a far wider arena than their grandmothers, they gave less direct coverage to "feminist" issues.

Furthermore, lower-middle and working-class women, aspiring to the life-style of the class above them, saw leisure, rather than work as their symbol of freedom and status, and as they became incorporated into the reading public of women's magazines, their values and tastes were reflected in the journals. The mass production and consequent cheapening of household gadgets and furnishings, together with the easing of women's domestic burden, through more processed foods and new household products, meant that these women had more time and money to spend on the embellishment of themselves and their surroundings. Consequently, women's journals became more, rather than less, home-oriented, and

despite woman's broadening opportunities, her ideal image seemed more stereotyped. Whereas in earlier journals, "Portraits of Famous Women" had described women of exceptional talent, or historic significance, by 1900, every prominent woman, be she princess, society beauty, doctor or musician, was journalistically packaged in the same manner, and photographed in her home, surrounded by children and pets, the picture of idyllic domesticity. Yet even this trend need not necessarily signify the re-imposition of a standard role on all women, so much as the recognition that the "New Woman" was able to encompass a variety of roles, none of which need be self-exclusive.

Still, it must be admitted that, with the popularization of women's magazines, as with other sections of the Press, the increase in numbers and readers did not necessarily result in a great improvement of the quality of the content, although new techniques of lay-out, printing and illustration, together with the financial revenue from advertising, did result in a more attractive finished product. Certain characteristics such as the ambivalence of content and readers' life-styles, and the escapism and romantic emphasis of the fiction, together with the prevalent moral tone, remain constants of the genre to this day.

Nevertheless, despite these qualifications as to the subject matter of the journals, the woman who read them in 1900 was not the same as her predecessor in 1875. Whatever her social and educational background, she was becoming increasingly a free agent, not only as a reader, but also as a consumer; a person whose tastes and interests had to

be taken into account by editors and advertisers if they were to be turned to economic advantage.

NOTES - CHAPTER III

[1] G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, La Restauration (Paris, 1955), pp. 406-445, and René Rémond, The Right Wing in France, 1815 to de Gaulle (Philadelphia, 1966).

[2] See Chs. IV and V for further discussion of the French belief in the mother's major responsibility for developing devotion to Church and State.

[3] Symposium on "Does Marriage Hinder a Woman's Self-Development?" The Pioneer Club is listed elsewhere in the journal among the new clubs available for independent women.

[4] Editorial article deploring the growing frequency of divorce, and ascribing this to the hedonism and egocentricity of the modern age which encourages people to abandon their responsibilities in pursuit of their individual desires.

[5] See Chapter II for details of improvements in Englishwomen's position in this period.

[6] "What We Owe Our Queen," The Lady's Realm, July 1899, an article by the Hon. Mrs. Henry Chetwynd containing strong antifeminist overtones: "She makes our womanhood something to be respected . . . of which no handful of silly 'new women' can deprive us."

[7] "Passing Events," an editorial by Edith Guest, herself a former pupil at the North London Collegiate School for Girls, celebrating the Golden Jubilee of the Frances Mary Buss schools.

[8] The Lady's Pictorial, March 12, 1881, leading article welcoming the admission of women to the Cambridge Tripos Examinations.

[9] The Queen, July 7, 1890, reported Mrs. Sitwell's study of former students which belied the traditional health myths concerning women and intellectual work, that claimed women would become unfit for marriage and motherhood. From a sample of 663 women, she concluded that the low proportion of marriages (50%) was not a result of higher education, but reflected a comparable trend among all women in the professional classes. Moreover, she maintained that those former students who did marry had more children and made better mothers than their peers.

[10] Evelyn Willes, "Women's Colleges at Oxford and Cambridge," The Lady's Realm, November 1898.

[11] Report of Mrs. Garrett Anderson's address to the Annual Meeting of the Society for the Employment of Women.

[12] Letter from M. E. Phillips, Secretary of the Ladies' School of Needlework.

[13] "New Years Hopes," The Queen, January 6, 1890.

[14] Editorial, June 4, 1875.

[15] Extract from "What Work is Feminine and What is Not," an article championing women's entrance to the professions.

[16] Forget-Me-Not, September 8, 1900.

[17] Frances Low, "New Year's Hopes."

[18] Ray Strachey, The Cause, op. cit., p. 283.

[19] Leading article reporting and commenting on a meeting for women's suffrage. The writer was somewhat antagonized by the participants' refusal to allow a hearing to opposing viewpoints.

[20] The Lady's Realm, March 1899, supra fn. 3.

[21] The Englishwoman's Review, June 15, 1880.

[22] Mona Richardson, "Marriage as a Profession."

[23] "Chit Chat," November 15, 1890.

[24] "Woman's True Position," Home Notes, February 3, 1894, editorial reaffirming the doctrine of separate spheres, and woman's place in the home.

[25] Sarah Grand was the pseudonym of Frances Elizabeth Macfall, the author of many popular novels, particularly for young girls (British Museum Catalogue, 1961).

[26] Laura Troubridge, wife of Sir Thomas Troubridge, an army officer, wrote short stories and articles on etiquette before 1900. After 1914 she turned to writing romantic novels (Brit. Mus. Cat.).

[27] Gertrude Atherton, 1857-1948, was an American writer and feminist most famous for her biography of Alexander Hamilton, The Conqueror. She also wrote essays and romantic novels (Brit. Mus. Cat.).

[28] B. L. Hutchins, Women in Modern Industry, op. cit., p. 115.

[29] Peter Stearns, "Working-Class Women in Britain," in Vicinus, ed., Suffer and Be Still, op. cit., p. 113.

[30] A working journalist all her life, Eliza Lynn Linton (1822-98) gained particular fame as the author of a series of articles in the Saturday Review in 1868, entitled "The Girl of the Period," where she coined the phrase "the shrieking sisterhood" to castigate the feminists.

[31] For documentation of the beginning of this trend see: Sally Mitchell, "Forgotten Women of the Period: Penny Weekly Family Magazines in the 1840's and 1850's" in The Widening Sphere, ed. Vicinus, op. cit., pp. 29-52.

[32] Montgomery Hyde and Cynthia White (op. cit.) both claim that he was backed by Weldon's, but the Newspaper Press Directory lists the paper at Goubaud's address in London, until the 1890's when it is listed under Mayson Beeton and Co.

[33] According to Montgomery Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Beeton, op. cit., Matilda Browne, who wrote under the pen-name "Myra," had assisted Beeton, both with his young family, and with the editorship of the Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine and The Young Englishwoman since his wife's death in 1865.

[34] Ibid., p. 167.

[35] See Chapter I.

[36] The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, 16 (1874), p. 34.

[37] The Queen, January 16, 1875, discusses a scheme for a private company to provide "dressing, retiring, and tea room facilities" next to ladies' shops, for the respective prices of 2d., 1d., and 4d., with "outside entrances" for poor women and children needing free

closets, and comments, "The need for such accomodation as herein proposed has been so long felt that it is unnecessary to dwell upon the benefits that would be conferred."

[38] The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, 16 (1874), p. 18.

[39] "Forgotten Lives," a serial in the Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, 16 (1874), p. 58.

[40] Ibid., p. 286.

[41] Quenton Crewe, The Queen: The Frontiers of Privilege (London, 1961).

[42] "The Franchise of Women," an important leading article on the subject.

[43] The Queen, June 5, 1875, report of a meeting on women's suffrage.

[44] "Married Women's Suffrage," a leading article opposing this.

[45] Extract from one of two leading articles commenting on the success of Philippa Fawcett, who had unofficially been placed equal to First Wrangler in the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos in 1890, although, as a woman, she could not receive a Cambridge degree.

[46] "New Year's Hopes," January 6, 1900, op. cit.
Edward Tannenbaum, in his book 1900: The Generation Before the Great War (New York, 1977), pp. 27-28, comments on the tendency of the middle classes throughout Europe to impose their own standards of domesticity and motherhood on the lower classes, through the curricula of the new compulsory schools.

[47] Founded by Emma Paterson in 1874, it was the beginning of efforts to encourage and coordinate women's industrial organization in Great Britain.

[48] "A Standing Evil," an editorial supporting legislation to provide seats for shop assistants.

[49] "Again Our Maids," editorial comment.

[50] "Servants in England and America," The Queen, February 17, 1900.

[51] Quoted in Leonard Naylor's biography of Bowles, The Irrepressible Victorian (London, 1965), pp. 109-110.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Naylor recounts how, as Tory M. P. for Kings Lynn from 1891 to 1905, Bowles strongly advocated a "Britain first" policy, particularly with regard to the size of the navy.

[54] See Chapter IV for similar attitudes in Le Moniteur de la Mode in the 1890's, which waged a concerted campaign against the influx of German fashions.

[55] See Chapter II, fn. 44.

[56] White, Women's Magazines, op. cit., p. 70. However, Laura Smith, "Women's Work in the Press," The Newspaper Press Directory, 1900, ascribes these improvements to a Mrs. Macdonald, who had been editor of The Lady since 1894. Presumably, she and Miss Shell are the same person.

[57] Although The Lady did not take a stand against women's suffrage, Bowles' own position is clear from an item in Woman, May 27, 1896, describing the exhibition of the Women's Suffrage Petition in Westminster Hall, which recounts, "Mr. Gibson Bowles objected to the exhibition of the memorial to the public as an 'annoyance' and a 'disorder.'"

[58] "The simple truth is that it is the highly lucrative positions which are closed to women and which are understood by force of custom and tradition to be unfeminine." Extract from "What Work is Feminine and What is Not," The Lady, May 7, 1885, cf. fn. 15.

[59] H. Montgomery Hyde, Oscar Wilde (New York, 1975), p. 108.

[60] Hyde, p. 109. Letter from Wilde to Thomas Wemyss Reid, general manager at Cassell's. The title was apparently suggested to Wilde by Mrs. Craik.

[61] Hyde, p. 109. Letter from Wilde to Nellie Sickert, sister of the painter Walter Sickert.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Hyde, p. 109.

[64] Hyde, p. 110.

[65] Lady Portsmouth, "The Position of Women," Woman's World, 1888, p. 9.

[66] "Notes and Comments," Woman's World, 1890, p. 53.

[67] Harriet Brooke Davies, "Are Servants a Failure?" Woman's World, 1889, p. 179.

[68] Hyde, p. 113.

[69] See Chapter II, Table 4 (a).

[70] Hulda Friederichs, Life of Sir George Newnes (London, 1911), pp. 145; 117.

[71] This supports Leonore Davidoff's contention in The Best Circles (London, 1973), that the lowering of social barriers at the end of the nineteenth century, and the subsequent transfer of entertainment and social affairs from the home to the public arena, by removing Society women from their previous position as sole arbiters of social standards, freed them for activities in a wider world.

[72] Antoinette Lee, "Party Walls and Private Lives," Women's Studies, III, 3 (1975), p. 253, mentions the contribution of women's magazines towards assisting middle-class wives in the constant struggle "to create at home an aura of superior class status that the average clerk felt to be his due, but which in the harsh world of Victorian business, he was so often denied."

[73] "Woman to Women," editorial praising Gladstone's speech at a girls' school prizegiving, in which he dwelt on the dangers inherent to women invading men's sphere.

[74] Mrs. Lynn Linton, "An Ideal."

[75] Marie Corelli, "Portrait of a Lady."

[76] Harriet Raphael, "Women of Today."

[77] Lady Eleanor Dilke, wife of Sir Charles Dilke, the prominent Liberal politician, was not only a frequent writer on painting and the history of art, but also very active in the Women's Trade Union League.

[78] Margaret Drabble, Arnold Bennett (London, 1974), discusses these years in Bennett's life when journalism was his bread and butter.

[79] E. A. Bennett, Journalism for Women (London, 1898), p. 95.

[80] For example, a notice in the 1893 Newspaper Press Directory sought to convince advertisers of Hearth and Home's profitability by listing the Queen among its subscribers and promising a circulation "not only extensive in English Home Circles, but largely among the well-to-do and money-spending classes," p. 245.

[81] Patricia Branca, The Silent Sisterhood, op. cit., puts the annual wage of a middle-class worker at nearer £100 than £300, which would be more in line with the estimates of a more modest journal, Woman's Life, which, in 1898, calculated household expenses for a family of three people as ranging between 15/- and £1 a week.

[82] Nineteenth Century, 20 (1886), p. 113.
See also Salmon, "What Girls Read," Nineteenth-Century 20 (1886), pp. 515-529. These were but two of many such articles written in the late eighties and early nineties, deploring the failure of popular education to raise the tone of lower-class literary tastes.

[83] Frances Hitchman, "Penny Fiction," The Quarterly Review, 171 (1890), pp. 150-171.

[84] Friederichs, Life of Sir George Newnes.

[85] Reginald Pound and Geoffrey Harmsworth, Northcliffe (London, 1954), p. 128.

[86] Ibid., p. 129.

[87] Northcliffe emphasizes this close relationship, and in particular, Harmsworth's desire to compensate his mother for her early hardships.

[88] Northcliffe, pp. 140; 171.

[89] Ibid., p. 129. Letter from Alfred Harmsworth to his brothers Cecil and Leicester, October 22, 1894.

[90] Editorial, "Woman's True Position."

[91] Advertisement in The Newspaper Press Dictionary, 1895.

[92] Northcliffe, p. 180, cites a letter from Harold Harmsworth to his brother Alfred in June 1895, to this effect. Harold was in charge of the financial side of the family company.

[93] Newsagents' Chronicle, November 27, 1897, cf. Chapter II, fn. 47.

[94] Northcliffe, p. 177.

[95] Ibid., pp. 277-279. See also, Paul Ferris, The House of Northcliffe (London, 1971), p. 120.

[96] This would presumably counteract the "subversive influence" of the penny dreadfuls, so deplored by Salmon (supra. fn. 82) which continually portrayed the upper classes as wicked and dangerous.

[97] "Women and their Investments."

[98] "Fireside Talks," Home Notes, February 3, 1894.

[99] "Women's Newspapers: A Sketch of the Periodical Literature Devoted to the Woman Question," The Englishwoman's Review, October 15, 1878, pp. 433-440, mentions The Queen's articles on education and women's professions.

[100] Ibid., p. 433-434.

[101] The Shield originated as the organ of the Ladies' National Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts. Once this was accomplished, it turned to the abolition of white slavery and the reform of the international vice scene.

[102] "Women's Newspapers," op. cit.

[103] Isabella Tod, "Women's Suffrage."

[104] Yvonne Kapp, Eleanor Marx (London, 1972; 1976), II, 559.

[105] The Englishwoman's Review, 1903, p. 78. Extract from the program of the Freedom of Labour Defence Organization, of which Helen Blackburn, editor of the journal, was president.

[106] "Pitwomen's Right to Work," The Englishwoman's Review, February 1886.

[107] Kapp, Eleanor Marx, II, 85.

[108] Ray Strachey, The Cause, op. cit., pp. 65-66.

[109] "The Profession of Nursing," The Victoria Magazine, September 1876.

[110] Emile Faithfull expressed similar sentiments in 1863 in a paper to the Social Science Congress, quoted in J. A. and O. Banks, Feminism and Family Planning (London, 1964), p. 41: "No one disputes that household management and the nurture of children are good true womanly work. No one wants to take women from homes where there are home duties to perform."

[111] "Our Policy," The Women's Penny Paper, October 27, 1888.

[112] Ibid.

[113] "A Universal Sisterhood," The Women's Penny Paper, August 1889.

[114] The Women's Penny Paper, October 2, 1888, had an interview with Mrs. Bright McLaren, a Repeal supporter. This was one of a series of interviews with women activists.

[115] The Women's Penny Paper, February 1, 1890.

[116] Although The Woman's Herald appears to be a direct continuation of The Women's Penny Paper, an article on February 18, 1893, claimed it had been started in 1889 by a Miss Muller.

[117] The Woman's Herald, January 1893.

[118] The Englishwoman's Review, August 15, 1885, did touch on the subject when it criticized the upcoming Criminal Law Amendment Bill because it "stopped short of making the law of solicitation for vice apply equally to both sexes." This article presumably went to press before Labouchère's Amendment of August 5, which would cause such problems when applied to homosexuals.

[119] "Women's Newspapers," The Englishwoman's Review, op. cit., p. 434.

[120] Deirdre Camody, "Women's Magazines are More than Fashionable," The New York Times, February 15, 1978.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: 1875 - 1900

I. Contrasts with the English Scene

An examination of French women's journals for the last quarter of the nineteenth century reveals a somewhat different perspective on women's lives from that conveyed by magazines of their contemporaries across the Channel. One senses a change in the underlying assumptions which govern behavior: priorities shift, obligations differ. An emphasis on outward appearance: on style rather than substance, is the initial impression in all aspects of life. The second is of feeling stifled in the presence of women who remain enclosed in a much smaller circle, both mentally and physically, than their English counterparts, and whose options are consequently more restricted. That this impression was shared by some French women in the nineteenth century is supported by the remarks of the feminist Julie Daubie, in 1871, in which she envied Englishwomen their ability to argue and discuss social questions with men, in contrast to her own countrywomen, and added:

> En France, surtout, l'ignorance et les préjugés des femmes, leur docilité niaise à accepter par suite des idées toutes faites, ont une influence si funeste, quelquefois si fatale, qu'on ne saurait dépenser trop d'énergie à leur faire connaître leurs devoirs et les mettre en possession de leurs droits.[1]

This situation was grounded in legal realities, since the inferior

status and civil disabilities of Frenchwomen had been institutionalized by the Civil Code, drawn up in the Napoleonic era. Women remained perpetual minors in civil matters, subject always to the tutelage of a man, be he husband, father, or a member of the "conseil de famille." Unable to testify as witnesses to civil acts such as birth or marriage,[2] or to be guardians of their own or others' children,[3] their property and income were administered by their husbands if they married, although, unlike Englishwomen, they did enjoy the right to an equal share in the family inheritance.[4] However, married women could not deposit or withdraw money from a Post Office savings account before 1881,[5] and unlike in England, did not gain control of their own earnings until 1907.[6] Similarly, divorce was slower in coming than in England, finally becoming law in 1884, and then under conditions which favored the husband.

Educational legislation had also perpetuated women's inferior status, since, although the Revolution had accepted the principle of equal primary education for both sexes in 1791, this had been forgotten or deliberately ignored in subsequent years through the simple expedient of providing no funding for girls' schools or teachers' salaries.[7] Consequently, control of girls' education had remained in the hands of the Catholic Church. Even the 1850 legislation on the provision of girls' primary schools in the large communes,[8] and the 1880 law introducing girls' lycées, while apparently in advance of England in the state sector, were probably influenced less by eagerness to expand women's opportunities, than by a desire to avoid the evils of coeducation on the

one hand, and to provide an alternative to Catholic secondary education, on the other.[9]

The contrast between the relative situations of English and French women is brought out most clearly in the feminine press in both countries, particularly in the contents of two magazines such as The Queen and Le Moniteur de la Mode, both of which catered to readers of a similar high social standing. Although Taine's contention that, unlike his countrywomen, Englishwomen had abandoned fashion magazines in favor of more serious journals,[10] was nothing but wishful thinking, in England even those journals which concentrated on fashion and society were certainly more substantial than their French equivalents and, in the last quarter of the nineteeth century, abounded with articles on new professional and recreational activities for upper- and middle-class women. Coverage of these areas was much less developed in France, apart from in those journals with feminist leanings, and even these tended to place more emphasis on women's attaining educational and legal equality than on stressing wider professional opportunities and economic freedom.

One might hypothesize that middle-class women in France had less need for such advice, since sharing equally in the family inheritance, they were guaranteed an income. This could explain why the economic problems of single women which recurred so frequently in English journals were comparatively neglected in France. However, as it seems unlikely that more than a favored few would ever receive a substantial legacy, and more realistic to assume that most unmarried women would need to supplement their income by working, it would probably be more

accurate to conclude that, outside of her possible unpaid contribution to a family business, or her espousal of the veil, a middle-class Frenchwoman's professional options were even more hampered by conservative attitudes than her English sister's.

This view is supported by the occasional poignant appeal which appears in the journals, protesting that:

> Le triste préjugé qui nous domine empêche de donner aux filles une instruction qui développe leurs facultés et leur permette de choisir une profession lucrative qui leur apporterait aisance et bonheur.[11]

Needless to say, in France as in England, working-class women were seldom hampered by such attitudes, since it was taken for granted that they would have to earn their living.

The lack of attention paid to one aspect of the problems of the single woman illustrates a general tendency in all French women's journals to focus on the married woman and to cater exclusively for her interests. While articles for "la jeune fille bien élevée" sought to educate her in the ways of the world and to instill "morale" and "devoir," there was little for the older woman. On the whole, the single state was seen as transitory and an anomaly, with marriage and increasingly, motherhood, as the one true goal and only natural state for a woman. "Une femme n'est pas véritablement femme quand elle n'a pas l'étoffe d'une maman"[12] was a belief upheld by all sectors of society, and reflected even in journals with feminist sympathies such as La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, which proclaimed in an

1880 article, "la femme a reçu le sceau du fini, elle est complète, elle est mère."[13] Moreover, a frequent feminist argument for women's emancipation emphasized that it would provide France with better mothers, and hence better citizens. However, the consequence of this universal attitude was that the unmarried woman was rarely considered as an adult independent being. Even on the question of the desired marriage, advice seemed geared to the mother rather than the daughter, with articles on "how to get your daughter married," emphasizing the passive role of the bride in the whole process. As one contemporary male sympathizer wrote, "les femmes ne se marient pas, elle sont mariées," pointing out an interesting example of how grammatical usage reflects reality.[14]

If one distinctive aspect of the French women's press was this continued emphasis on woman's role as wife and mother, another was the fact that it remained totally bourgeois throughout the period. As already noted in Chapter II, in the 1890's when the woman's press in England was undergoing tremendous expansion through catering for the tastes and needs of a more popular audience, no similar current emerged in France. Although working-class women were frequently mentioned in the women's press, usually with sympathy and understanding, and considerable efforts were made to alleviate their problems, contact was always at second hand through the intermediary of the bourgeois reader by an appeal to her sense of charity, and religious or social duty. Women's journals often reminded their readers that "we are all sisters," but working-class women seemed to be viewed primarily from the

angle of a social problem, rather than a potential audience, at this time. Moreover, that the recommendations for readers to bridge the social gap sometimes carried political overtones, is seen in an editorial on feminine solidarity in Femina, which advised:

> Savoir quel est l'état d'esprit de la femme du peuple, le modifier, le faire meilleur, c'est un fait important de la question sociale dont l'étude s'impose à tous . . . qu'elle devienne ce qu'elle doit être par tempérament et par définition, l'élément d'apaisement dans les classes populaires. (my italics)[15]

Not until 1902 did La Femme au Foyer, which was uniquely devoted to working-class women's interests, appear, and this was more concerned with bringing help and advice to harassed and overworked housewives than to diverting them.

This is not to say that the entertainment of the working-class woman was entirely neglected, but rather that it was covered by other sections of the press at this time, notably the growing spate of cheap "family" magazines after 1880, with their combination of fiction and semi-educational articles, or the weekly supplements of popular dailies such as Le Petit Journal and Le Petit Parisien which were increasingly providing columns for women readers.[16] Similarly, the romantic fiction which English working girls found so attractive in penny weeklies such as Empress or Duchess Novelettes, or Home Stories, in France tended to be purveyed through daily newspapers with their ever popular "feuilletons."[17]

It is interesting to observe that, whereas the expansion of the

women's press in England occurred at both ends of the market in the 1890's, when change affected French women's journals at the turn of the century, bringing a broadening of perspective and a shift of emphasis away from fashion, it was mainly through the introduction of magazines for the sophisticated upper middle-class woman, such as Femina, in 1901, and La Vie Heureuse, in 1902. Quality not quantity appeared to be the goal, and fear of losing an audience to the new trans-Atlantic glossies, the main incentive. For educated Frenchwomen were extremely conscious of their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, and of the strides being made by them, and whereas early on in the period, England was upheld as the model, par excellence, for "le Home," in later years more attention was paid to the "New Woman." Numerous articles appeared, particularly in journals with feminist sympathies, detailing conditions of women's life in England and the United States, and commenting on legislative advances in these countries, although in this respect there was a tendency to overestimate the success of the movement for women's emancipation. Philippa Fawcett's triumphal achievements in the Mathematical Tripos at Cambridge in 1890,[18] were greeted with loud hurrahs in all French women's papers, from Le Moniteur de la Mode downwards. While they continued to assert the superiority of their own readers in all matters pertaining to fashion and good taste, there was an uneasy feeling in French journals that Frenchwomen were being left behind in other spheres, and the new publications attempted to make up for lost time by propagating the image of the "twentieth-century woman."

Although in most developments French women's magazines lagged behind the English until after 1900, with fewer pages, less advertising, and apart from their quality illustrations, inferior contents, in one area the French press was a pioneer, with the introduction of Marguerite Durand's La Fronde in 1897, a daily newspaper by and for women which lasted until 1905. The first issue sold 200,000 copies, as many as Le Moniteur de la Mode at the height of its success in 1890.[19] Its primary purpose was to focus attention on women's issues, for which it became the main catalyst, but it was also actively engaged in Radical politics, and was a leading champion of the Dreyfus cause.

However, because the evolution of the women's press in France did not exactly parallel that of the industry in England, at this time, is not to assume that French magazines remained entirely static in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While noticeable changes in quality, content and lay-out did not occur until after 1900 with the arrival of Femina and La Vie Heureuse, a gradual shift in emphasis and a willingness to reassess women's traditional roles was already appearing in all but the most conservative journals before the turn of the century.

II. Traditional Journals

a) Fashion-oriented papers.

The journals available to Frenchwomen in the 1870's differed little from those of their predecessors. Indeed, many of the titles had been in existence for twenty years or more and seemed likely to

continue.[20] Despite the availability of literary and educational magazines, and domestic manuals, these, with their moralistic tone and lack of illustrations came a poor second in numbers and popularity to those papers which concentrated on fashion. The latter dominated the women's journalistic scene, and the best of them interspersed the latest news of dress and the doings of Parisian Society with quality fiction by such writers as Victor Hugo and François Coppée, and beautiful hand-colored illustrations.

Although direct advertising was sparse, most of these papers were covert publicity agents for the fashion industry, which was acquiring growing importance in the French economy in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in that of Paris in particular.[21] Zeldin estimates that in 1895, 400,000 people were engaged in making women's clothing, not to mention all the subsidiary industries of artificial flowers, fruit, buttons and accessories, and that in the same year, in Paris alone, there were 1,636 couturiers, excluding private dressmakers, six of whom employed between four and six hundred people. Consequently, the role of the fashion journal as an arbiter of taste and elegance could have economic implications far beyond the small circle of its readers, since a flourishing fashion industry spelled employment for many working-class women, in particular.

> La Revue de la Mode a été fondée en janvier 1872 dans le but de soutenir, par le crayon, le pinceau et la plume, la prépondérance des produits français, et des modes françaises, et de répandre de plus en plus, en France et à l'étranger, le culte du bon goût, du bon ton, et de la saine élégance,

it was proudly asserted in 1885,[22] thus continuing a tradition virtually identical to that of Mésangère's Journal des Dames et des Modes, in 1797.[23] This policy of promoting the French fashion industry took a particularly chauvinistic turn in the 1890's in the face of competition from German mass-produced ready-to-wear clothing,[24] with Le Moniteur de la Mode urging its readers to boycott: "des modes allemandes qui nous arrivent sous le couvert des journaux français," and urging advertisers to, "faire acte de patriotisme, de patriotisme intelligent . . . et de propager un journal qui représente si bien le goût parisien et les modes françaises."[25]

However, although the expansion of the industry encouraged the existence of a multiplicity of fashion journals, this mutual dependence could have its pitfalls. Luxury industries are not only notoriously vulnerable to changes in taste, but also among the first to suffer in times of economic depression or social and political instability. Any problems which affected the fashion industry itself had repercussions in terms of loss of readership, and consequently viability, for the journals so closely connected to it. This is reflected in the ephemeral nature of so many of these papers, particularly those which contained no additional attractions such as fiction or domestic advice to retain readers, and their constant replacement by others of the same kind when the temporary crisis subsided. Even though old favorites still seemed to thrive, appearances were deceptive. Their hey-day had been during the Second Empire, and although they clung on for a few more years, many never really recovered from the enforced

halt in publication during the Siege of Paris and the Commune, from 1870 to 1871. The 1870's and 1880's were to see a growing number of them either ceasing publication entirely, or merging with others, which indicates a declining market for the traditional high society journal. Among the more famous which disappeared in these years were, Le Bon Ton (1834-84), Le Follet (1829-82), Paris Elégant (1837-81), Le Courrier de la Mode (1857-71), La Gazette Rose (1857-84), and La Corbeille (1857-71).

Termination of Pre-1870 Journals

Total	1870's	1880's	1890's	1890-1914	Post 1918	Unknown
42	6	18	8	6	2	2

Le Moniteur de la Mode (1843-1913)

One society paper which continued to ride the waves, and with increasing success, gradually absorbing many of its former rivals, was Le Moniteur de la Mode. Founded by Abel Gouraud in 1843, it later became the linchpin for his family's Société des Journaux de Modes Réunis which at various times controlled twenty-seven fashion journals, and lasted until 1913. The height of its success was in the mid-eighties to nineties.

Like all high-class fashion magazines in France, Le Moniteur de la Mode appeared in multi-editions, and prices, ranging from 26 francs to 52 francs for a year's subscription (25,50 and 75 centimes apiece in the 1880's), depended on the number of engravings and pattern supplements. The text alone cost 16 francs per annum. In addition, there

were multi-lingual editions for England, the United States, South America, Europe and Russia. In England, the water-color drawings of Jules David appeared, by arrangement with Samuel Beeton, in The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine from 1860 on, and later in The Queen,[26] and the separate English edition was apparently not published in England until 1882, after the demise of the former.[27]

Containing between ten and twelve folio pages of text, interspersed with illustrations, the Moniteur's main emphasis was on fashion and the social round, including theatrical and artistic events. Other features included random "filler" articles whose content was apparently dictated by the season, news of shops, beauty and health advice under the heading "hygiène," and a romantic serial or short story usually characterized by a historic theme (the Wars of Religion was ever popular) or an exotic setting (here Scotland was a perennial favorite in contrast to the English fascination with Italy and the Riviera).

Considerable publicity was given to the dress patterns available through the magazine. These were relatively costly, ranging from 1fr.50 for a blouse or skirt, through 4fr.50 for a complete outfit, to 6 fr. for an eight-piece layette. Despite the numerous sewing machine offers, one does not receive the impression that readers of the seventies could have had time to spare from their arduous social round to make up the patterns themselves. However this seems more likely in the eighties, when directions for artistic sewing and needlework became increasingly prominent in engravings and special offers,

while in the nineties, the journal carried instructions for making children's clothes. By 1900, readers were being shown how to "remake" garments, which implies either that the magazine's clientele were in straitened circumstances, or that it was reaching a lower social strata, or possibly that the original readers were reassessing their domestic responsibilities.

Any of these possibilities would also explain the increase in the journal's domestic articles over the years. In the 1870's these were virtually non-existent; in the 1880's they shifted from the theoretical "qualities needed to manage a household," to the practical "how to clean marble," with the inclusion of a "Manuel de Ménage" column as well as menus and recipes. By the 1890's there was a new feature on "Le Home" for aspiring interior decorators, and readers were being drilled in the proper procedures for giving a dinner party, and in 1900, recipe instructions were so precise that they imply either that the reader herself was doing the cooking, or closely supervising the kitchen.

Yet another indication of a shift in readership or of readers' attitudes to their roles, is the changing image of woman propounded by the journal. In the seventies and eighties, women were still being advised on how to shine in Society, and one writer commented on the new fashion for mothers to wheel their own baby carriages on the Champs Elysées each morning as a "charming eccentricity."[28] By the nineties, however, the ideal had changed from that of society queen to "fée du logis," with an emphasis on women exercising their talents on the home

stage, as wives and mothers. "Plaire est un grand devoir et en même temps un grand art. Ce fut l'origine de notre mission," counselled the author of an 1895 article on woman's place, which fostered the "separate spheres" theory of sexual roles, with man active in the wider world, and woman providing back-up support at home. She urged readers to make their homes as attractive as themselves in order to keep their husbands at home and promote domestic harmony, "Le bonheur est un hôte capricieux; faisons-lui un nid douillet et coquet afin qu'il établisse sa demeure."[29]

This trend towards domesticity was particularly evident in the journal after its merger with the Revue de la Mode in 1890, and the transfer of editorship to the latter's Marie de Saverny,[30] for the Revue had always sought a less dashing and more home-oriented clientele. Nevertheless, parallel to this increasing emphasis on the importance of woman's role in the home, there were also indications of a growing awareness of the widening horizons available to her outside its walls, which as with English journals, suggests that perhaps the two developments were somehow intrinsically linked, with the former acting as a kind of defense mechanism against the challenge and potential threat of the latter. As yet, in the Moniteur, this growth in feminist consciousness was very undeveloped, being confined to articles on women's lives and achievements in foreign countries, and on prominent women, alive or dead. An illustration for a fancy dress costume entitled "La Nouvelle Sorbonne" portraying a woman in cap and gown, in January 1890, was the nearest it came to promoting Frenchwomen's educational

progress, although it was full of praises for the achievements of the English Philippa Fawcett.[31]

However, while one can detect a gradual evolution in the attitude to woman's potential among some of the journal's contributors, unlike in English journals, it is less easy to judge the extent to which this struck a responsive chord among readers, since at all times the correspondence columns reveal little of women's inner concerns or attitudes. Readers generally confined their queries to detailed questions on fashion or beauty, or requests for sources of merchandise. Consequently, from a glance at the letters, advertisements and health columns, it would appear that Frenchwomen's major concerns, apart from mourning etiquette which caused a lot of heart searching, were acne, falling or surplus hair, overweight and minor digestive problems. Towards the end of the century however the health columns began to replace beauty hints with advice more directly concerned with women's health, and to emphasize the importance of exercise and fresh air for maintaining physical fitness, frequently alluding to the latter's effect on their potential childbearing role. In this respect, one writer even gave support to a proposal for obligatory premarital health examinations.[32]

Le Moniteur de la Mode was the archetype of the traditional French fashion magazine, others varying little in lay-out and content; indeed, those in the Goubaud group frequently differed only in title and outside cover.[33] Variations in other papers were not so much in subject matter,

as in the quality of the paper or the engravings, both of which were dependent on the price. Indications of a less prosperous audience also revealed themselves in the society page, which, in cheaper papers, was composed for the vicarious enjoyment of readers by writers less at home in the genre, or in the correspondence pages, which contained more queries on matters of etiquette, thus reflecting readers with less social assurance. Among the most successful journals in the same line were, Le Journal des Demoiselles, La Revue de la Mode, La Mode Illustrée, and Le Petit Echo de la Mode.

Le Journal des Demoiselles (1833-1922)

The title of this journal is deceptive, since it was mostly intended for the upper-class society woman, rather than the shy young miss. Slightly less expensive than Le Moniteur de la Mode in its most popular editions, it reached much the same audience. Despite a lay-out which gave fifty per cent of its space to fashion, beauty and society, and despite a cover depicting women's main activities as painting, piano-playing, reading, embroidery, riding, and shooting, the editors constantly harangued readers for wasting time on the trivialities of the social round, and urged them to return to the simple joys of husband and family. A typical editorial column exhorted them against the evils of idleness:

> Ce temps, ce temps précieux, ne le perdez pas dans ces courses en dehors, dans ces visites sans cesse renouvelées, où l'amitié n'entre pour rien, dans ces conversations qui toujours lèsent la conscience. Sachez rester au logis, dans ce logis tant aimé aux

> premiers jours de votre union: vous y trouverez votre mari, qu'un absentéisme trop fréquent finirait de chasser de la maison, vous y trouverez votre table à ouvrage, votre bureau, votre bibliothèque, enfin, vous y trouverez vos enfants.
> Le Journal des Demoiselles, March 6, 1875

Thus, like many of its fellows, Le Journal des Demoiselles was full of ambiguities, tempting the reader with external delights in its columns, while instilling in her a sense of guilt for desiring the same. A similar hypocrisy is revealed with Léon Sault's journal, La Femme du Foyer (1879-82), which far from revelling in the cozy domesticity its title implied, in fact, like his other papers, was mainly a chronicle of high fashion and society for the initiated, with never a hint of sordid household matters.

La Revue de la Mode (1879-1913)

This journal, whose later development has already been mentioned in connection with that of Le Moniteur de la Mode, did, from its beginning, pay more attention to the practical side of the domestic ideal. With a less spacious lay-out, and, on average, half the price of either Le Moniteur or Le Journal des Demoiselles, it aimed at a less sophisticated clientele, offering its readers "conseils sur tout ce qui se rapporte à la bonne tenue d'une maison, à l'éducation et à l'hygiène."[34] One particular service which was especially popular with readers was the opportunity to visit the main office of the journal for personal advice, or to have dress patterns cut to one's measurements.

Despite the elaborate pseudonyms in the correspondence columns, where inquiries all seemed to come from "la baronne" or "la marquise,"

most readers were probably prosperous provincial housewives, judging from their addresses, and, in particular, given the amount of space devoted to baby care and to advice on how to run an efficient household, mothers with young children. That they were not wealthy is shown from the number of demands for advice on altering clothes, or other ways of cutting corners. However, this could be taken as a sign of prudent economy rather than penury, since in the kitchen department menus were never for less than ten or twelve people, and were extremely substantial, especially at holiday time.

Le Petit Echo de la Mode (1879+)

While following the same general lines as La Revue de la Mode, this journal was aimed at an audience further down the social and economic ladder. A 10 centime weekly, Le Petit Echo de la Mode was launched on its still successful career in 1879 when the Huon de Penaster, a Catholic senatorial family from the north of France, bought out the ailing Petit Journal de la Mode.[35] In the 1890's, it blossomed out as the most popular fashion magazine for lower-middle-class women, particularly those in the provinces. A policy of deliberately seeking a wider audience than that attracted by traditional women's journals was inaugurated in 1880 under the editorship of "la baronne de Clessy," with an appeal to readers:

> dans les milieux très étendus et non encore atteints à Paris et surtout en Province, par le côté le plus humain, le plus directement utile . . . son public sera le grand public féminin qui a souci non seulement de la mode, mais de tout ce qui concerne matériellement la famille et la vie familiale.[36]

Despite its professions of breaking new ground with an emphasis on utility, Le Petit Echo remained primarily a fashion magazine for women of modest means, but social pretensions.

> il a mission de mettre l'élégance à la portée de toutes, en fournissant à celles qui sont placées dans une situation plus modeste le moyen de suppléer par leur travail à l'exiguïté de leurs ressources.[37]

Although in appearance it could not compete with the more elegant magazines, having a lay-out of four, and later eight, crowded grand folio pages, printed on cheap paper with illustrations and text closely intertwined, Le Petit Echo's appeal lay in its combination of diverting literature and suggestions for attaining elegance with economy. In addition, much of its success can be attributed to the new publishing practices it instituted, beginning in 1884 with the "Comptoir Parisien," a scheme by which readers were introduced to various household items which they were given the opportunity to buy at a discount.[38] The second innovation came in 1890, with the addition of a free literary supplement, separately paginated from the rest of the journal so that it could be bound at the end of the year, and sent sales soaring to 100,000.[39] Typical titles were: "L'Amour en Russie," "Mariage de convenance," "Lady Frida" (an English import), and "L'Automne d'une femme." An even more successful new feature was the introduction of free pre-cut paper patterns in 1893, which caused sales to shoot to 210,000 rising to 300,000 by 1900.[40] An additional sales device, which it shared with other women's magazines, was the practice of "primes" or special offers to readers. These became

increasingly elaborate, moving from piano albums to watches and sewing machines, and assured the journal of regular sales, since readers could amass coupons towards them each week. Furthermore, unlike some of the higher-class journals, notably La Mode Illustrée, Le Petit Echo de la Mode did not reject advertising as vulgar and restricting, but on the contrary, abounded with advertisements for baby foods, soups, and the obligatory health and beauty items, all of which further added to its financial viability.

Nevertheless, despite its success, it would be wrong to assume with Sullerot that Le Petit Echo's popularity rested on the fact that in content and tone it struck a new line from its bourgeois rivals,[41] since this is patently untrue. Though it might sanctimoniously claim that "une femme sérieuse ne considère jamais la toilette comme une des principales affaires de la vie,"[42] and that "Une femme n'est pas vraiment femme qui ne sait pas travailler de ses doigts,"[43] this was but a repetition of maxims common to all. In practice, it continued to titillate the vicarious desires of its readers with visions of a higher social life: correspondence columns abounded with questions on correct etiquette, and the fiction with tales of noble ladies. Similarly, writers and correspondents invariably sheltered under the most elaborate titled pseudonyms. Furthermore, although by the nineties there is some indication of a broadening of women's perspectives and opportunities in the increasing number of letters and advertisements regarding employment openings and educational opportunities, the general message of the journal regarding women's role remained that of

conventional Catholicism, with modesty, duty and self-sacrifice as the prevailing virtues. In 1895, mothers were still told:

> Dressez vos filles à s'oublier, à se prodiguer, à sacrifier leurs occupations préférées s'il le faut pour se tenir à la disposition de leurs frères, et cela sans montrer, bien sûr, qu'elles aimeraient faire autre chose.[44]

and devotion to duty, albeit unpleasant, was given the highest priority:

> Soyez des femmes de devoir. Faites carrément passer avant tout ce qui vous plait tout ce que vous devez faire.[45]

La Mode Illustrée (1860-1937)

One of the older papers maligned as "oisif" by Sullerot, this journal, under the long-term editorship of Emmeline Raymond,[46] did frequently adopt a far stronger image of woman than that current in the Petit Echo de la Mode. Apparently considered as something of a novelty when it first appeared in 1860 because of its emphasis on a practical, do-it-yourself approach to fashion,[47] its sales rose from 40,000 in 1865[48] to 100,000 from 1880 on.[49] In moral attitudes also, Raymond stressed a cheerful, matter-of-fact approach of life rather than religious duty. Although she catered for the "femme du monde," Raymond disliked affectation and ostentation, and condemned those who would skimp on home comforts so as to spend a fortune on clothes. While, in common with other journals, her message was that "a happy home keeps a husband home," she did not envisage the wife's role as

that of a compliant servant, but rather as a companion and equal partner:

> N'est-ce pas un honneur, en effet, d'être non plus une créature frivole et inutile . . . mais la compagne du chef de la famille, capable de l'aider, et au besoin, de le suppléer pour gagner la vie de la famille?
>
> La Mode Illustrée, August 15, 1875[50]

A working woman herself, having lived by her pen for years,[51] Raymond took a realistic attitude to other women's economic needs, and argued that it was more praiseworthy to earn one's living honestly than to starve genteelly. Noting in the 1890's the increasing number of readers' letters which sought advice on finding a job, she commented, "ce ne sont plus des voix isolées mais des choeurs s'élevant de toutes parts,"[52] and attempted to help her readers adjust to the changing situation. She was under no illusions about the difficulties confronting a girl from a bourgeois family who wanted to work, and discouraged both parents and daughters from assuming that artistic accomplishments or amateur skills could easily be transformed into a paying proposition. She constantly reminded them of the necessity of professional training for any kind of job, and argued that the growing phenomenon of working women should stimulate a whole rethinking of girls' education:

> Désormais il faut s'appliquer à donner aux filles, non plusieurs talents d'agrément, mais d'ouvrir en elles les éléments d'une spécialité, puis à la développer, à les conduire à son plus haut point de perfection.
>
> La Mode Illustrée, January 30, 1895[53]

As its own minor contribution to this end, in the 1890's the magazine introduced a course on written style by Odette Languerre, a high school teacher, in order to help women overcome the perennial objections of potential employers to their slovenly writing and poor spelling.

b) Minor women's journals.

Emmeline Raymond's realistic attitude to women's economic problems and their possible solutions was shared by editors of some of the less prolific women's journals, notably Nelly Lieutier of La Vie Domestique and Louise d'Alq of Les Causeries Familières; by contrast the traditional viewpoint of official Catholicism continued to be upheld by La Femme et la Famille.

La Vie Domestique (1875-93)

Unlike the journals previously examined, this was not a fashion magazine, nor even, despite its title, particularly interested in household matters, but rather a modestly priced (10 frs. per annum), non-illustrated educational and childcare-oriented journal, founded as a companion to Le Journal des Jeunes Mères by Henri Bellaire and Théophile Lieutier, and initially directed by the latter's wife Nelly. Besides editing La Vie Domestique, and writing several children's books, Nelly Lieutier was an experienced journalist, and under the pseudonym of Gabrielle Besson, a frequent contributor to La Mode Illustrée and La Revue de la Mode.[54] Of greater interest is her close friendship with Eugénie Niboyet, founder, in 1848, of the feminist journal, La Voix des Femmes,[55] to whom she wrote an ardent tribute on the latter's death in

1880.[56]

Although she advertised her journal in the feminist Le Droit des Femmes, Lieutier tended in her own columns to keep within the limits of convention, championing the family against the worldliness of the age, and upholding woman as the pivot on whom all family life depends. Consequently, La Vie Domestique sought: "par ses récréations et par des lectures morales et attrayantes de ramener chaque membre de la famille au foyer trop souvent désert."[57] Nevertheless, her feminist sympathies occasionally revealed themselves, notably when she expressed her resentment at the neglect of women's education, and her staunch belief in women's equality:

> le brevet d'infériorité dont on les a stigmatisées, ne peut être applicable qu'à celles que les circonstances, ou leur propre volonté ont empechées de développer leur intelligence ou leurs attitudes.
> La Vie Domestique, November 15, 1875[58]

In the final analysis, Nelly Lieutier's feminism was basically conservative, since, apart from advocating the value of work for all, her ambitions did not advance beyond the "separate but equal" doctrine, with women's talents to be exercised in the home, or in its natural extension, the educational profession.

However, she appears radical by comparison with her successor as editor, Marc Rossièny, who took over the financial control of the journal in 1879, and, in an attempt to increase circulation and revenue, sought to appeal to a more general readership. This trend was accompanied by an increasingly patronizing tone towards women, often marked

by fulsome praise, with women in the old role as the source of all the good and evil in the world:

> La femme est la grande impératrice des bonnes et des mauvaises choses, c'est elle qui règne au foyer domestique, elle est le lien de la famille, elle est l'étoile de la nation. Lorsque la femme déchoit et tombe, la lumière tombe avec elle. . . le feu du foyer s'éteint et ses cendres se dispersent, la famille se désunit, la nation s'éffondre.
>
> La Vie Domestique, June 1880

Despite Rossièny's avowed intention of continuing Lieutier's tradition (indeed, she herself remained with the journal for at least a year), under his editorship women's particular interests were forced to take a back seat in favor of topics which he considered would hold appeal for men, such as financial affairs, and numerous travel articles on balloon ascents, visits to lighthouses, and Nordenskiold's polar expedition. Meanwhile, he sought to hide the journal's change of direction by associating it with L'Association des Femmes du Monde, which in fact was nothing more than an insurance scheme for the wives and daughters of army officers and civil servants, and thus complied with Rossièny's general attitude to women which held that:

> protéger la femme contre elle-même, c'est donc prévoir un péril social, c'est faire acte de patriotisme.
>
> La Vie Domestique, June 16, 1880[59]

Rossièny's obvious connections with financial interests and his attempt to turn the journal into a limited company were not sufficient to assure La Vie Domestique of a viable future. It continued to

founder, and he was forced to sell. His successor Henri Dorville attempted to revitalize it with considerable advertising support in 1890, and it reverted to being a conventional women's paper. However, he was only temporarily successful, and in 1893 the journal again changed hands, becoming for a brief time a popular family monthly, devoted to literature, with comic illustrations and a distinctly patriotic tone.

Les Causeries Familières (1880-1900)

In common with Nelly Lieutier and Emmeline Raymond, Louise d'Alq, editor of Les Causeries Familières and Paris Charmant, was another prolific authoress, who usually concentrated on etiquette and household advice, but who also translated English and American books.[60] Having started writing because of reverses of fortune, her motto was "Le travail c'est l'indépendance," and this shines through what would otherwise be a rather conventional woman's paper, which initially concentrated on etiquette and household advice, but later expanded to include fashion, needlework and fiction.

Although Les Causeries Familières was almost totally home-oriented and generally upheld traditional Catholic morality, d'Alq came to oppose the stereotype view restricting woman to the home as unrealistic, and in the 1890's increasingly asserted her right to work:

> Pourquoi vouloir condamner les femmes qui n'ont pas d'enfants ou qui sont seules à vivre comme celles qui ont de la famille ou un soutien? . . . Non seulement toutes les femmes ne sont pas appelées au mariage, et à la maternité, mais même mariées, beaucoup se trouvent tôt seules par le veuvage ou la séparation.
> Les Causeries Familières, 1898[61]

In the same article, she even attacked the sacred cow of motherhood, advancing the surprisingly modern view that this is only one stage in a woman's life and should be treated as such:

> La maternité n'a qu'un temps dans la vie d'une femme; une bonne partie de son existence, mettons un tiers, elle reste sans occupation de ce côté là.
>
> Ibid.

At the same time, she stigmatized opposition to women's professional aspirations as coming mostly from men's fear of competition. However, despite her support for certain feminist ideas, and notably for married women's right to work, Louise d'Alq had little sympathy for the feminist movement as such, as is evident in her reporting of the 1900 Congrès Féministe whose leaders she attacked for seeking to emulate men. For her, actions spoke louder than words:

> Combien de femmes font du féminisme sans s'en douter? Cela vaut mieux que toutes les discussions possibles.
>
> Ibid.

III. Catholic Journals

In nineteenth-century France, despite the existence of a strong current of secularism and anti-clericalism in political and intellectual circles, Roman Catholicism was still assumed by law to be "the religion of the majority of Frenchmen."[62] Furthermore, the Church, having recovered from its traumatic experience in the Revolutionary years, held a position of considerable moral authority, if not direct political

influence, in the lives of many citizens. This was particularly true among bourgeois women over whose education it held a virtual monopoly well into the latter years of the century despite advances in women's education in the state sector.[63] Hence, it was taken for granted by most conventional women's magazines, that the bulk of their readers were practising Catholics, and while they rarely openly mentioned religion in their pages, they generally reflected a Catholic point of view on questions of morality or social and charitable behavior.

More visibly committed to an orthodox Catholic interpretation of woman's role and life-style were those women's journals allied to or issued by the Catholic press, which, aside from its usual production of religious tracts, parish magazines and newsletters for the various Catholic organizations, was increasingly expanding its publishing activities into the field of popular journalism at the end of the nineteenth century.[64] Among these vehicles for official Catholicism, was La Femme et la Famille et le Journal des Jeunes Personnes, a literary journal for women, and young girls in particular, which was taken over by La Société de Librairie Catholique in 1876, the first of the French publishing firms to be organized on the joint stock principle.[65]

La Femme et la Famille et le Journal des Jeunes Personnes (1869-1905)

Published in French and Italian, this journal cost 12 frs. a year, or 6 frs. without the fashion supplements. Readers who introduced five subscribers received a free subscription. Edited originally by Julie Gouraud, an author of moral stories for children, the paper was conservative in lay-out and tone, stressing not only orthodox

Catholicism but also royalism. Insipid editorials, written in imitation of the eighteenth-century epistolary style, preached simplicity and absolute obedience to Church and family as opposed to worldly frivolity. The fiction was also strongly colored by religion, stressing charity and self-sacrifice, and regularly involved heroines who espoused the religious life rather than contract an unsuitable marriage. Under the latter heading came marriage to a non-Catholic, marriage to someone from a lower social class, or marriage to a libertine—in ascending order of preference! Recommended literature was definitely of the "improving" kind and included a large percentage of lives of saints. Religious paintings frequently featured among the special offers, although these also included items more typical of other women's magazines such as sewing machines or costume jewelry. In addition to its literary features, the magazine carried advice on domestic matters and child care, in line with its belief that woman's primary role should be in the home as model wife or daughter.

With the arrival of Azilie de Benque d'Agut as managing editor in 1890, the magazine adopted a more worldly tone, increasingly carrying articles on current events, including politics. One particularly interesting feature of the journal in the nineties is the evolution of its attitude towards feminism. When the term was first mentioned in a number of editorial articles by A. de Valdor, the accompanying remarks were full of ridicule for "les doctrines dangereuses, subversives, révolutionnaires,"[66] and expressed opposition to women's educational and professional aspirations. Female students at the Sorbonne

were attacked for:

> consentant à changer contre un ridicule diplôme, un frais et radieux front—jeu qui n'en vaut vraiment pas la chandelle.
> La Femme et la Famille, January 1890[67]

By 1900, however, possibly under the influence of the polarizing climate of the Dreyfus affair, the journal had actively entered the political arena, campaigning vigorously against the government in support of militant right-wing causes, such as Déroulède or the Assumptionists, and attacking Dreyfus's supporters, and "the jewish conspiracy" in virulent terms:

> A la honte de notre époque et à notre éternelle douleur, le mal a tout envahi, la juiverie, en s'étendant comme une tache d'huile, n'a pas laissé un coin qu'elle n'ait empoisonné de son haleine, flétri de son contact, gangrené de son argent.
> La Femme et la Famille, January 1900[68]

Ironically, it was this politicization which led to a more liberal attitude towards feminism, for it was finally realized that the political involvement of women could be in the Catholic interest, a possibility which had, for many years, not been lost on their Radical and anti-clerical Republican opponents, and had consequently led the latter to drag their feet on the issue of women's suffrage. La Femme et la Famille began to take up the support of feminist causes such as educational and professional opportunities for women, together with civil and political rights, being always careful to try to hide its shift of position by distinguishing between "true" and "false"

feminism:

> En face du féminisme cosmopolite et maçonnique il est urgent d'affirmer le vrai: le féminisme français et chrétien.
>
> La Femme et la Famille, October, 1900[69]

One particularly militant writer saw the Christian feminism as the patriotic solution to the decadence wrought in the country by the influence of Judaism:

> Il ne pouvait y avoir oeuvre plus opportune que 'le féminisme chrétien.' La grâce de Dieu a inspiré à quelques âmes de femmes la pensée de se grouper pour enlever la patrie à la décadence, pour faire marcher la société vers le progrès moral et la grandeur intellectuelle . . . Nous prêcherons la croisade patriotique: Dieu le veut.[70]

Nevertheless, despite this apparent change of heart towards women's rights, a basic ambivalence remained: an underlying fear that the foundations of society and above all the family were threatened by any change in women's status. Therefore, the journal was careful to stress that emancipation was for some, but not for all:

> A moins de circonstances toutes particulières, à moins d'une vocation et d'aptitude spéciale, le mieux sera pour une femme de rester dans la modeste situation des femmes ordinaires. Le démon de l'ambition et de l'orgueil ne met pas son emprise sur un esprit sage et pondéré, sur une âme humble et vraiment chrétienne.
>
> La Femme et la Famille, November 1900[71]

Comments such as these, by linking women's aspiration and achievements with the heinous sins of vain ambition and false pride, would, for a

true believer in Church teaching, stigmatize them as moral weaknesses to be avoided, rather than laudable evidence of women's ability and strength of character, and consequently discourage all but the stout-hearted.

The changing tone of La Femme et la Famille is just one example of the growing political militancy of the Catholic press, associated with the Catholic revival at the end of the century, which reflected, among other things, the new phenomenon of Right-wing Nationalism, which had previously been the prerogative of the Left.[72] The accompanying development, the emergence of Catholic feminism in the nineties, was expressed most forcefully in the journal Le Féminisme Chrétien.

Le Féminisme Chrétien (1896-99).

Founded by Marie Maugeret as the official organ of La Société du Féminisme Chrétien, with the motto "Agir et Réagir," its articles asserted that it was women's Christian duty to abandon their sheltered role and enter the fray, since men had abdicated their responsibilities as guardians of the moral and spiritual values of the nation. At the same time, however, they also argued that women's traditional role had simply been a front for their exploitation by men:

> Les hommes leur vendaient trop cher cette prétendue protection qui n'était qu'une exploitation déguisée,[73]

and castigated the traditional marriage code as "un feuillet détaché

du Code d'esclavage."[74]

Like other feminist papers, Le Féminisme Chrétien campaigned actively for equal educational and professional opportunities for women, pointing out that arguments in favor of their exclusion from the latter were generally grounded in men's fear of financial competition rather than a genuine belief in women's incapacity. It also vigorously supported women's economic independence, particularly their right to control their own income, and also women's right to equality in the marriage partnership, although the journal did not favor divorce. While, in principle, championing women's political rights, it sided with the majority of feminists in being temporarily prepared to postpone women's suffrage until public opinion had become more amenable, fearing like them, to lose out on other victories by a confrontation on this issue.

However, despite its feminist militancy, the journal still could not abandon the idea that a woman's primary career should be in marriage:

> sa véritable carrière est avant tout et quelquefois exclusivement, d'être épouse et mère.
> Le Féminisme Chrétien, February 1896[75]

Le Féminisme Chrétien was seconded in this attitude by a later Catholic journal, La Femme Contemporaine, founded in 1903 as a serious literary review for educated women. While giving full support to women's aspirations,[76] this journal hoped that their consequent emancipation, rather than diverting them to new channels, would lead to the

enrichment of their traditional role:

> Je ne vois à la soutenance de ces thèses aucun inconvénient à la condition toutefois que chacune d'elles, bien loin de soustraire la femme à son rôle familial, l'enracine au contraire, plus profondément, la constitue de mode plus définitif, dans sa sublime vocation.
>
> La Femme Contemporaine, October 1903[77]

IV. Feminist Journals

It would be wrong to assume that a family-centered conception of woman's role was confined to Catholic feminism at this time, since it was a view shared by all shades of French feminist opinion, grounded in an intrinsic belief in the moral superiority of women and their consequent importance in forming the ethical values of the community as a whole. Republican feminists, in particular, saw the mother as the pillar of the state, and based their arguments for women's emancipation in large part on the need to provide suitable persons for the vital role of bringing up and educating good citizens. This identification of the social benefits to the State with the aspirations of women is revealed in an article on new opportunities for women in an 1886 issue of La Femme et l'Enfant:

> Il est donc de l'intérêt général que la femme reçoive une éducation complète, qu'elle puisse, par ses leçons, préparer une génération de citoyens dévoués à leur patrie.[78]

Even the more radical La Citoyenne, the sole journal which actively embraced women's suffrage in the 1880's, shared a concept of women's

family obligations, with its belief in equal rights:

> Ce n'est pas parce que la femme voterait qu'elle cesserait d'être pour la famille ce qu'est le soleil pour la fleur, un astre qui réchauffe de son amour. Non! les femmes peuvent à la fois jouir de l'intégralité de leurs droits et être irréprochables dans l'accomplissement de leurs devoirs.
>
> La Citoyenne, March 1881[79]

However, aside from sharing a common belief in the importance of the maternal role to the stability of the family, on other issues, Catholic and non-Catholic women were poles apart, until the 1890's. Before then, support for women's emancipation came mainly from the anti-clerical camp on the Left, which saw the Catholic Church as the primary contributor to women's historical inferiority.

The nature of this support was to have important consequences for the evolution of the goals of the feminist movement at this time, since it led it to commit itself to a policy of gradualism, and in particular, to the postponement of the question of women's suffrage. Not only did French feminists fear to become too militant, lest they should create needless antagonism to their general goals by reviving memories of women's radical participation in the Commune,[80] but they also wanted to avoid benefiting their political opponents. They feared that until a majority of women had received a modern, and above all, a laic education, their votes were likely to be dictated by their confessors, and would thus directly benefit the parties on the Right, posing a threat to the political stability of the Third Republic:

> Le vote des femmes à l'heure actuelle nous amènerait une réaction cléricale, la perte de la République et du suffrage universel tel qu'il existe, et les complications étrangères, le démembrement et l'émiettement de la Patrie.
> La Femme et l'Enfant, January 1886[81]

Le Droit des Femmes (1869-91)

Founded by Léon Richer in the more liberal political atmosphere of the closing years of the Second Empire as an organ of propaganda for the recently revived campaign for women's equality,[82] Le Droit des Femmes was to be the most important feminist journal in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Like organized feminism, its cautious beginnings received a set-back from the adverse public reaction to accounts of women's participation in the Commune, neither of them, in consequence, gathering much support before the late seventies. In fact the journal even adopted the less militant title of L'Avenir des Femmes between 1871 and 1879.

A notary clerk and part-time journalist with Republican sympathies,[83] Richer sought collaborators from all those who had ever been involved with women's issues. At different times these included, Victor Hugo, who was for years the Honorary Chairman of La Ligue des Droits des Femmes; Ernest Legouvé, poet, playwright and member of L'Académie Française, whose book L'Histoire Morale des Femmes (1848) was an early advocate of women's civil rights and equal educational opportunities;[84] Louis Blanc, the Socialist deputy and originator of the scheme for National Workshops in 1848; Emile de Girardin, an important figure in the world of journalism and publishing until his

death in 1881; and above all, Maria Desraimes, who from 1866 until her death in 1894 was the doyenne of the French feminist movement. Contributions also came from André Léo and Hubertine Auclert, Socialist sympathizers with experience of working women's problems; Eugénie Potonie-Pierre, a dedicated campaigner for the improvement of women's working conditions and an end to the double sexual standard; Nelly Lieutier, the journalist and editor; and Julie Daubie, author of La Femme pauvre au dix-neuvième siècle (1866), and one of the first women to receive the Baccalauréat.

Despite this varied support from Republican, Socialist and feminist circles, the main inspiration of the journal was always Richer, who wrote most of the articles under pseudonyms such as Jeanne Mercoeur, George Bath and Jean Frollo,[85] and would brook no opposition to his point of view. His arrogance led him to involve the journal in his own personal and political disputes[86] and was also responsible for his quarrel with Hubertine Auclert over the journal's policy on the suffrage issue, which led to her founding the rival paper La Citoyenne in 1881. Richer, in fact, seemed to consider that his early affiliation with the feminist movement gave him the permanent right to dictate policies and tactics to everyone else:

> Lorsque tout seul en 1869, et même un peu auparavant, j'ai posé la question, on acceptait non seulement mon programme, mais ma ligne de conduite. Depuis les impatientes ont rompu le pacte. On me traite d'opportuniste, de réactionnaire, que sais-je? Je ne connais plus rien à la question des femmes, moi qui l'ai soulevée, qui l'ai fait accepter par l'opinion publique. On me jette par-dessus bord.
>
> Le Droit des Femmes, March 1885[87]

When in 1891, his ailing health prevented his continuing active involvement in the journal, he closed it down rather than hand over to a successor, although the affiliated organization, La Ligue Française pour les Droits des Femmes, of which he was also president, continued.

Le Droit des Femmes' main period of activity really started with the new issue of 1879, when feminism in general received a much needed boost following the first successful International Feminist Congress which met in Paris in 1878. From this time on, the journal conducted a series of campaigns aimed at achieving legal and economic equality for women. It fought for the reform of the Civil Code to give women civil rights, parity in marriage, and divorce reform; better working conditions and salaries; equal access to education and the professions; and above all, an end to the double standard of morality typified by the state regulation of prostitution and the law which prevented unmarried mothers from identifying or claiming support from the fathers of their children. This "Recherche de la Paternité" campaign was to play an important role in cementing unity amongst the divergent women's groups in late nineteenth-century France.

In all areas, Richer was the primary advocate of the gradualism and possibilism which was to typify French feminism for many years, and for this reason, while paying lip-service to the eventual goal of women's suffrage, he was prepared to postpone it for a later date:

> Nous continuons à nous attacher aux réformes immédiatement réalisables, jugeant qu'il est de bonne tactique, dans l'intérêt même de la cause que nous défendons, de ne demander à la génération actuelle,

> que ce qu'elle peut donner raisonablement tout de suite.
>
> Le Droit des Femmes, January 1879

This line of argument was also adopted by Louise Koppe in her journal La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, later known as La Femme et l'Enfant, and by Sarah Monod in La Femme.

La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société (1880-82) later La Femme et l'Enfant (1882-96)

Started in 1880 as a successor to the short lived Femme de France (1879), this journal drew on the same support as Le Droit des Femmes, boasting in its first issue the endorsement of a large number of the same Republican deputies and civic leaders. Viewing itself as a vehicle for social reform, with the amelioration of woman's situation, and above all her education, as a necessary prerequisite for this, in its early years the magazine sought to raise women's consciousness to the value of their contribution to society, and their consequent right to a share in its benefits.

Amongst its many campaigns were those in favor of divorce, and the revision of the "Recherche de la Paternité" law, seeing both as ways of ending society's moral hypocrisy which tolerated the protection of men at the expense of women:

> La recherche de la paternité c'est la guerre à la débauche et c'est aussi la guerre aux égoïstes.
>
> La Femme et l'Enfant, July 5, 1890

Many of its articles dealt with the particular problems of working women to whom it felt that legal reform and affiliation to self-help and mutualist organizations would bring some alleviation. It also sought government legislation imposing factory inspection and shorter working hours, and in particular, a ban on night work for women, which it felt exposed them to moral dangers, and undermined their family life. It tried to bring some immediate relief by sponsoring workshops where daughters could be safely apprenticed and through which women at home could dispose of the products of their labor at a reasonable price.

In its early years, the journal was coedited by men, Georges Cadoux, J.-G. Najaille and Jules Gerbaud contributing a number of vigorous articles on women's legal, educational and economic problems; but after 1890, Louise Koppe assumed sole editorship,[88] although her own increasing involvement with social causes, as directress of a municipal home for destitute women and president of the IIIe Commission de Travail on children's employment, led her to abandon more control to her daughter Angèle. In consequence, the journal gradually came to rely for material on reprints from other sources at home and abroad, rather than original articles. Furthermore, in contrast to the intellectual idealism of its earlier articles, which emphasized woman's dignity and freedom and saw marriage as a parternership of equals,[89] it came to place more stress on the importance of motherhood and woman's mission in society:

> Nous voulons qu'elle se pénètre bien de toute la grandeur de son rôle au milieu de la société et soit l'âme et l'harmonie de la concorde sociale, comme elle est l'âme et l'harmonie de la concorde du foyer.
>
> La Femme et l'Enfant, March 1890[90]

This shift in attitude could be ascribed to Koppe's increasing age and conservatism, but was more probably the outcome of her own firsthand experience of coping with social problems, and consequent realization of the extent to which the mother's contribution could make or mar the life of a working-class family.

La Femme (1879-1937)

Somewhat milder in its approach than the two previous journals, La Femme was originally founded as a literary, moral, and religious magazine for Protestant women.[91] Over the years, however, it developed into an active feminist paper through its concern for the plight of working-class women, and its growing conviction that all women should work together to alleviate this. Allied with this support for feminine solidarity, was the belief that France could only be saved by its women, who consequently must be made equal to the task. Another contributory factor in the journal's evolution towards what was essentially another form of Christian feminism, seems to have been an ingrained instinct to reject what it considered to be a Catholic-imposed view of women: an attitude whose origins probably owed more to centuries of religious distrust than to profound feminist convictions.

In its early years, La Femme was very conventional, stressing

woman's mission in the home:

> Contemplative, recueillie, sédentaire, par nature son âme est le sanctuaire du Dieu Domestique,[92]

and warning mothers of the dire consequences to their families if they neglected them to seek an active social or professional life for themselves:

> Quand elles devront se donner à la société plus qu'à leur famille, ou s'engager dans des professions qui les enlèveront à la place et à la tâche que la Providence leur a assignée, alors que Dieu ait pitié de nos garçons.
>
> La Femme, February 1885[93]

Rather than encouraging change, it assured those who rebelled that happiness came, not from independence, but from gratitude and acceptance of one's fate. Nevertheless, by 1900, the journal was actively campaigning for the contrary opinion, urging the acceptance of multiple options for women as well as men:

> On parle beaucoup de la femme au foyer, mais il faut penser aussi à celles qui n'ont point de foyer. On compte en France environ trois millions de femmes non mariées et en âge de l'être. C'est celles-là surtout qui n'ont à compter que sur elles-mêmes qui doivent être armées pour la lutte.
>
> La Femme, September 1900[94]

This transformation of attitude evolved gradually. In 1885 the journal began to include a few modest references to educational and training opportunities, and women's successes in new professional or

civic areas;1890 saw an increasing concern for the problems of working women; by the mid-nineties, a regular column "Le Mouvement Féminin," kept readers abreast of the latest feminist activities, while in 1900, the journal sponsored the Congrès des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines, one of three women's congresses held in Paris that year, and reported its proceedings practically verbatim.

The tone of its articles, and of the Congress itself, aligned La Femme with the moderate conservative wing of the feminist movement, since it stressed gradualism, and felt that women could not demand further rights until they had sufficient education to exercise them wisely. It condemned the more radical approach of the sponsors of the Congrès Féministe, which met in the same year, and claimed that they were retarding women's progress by their extremism, which tended to antagonize public opinion:

> Les femmes auraient bien vite gagné leur cause auprès de l'opinion publique si elles savaient ainsi concentrer leurs efforts et modérer leur impatience.
>
> La Femme, September 15, 1900[95]

La Citoyenne (1881-1891)

In contrast to the deliberately cautious approach of most other editors of feminist journals, Hubertine Auclert adopted a more radical position in La Citoyenne, which she founded in 1881, as a consequence of her split with Léon Richer. By profession a seamstress, who later moved to journalism, Auclert first came into the public eye with her vigorous speech as head of one of the women's delegations to

the Socialist Workers' Congress in Marseilles in 1879, when she urged her fellow male workers to abandon their "bourgeois" attitudes towards women, and to throw the weight of their movement behind women's demands for equality.[96] It was her association with Socialism, together with her schemes for obtaining votes for women through direct action tactics, such as withholding taxes, or illegally standing for election to parliamentary or municipal office, which brought her into open conflict with Léon Richer at Le Droit des Femmes. She subsequently decided that the most important issue for her own journal would be the promotion of women's suffrage:

> Le but unique (de ce journal) est de revendiquer l'égalité de la femme et de l'homme, non seulement la qualité civile du Français mais encore la qualité politique du citoyen.
>
> La Citoyenne, February 13, 1881

Contrary to other feminists who first sought changes in women's legal and professional situation, Auclert argued that the vote, and its accompanying political leverage, was the necessary prerequisite for achieving these other demands. Her views also brought her into conflict with some fellow Socialists, for she refused to subordinate women's demands to those of the working-class as a whole, claiming that women's oppression is universal and cuts across the class issue:

> La question des femmes est le noeud gordien qui, une fois tranché, permettra de résoudre la question sociale, mais pendant que les femmes ont les mains liées par les lois civiles, et sont au point de vue politique, baillonnées, la transformation économique préconisée par les collectivistes s'opérerait au

seul profit des hommes.

La Citoyenne, May 1885[97]

Auclert was assisted on the journal by Maria Martin and Eugénie Potonie-Pierre, but when she left to accompany her husband to Algeria in 1888, and Martin assumed the editorship, it lost its polemicism and gradually became more of an information sheet of feminist activities. This change of policy provoked a split between the two women: Martin left to found her own Journal des Femmes, taking most of the staff of the older journal, and La Citoyenne ceased publication in 1891.

Despite their obvious commitment to the cause of women's emancipation, it should not be thought that feminist magazines confined themselves entirely to propaganda or lengthy reports on social issues. They also attempted to attract readers with fiction, domestic advice, and some fashion. However, they never managed to rival the traditional women's journals, particularly in the latter area, mainly because they lacked the passionate involvement in dress which was necessary for a successful fashion column, or because, on the contrary, they took it so seriously that they bored their readers with abstract philosophy. Such an article, expounding on fashion as a corollary of intellectual and social progress, appeared in La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société in August 1880. Consequently, feminist journals were never able to enlarge their readership much beyond the circle of the converted and, indeed, were continually competing for a share of

the same pie.

Their inability to widen their appeal worsened an already vulnerable financial situation, a common problem with any women's magazine at this time. They were forced to keep their prices low to attract readers, an annual subscription selling for between six and ten francs, but, although nominally weeklies or monthlies, in practice their appearance was often intermittent because of recurrent financial crises, and endless appeals went out for more readers' support. Léon Richer had much of his own money tied up in Le Droit des Femmes, a fact of which he frequently reminded his readers. The journals' problems were compounded by their difficulties in attracting advertising, since commercial interests did not wish to be associated in the public mind with journals sponsoring unpopular campaigns. The latter could also lose existing readers: Richer's divorce campaign, during which he entered into a violent attack on Alfred Naquet, proponent of the Divorce Bill in the Chambre des Députés, apparently lost him two hundred subscribers.[98]

Another problem was that, after a while, as in England, readers evidently became bored with hearing the same issues discussed over and over again, and, though continuing sympathetic to the cause, withdrew their subscriptions. This trend was aggravated in the 1890's as feminism became more respectable and other magazines began to move away from their preoccupation with fashion into areas of broader interest, a development which was to prove fatal to the feminist journals. Those which remained increasingly became mere bulletins for the

various groups within the feminist movement. The one exception was the vibrant newspaper La Fronde which from its first appearance in 1897 was to set new standards for women's journalism.[99]

La Fronde (1897-1905)

Marguerite Durand, the founder of La Fronde lacked the typical background of most nineteenth-century French feminists, with their Saint-Simonian, Socialist, anti-clerical Republican or even Freemason connections. After a convent education, and receiving the Premier Prix du Conservatoire, she had entered the Comédie Française at the age of seventeen.[100] Marriage to George Laguerre, a prominent lawyer and journalist, who was also the youngest deputy in the Chambre, interrupted her career after four years, and she entered upon a brilliant social life in political, and particularly Boulangist, circles. Her marriage, however, terminated in divorce and she began writing articles for Le Figaro, which led to her first direct contact with feminism, when, sent to write a humorous feature on the 1896 Feminist Congress, she ended up converted by the arguments. From that time on, she was determined to aid the movement and brought out the first issue of La Fronde on December 9th, 1897, its appearance coinciding with one of the first feminist victories: the achievement of the right of women to act as witnesses in court.[101]

The significance of La Fronde lay, not so much in the fact that it provided another voice for feminist arguments, as in its actual existence which was a visual and practical statement in favor of women's equality. Written and staffed entirely by women, "par sa seule

existence ce journal prouvait l'aptitude de la femme à quatre ou cinq métiers virils."[102] Not only did it open up journalism and the printing trade to more women, but also the unions and professional organizations attached to these professions. La Fronde's journalists were the first women to cover public events, and Durand herself was the first woman member of the Union of Newspaper Directors, and also of the Association of Republican Parliamentary Journalists.[103]

Prominent feminists such as Hubertine Auclert, Marie Pognon, Clémence Royer and Maria Verone were among its active contributors, but unlike other feminist journals, La Fronde did not restrict its editorial coverage to women's issues. Rather it sought, as a daily paper, to give intelligent reporting of parliamentary affairs and matters of general interest, aligning itself with the Republican and anti-clerical camp on these. One of its most famous reporters was Séverine, credited with writing over 6,000 articles in her career for La Fronde and other journals.[104] La Fronde was particularly active on issues involving injustice to any individual or segment of society, regardless of sex, and one of its most notable campaigns was in support of Dreyfus:

> Si nous ne demandons pas justice pour un comdamné que nous avons lieu de croire innocent, nous n'avons pas le droit de réclamer justice pour nous.
>
> La Fronde, January 24, 1898

This stand opened it to attacks not only from the right-wing journal, La Libre Parole, but also from Le Féminisme Chrétien.

Among its many other campaigns were those protesting the exploitation of orphans in Catholic charitable workshops; demanding the provision of seats for shop assistants;urging the opening up of the Legion of Honor and other orders of merit to women; and above all, condemning all forms of protective legislation for working women. On the latter issue, La Fronde held particularly strong opinions, since the abolition of women's night work, for example, would curtail its own operations. Therefore, it continually maintained that such legislation was a restraint on women's liberty to work, and gave an unfair advantage to their male competitors.[105] The feminist movement, as a whole,was divided on this question, some like Louise Koppe, supporting protective legislation, on the grounds of family stability, and others, like Richer, opposing it for the same reasons as La Fronde.

Despite the collaboration of Hubertine Auclert, La Fronde was not itself a suffragist paper until its temporary revival after the First World War, nor did it take upon itself the elitist anti-male attitudes of some of the other feminist papers:

> Si La Fronde déclare la guerre, ce n'est pas à l'antagonisme masculin, mais aux tyrans qui s'appellent abus, préjugés, codes caducs, lois arbitraires et non adéquates aux exigences nouvelles. Elle ne cherche pour la femme aucun triomphe sur l'homme, ni le pouvoir despotique par la ruse, ni ce qu'on reproche de mauvaise foi aux féministes, l'identité des sexes.
>
> La Fronde, December 9, 1897

Marguerite Durand, herself always the picture of assurance and

elegance, deplored the bad publicity and ridicule brought upon the movement by some extremists:

> Dans un pays comme le nôtre, ou 'la façade' acquiert une si grande importance, il est évident que les chapeaux ridicules, les robes mal faites, les cheveux coupés courts, et la violente combativité des féministes d'avant-garde ont nui au service de leur cause.
> La Fronde, December 9, 1899

Because of financial and other difficulties, La Fronde was forced to become a monthly in 1903, and finally closed in 1905. Nevertheless, by the mere fact of its continuous daily appearance over a period of six years, it served more than any other journal to bring visibility and credibility to the French feminist movement. Its articles informed women of their rights and encouraged their organization, particularly when they were backed up by such practical assistance as the journal's sponsorship of the International Congress of Women's Rights in Paris in 1900, which united feminists from all over the world. At the same time, its articles brought an awareness of women's grievances and of the legitimacy of their aspirations to a far wider audience than in the past, an achievement to which Léon Abensour pays tribute in his history of French feminism:

> C'est par La Fronde que le pays commença de voir le féminisme non sous les espèces d'une minorité littéraire, issue du cerveau d'une fantaisiste rebelle, mais sous son large et humain aspect.[106]

V. New Trends in Women's Journalism in the Nineties

If La Fronde represented a new development in feminist journalism in the 1890's, it was only part of a general transformation taking place in all areas of the women's press at this time, which involved not only changes in style and content, but also the introduction of new publishing methods and sources of financial backing. Reference has already been made to the tremendous expansion of Le Petit Echo de la Mode as a result of its innovative schemes for attracting and retaining readers, and also to the gradual evolution of Le Moniteur de la Mode from being a magazine of high fashion to one with a more domestic orientation having more appeal to middle-class readers. Success in this latter area, however, would go mostly to a newcomer, La Mode Pratique which first appeared in 1891, and gradually outstripped Le Moniteur de la Mode and its satellites, which it finally absorbed in 1913.

La Mode Pratique (1891-1939)

Published by Hachette, La Mode Pratique marks the intrusion of the big publishing giants into the world of women's journalism in France. Not only did this assure the journal of strong financial backing, but it also gave it an automatic advantage over its rivals as far as distribution was concerned, since Hachette had held the monopoly of the railway bookstalls since 1852. These numbered 900 in 1890, increasing to 1,081 in 1900.[107]

A weekly journal, priced between 12 frs. and 52 frs. per annum

according to the number of supplements, La Mode Pratique was edited by Madame C. de Broutelles who, while retaining the old themes of fashion, fiction, and above all domestic advice and needlework, transformed these formulas into a new journalistic success by her encouragement of readers' participation and competitive instincts. Although it carried society news, La Mode Pratique made no pretence of being for anyone but the middle-class housewife, and, through weekly prizes for the best menu or most useful household hint, gave recognition and value to her achievements. Careers for women were accepted as a possibility, but one likely to be outside the experience of the average reader. Instead, the editor emphasized the financial benefits accruing from a prudent housewife's management of the household economy:

> La meilleure manière d'être pour leur mari plus qu'une compagne, une aide en ce temps difficile, où la vie devient chaque jour plus coûteuse tandis que les revenus diminuent, c'est d'entreprendre le travail simple qui est à la portée de toutes, plutôt que déplorer en vain la rareté des carrières qui nous sont accessibles. (my italics)
>
> La Mode Pratique, December 29, 1894[108]

A similar tendency has been noted by Dardigna in many modern twentieth-century women's journals, which turn marriage and motherhood into a "career" to compensate for their readers' lack of an outside professional life.[109]

Femina (1901-1939)

While the success of La Mode Pratique signaled an end to the predominance of high-society journals, the real transformation of

the French women's press lies just outside my period, with the arrival of Femina, the first of the "glossies" to appear in France. Published by Lafitte et Cie., its main novelty was in the area of lay-out and presentation, together with its dependence on elaborate advertising, all of which features borrowed much from trans-Atlantic and English models, with whom, in addition, if often had reciprocal agreements with regard to feature articles.

Although Femina was aimed at the upper end of the market, its readership covered a far broader spectrum, since at a fixed price of 50 centimes a month, it was a bargain compared to all of its predecessors. For this, readers received a journal of twenty-four glossy pages, lavishly illustrated with photographs and drawings, compared to the eight to twelve closely printed sheets of its predecessors with pullout sheets at additional cost. Its initial success—the first issue sold 200,000 and could have sold 250,000 according to the editors—led to the journal's further expansion by the addition of free pullout fashion and fiction supplements.

Basically, Femina's attraction lay not so much in being a service magazine, although it did carry some articles on cooking on the lines of "you too can cook like a cordon-bleu," as in its appeal to its readers' vicarious snobbish instincts, through the portrayal of a life-style and people decidedly above the average, and by catering to their apparently growing desire for an inside line on the lives of the great, which was reflected in the popularity of the "human interest" story. It carried numerous features on celebrities at home

and at play, with royalty a prime favorite, and actresses and opera singers such as Sarah Bernhardt and Nellie Melba, a close second.

Another big drawing point was the competition offering numerous prizes, usually of considerable value, such as an outfit worth 2,500 frs. Prizes were offered for photographs of the most beautiful baby or pet, the journal in this respect descending to a level of maudlin sentimentality not previously found in French papers, although already common in the Harmsworth press in England.

However, despite much borrowing from the methods and subject matter of the Anglo-Saxon press, Femina was not yet ready to adapt to what it considered to be the Anglo-Saxon image of woman, dangerously tinged with feminism:[110]

> Il ne s'agit point de 'féminisme' ou 'd'émancipation sociale'; nous laissons à d'autres le soin de masculiniser la femme et de lui enlever son charme exquis. Femina sera au contraire, consacré à la vraie femme, à la Française élevée sainement dans les meilleures traditions d'élégance, de bon ton et de grâce.
>
> Femina, February 1901

La Vie Heureuse (1902-1917)

The traditional French ideal of woman, to which Femina was still paying lip service, was soon to come under attack from a new Hachette competitor, which with a motto proclaiming "Les femmes représentent plus que la moitié de l'humanité," sought to popularize a view of the "New Woman" as one constantly involved in social, sporting, and professional activities, who desired to be kept up-to-date on all the news:

> C'est le spectacle infini de cette activité que cette revue va mettre sous les yeux des Femmes, par le texte et par l'image.
>
> La Vie Heureuse, October 1902

While sympathetic to feminist aspirations, La Vie Heureuse tended to restrict its own contribution to their achievement to raising its readers' consciousness of the notion of sisterhood and feminine solidarity, through numerous features on women at work in dressmaking establishments, laundries and hospitals, and articles on crèches, colonies de vacances, and other attempts to lighten the burden of the working class family. It continually voiced regret that in France, unlike in England and America, the leading society women were not at the forefront of social and political action, and saw this as a goal for the ideal new woman. However, although its own militancy was somewhat muted, it did continually refer its readers to its companion paper, the feminist Conseil des Femmes, which carried news of the woman's movement at home and abroad, together with information of job and training opportunities.[111]

In lay-out and presentation, La Vie Heureuse closely resembled Femina, with fifty lavishly-illustrated pages. The abundant use of photographs certainly brought visual impact to those stories with a social or educational purpose. On a lesser level, it paralleled the rise in popularity of the "human interest" story, a trend also noticeable in some of the older magazines, for a photograph, as opposed to an engraving, tended to illustrate a specific individual rather than a type: to reveal character rather than clothes. A typical feature

in this line bore the title, "The richest woman in the world: but is she happy?" and concerned the life of a rich American heiress and financial wizard. Another dealt with Queen Alexandra's pet hobby, her dairy at Sandringham, and yet another with the Czarina's passion for smoking and fast cars, the latter indulging fantasies which readers would never dare put into practice at home. A favorite subject was Carmen Silva, Queen of Rumania, whose literary talents and notorious private life provided constant material for this and other journals.

A passion for royalty is noticeable in women's papers on both sides of the Channel at the end of the nineteenth century, and seems part of a growing effort, not only to assuage readers' natural curiosity, but also to remove princes from their pedestals by stressing their "human" elements and frailties. The latter development can also be seen as part of a general policy on the part of the journals to stress the common elements in all women's lives, famous women being portrayed as "mothers" and "wives," thus possibly making differences of class, economic position and talent appear more bearable, by identifying the great with the common problems of the average reader. A similar treatment was given to the numerous features on women in other lands, and used to arouse readers' sympathy for their problems. La Vie Heureuse constantly urged women to act on matters of international concern, pointing out that, united, they could become a vital pressure group, and giving the example of La Mode Pratique's campaign for Boer women, which in six weeks had succeeded in raising over

100,000 frs. for the cause.

1900 can be seen as a watershed in the history of the feminine press in France. By this time, the traditional high-class fashion journal and the moralistic literary paper of an earlier period, had had their day, and were being forced to adapt to new formulas and techniques or die. This change in women's literary tastes can, in part, be seen as an eventual result of the continual publicity and discussion in all sections of the press of women's breakthrough in the professions, or of their legal and educational problems. Articles on the first woman at the Sorbonne, or at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, together with references to the first women workers in banks, post offices or railways, whether written by friend or foe, brought to even the most sheltered girl a vision of wider possibilities than home and duty. Another contributory factor was the evolution in girls' secondary education, which by 1890 was beginning to have results in a growing demand for more challenging and varied reading material for women's leisure hours. Similarly, as in England, changes in women's legal situation, such as the availability of divorce, increased women's options, and there is even some evidence of a certain easing of the moral code, at least as far as the rigidity of the double standard is concerned, with some judges apparently more willing to punish cases of seduction and abandonment which would previously have been thrown out of court.[112]

Other contributory factors which hastened the decline of the high-class fashion journal were the demands of middle-class housewives

for magazines which dealt with matters within their immediate experience, and possibly even more important, new technical advances in the area of illustration. Photogravure led to the mass production of colored illustrations, which no longer remained the prerogative of the expensive magazine, and thus removed its former exclusiveness, even though the new illustrations could never rival the delicacy of the old hand-colored ones. In addition, the increasing use of photographs towards the turn of the century also had the effect of shifting the readers' interest away from the clothes to the person wearing them, a trend which coincided with the rising popularity of the "human interest" story.

As a result, a trend for specialization, already noted in the English press, began to occur in France. Magazines devoted exclusively to dress designs, hair fashions, or art needlework started to appear separately from those with a more general appeal. Meanwhile, the latter sought to cater for the broadening awareness of their readers, either through seeking their active participation in the journal, as in La Mode Pratique, or by being both informative and entertaining, as in Femina and La Vie Heureuse. Fashion and society became an incidental part of these journals, and not their raison d'être. Even society women, whatever the truth of the matter, preferred to be portrayed as active concerned people, rather than in their former role of clothes-horses or society queens. The growing importance of advertising in the new journals also indicated a change in attitude to women, for they were now recognized as wielding considerable economic power, and

whereas in earlier years, advertising was looked down on as something devious, efforts were now made to court women's favor.

Nevertheless, despite all these changes, the woman's journal in France, like its counterpart in England, was still very much a genre of its own: a "woman's press" which concentrated on purveying an image. The outlines of this image might shift and blur with circumstance, as, by the turn of the century, women's right to educational and legal equality was accepted by all but the diehards; the new professional woman was no longer a social pariah; and women's active participation in civil and political affairs was anticipated as ultimately inevitable. However, the core remained constant, with women's immediate goal still portrayed as self-fulfillment through home and family. Submissive wives and daughters might be rejected as a dream of the past, but the new image still upheld separate, if equal roles, with men monopolizing the stage in the external world, and their wives reigning supreme at home:

> (Des femmes qui) . . . ne se contentent pas d'être pour les enfants une mère soigneuse, mais une éducatrice éclairée, et qui veulent être pour leur mari à la fois une maîtresse de maison habile, qui lui rende son intérieur attrayant, et une amie intelligente qui l'y retienne.
>
> La Femme chez Elle, 1899

NOTES - CHAPTER IV

[1] Julie-Victoire Daubie, L'Emancipation de la femme, en dix livraisons (Paris, 1871), p. 11.

[2] Code Civil (1804), Articles 37 and 980. Amended by Loi du 7 decembre 1897.

[3] Ibid., Article 442. Amended by Loi du 2 juillet 1907.

[4] Loi du 8 avril 1791, later confirmed by the Code Civil.

[5] Loi du 9 avril 1881.

[6] Loi du 13 juillet 1907. For the clearest account of the evolution of Frenchwomen's legal rights see Paule Nancel-Pénard, L'Evolution de la jurisprudence relativement à la femme depuis 1804, Thèse de droit (Bordeaux, 1940).

[7] Julie-Victoire Daubie, Du Progrès dans l'instruction primaire. Justice et liberté (Paris, 1862).

[8] See Chapter II for further details of French educational legislation, and Chapter V for the rationale behind it.

[9] Lilian Waugh, "The Images of Woman in France on the Eve of the Loi Camille Sée," op. cit., which discusses the limited attitudes of some of the law's proponents, cf. Chapter II, fn. 8.

[10] La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, June 1880, quotes Taine as saying that the sole reading matter of Englishwomen was The Englishwoman's Review.

[11] Nelly Lieutier, "La Soeur," La Vie Domestique, November 15, 1875.

[12] C. de Rickman, "La Jeune Fille," Le Moniteur de la Mode, January 27, 1900.

[13] Louise Koppe, "La Femme Mère," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, July 25, 1880.

[14] Edouard Febvay, Paroles sincères (Algiers, 1894), p. 65, (a collection of essays in favor of women's emancipation).

[15] Henry Fouquier, "Solidarité féminine," Femina, April 1901.

[16] Bellanger, Godechot et al., Histoire générale de la presse française, op. cit., III, 304, notes that the supplement of Le Petit Journal sold one million copies in 1895.

[17] Georges Weill, Le Journal, op. cit., pp. 262-263, discusses the role of "feuilletons" in the success of the popular press, and the Comte d'Haussonville comments on their success with working girls, in his Salaires et misères des femmes, op. cit., p. 65.

[18] See Chapter III, fn. 45.

[19] See Chapter II, fn. 40.

[20] See Appendix B.

[21] Theodore Zeldin, France: 1848-1945, op. cit., II, 435 ff.

[22] La Revue de la Mode, Preface to Vol. 14 (1885).

[23] See Chapter I.

[24] Zeldin, II, 437, comments on this German invasion of the ready-to-wear trade, and the lower end of the market.

[25] L'Annuaire de la presse française, 1895. Notice to potential advertisers.

[26] H. Montgomery Hyde, Mr. and Mrs. Beeton, op. cit., p. 120.

[27] The card catalogue of the British Library at Colindale lists it separately from 1882 to 1891 when it merged with The Lady's Magazine, but the Catalogue des périodiques of the Bibliothèque Nationale lists an English edition from 1851 on.

[28] V. Quecel, "Aux Champs Elysées," Le Moniteur de la Mode, April 1875.

[29] "Variétés":"Le Role de la femme," Le Moniteur de la Mode, June 23, 1895.

[30] Marie de Saverny was the author of several domestic and etiquette manuals, including La Femme chez elle, and La Femme hors de chez elle.

[31] One could argue, moreover, that this emphasis on foreign women's achievements was just another example of providing Frenchwomen with vicarious experiences in order to divert them from their situation at home.

[32] Review of Dr. Cayalé's book La Science et le mariage in Le Moniteur de la Mode, July 1900.

[33] A complete listing of other Goubaud titles appears in Appendix D.

[34] Advertisement in L'Annuaire de la presse française, 1885.

[35] Evelyne Sullerot, La Presse féminine (1963), op. cit., p. 32.

[36] Le Dépositaire de France, No. 52, p. 114, quoted by Sullerot, p. 33.

[37] Editorial, Le Petit Echo de la Mode, April 18, 1880.

[38] This idea had its beginnings in 1879, with the journal offering its readers advantageous prices at certain shops.

[39] Sullerot, p. 33.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid., p. 34.

[42] Le Petit Echo de la Mode, April 18, 1880.

[43] Le Petit Echo de la Mode, February 22, 1885.

[44] "Causerie" (a chatty editorial column), Le Petit Echo de la Mode, September 1, 1895.

[45] "Causerie," Le Petit Echo de la Mode, March 3, 1895.

[46] Daughter of a Belgian army officer in service to Austria, and a French mother who ran a school in Rumania, Emmeline Raymond was editor of La Mode Illustrée for forty years, (see Zeldin II, 558-559, and Le Dictionnaire universel des contemporains (Paris, 1892-1893).

[47] Eugène Hatin, ed., Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse française (Paris, 1865), pp. 596-597.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Zeldin, II, 559.

[50] "Variétés":"Le Travail des femmes," in which she upheld the dignity of labor in all its forms, and urged respect for working women.

[51] Apart from editing La Mode Illustrée, Raymond was also the author of numerous novels, translations, and books on education and domestic and social advice (Dictionnaire universel des contemporains).

[52] "Variétés": "Illusions à combattre," La Mode Illustrée, January 30, 1895.

[53] Ibid.

[54] Archives Nationales, $F^{18}424$.

[55] See Chapter I.

[56] "Mme Niboyet n'a jamais été mise à la place que lui assignait l'élévation de son esprit et de son coeur . . . elle a pensé que la femme a un autre rôle à remplir que celui d'être une poupée dont on s'amuse . . . c'est pourquoi nous, femmes, au bonheur et au développement desquelles elle a consacré sa vie, nous devons la mettre sur le piédestal élevé par notre reconnaissance et par notre affection." La Vie Domestique, March 6, 1880.

[57] La Vie Domestique, No. 1, April 1875.

[58] "La Soeur," La Vie Domestique, November 15, 1875, cf. fn. 11.

[59] Editorial article promoting the insurance scheme sponsored by L'Association des Femmes du Monde.

[60] Dictionnaire de biographie française (Paris, 1936), Vol. VII. Zeldin, II, 669-670, claims that d'Alq's guide to the art of living sold over 100,000 copies.

[61] "Le Féminisme," a serious editorial written in response to requests from readers for her views on the subject. D'Alq took a stand in favor of moderate feminism and, in order to quieten critics who claimed that women's participation in the public arena could have harmful implications for morality and the family, ventured a compromise solution by which such activity should be restricted to women over forty, without husbands.

[62] This prevailed as the official view from the Concordat with the Papacy in 1802 until the Separation of Church and State in 1905.

[63] Bonnie Smith, "The Women of the Lille Bourgeoisie," op. cit., notes the tremendous impact of the Church on the daily lives of some women, who established their routine according to its demands.

[64] Histoire générale de la presse, III, 327, notes that as a result of the Ralliement, there was an "assez extraordinaire floraison des publications catholiques" and that the Catholic press "pour la première fois, chercha à s'adapter aux goûts d'un public populaire et aux techniques modernes d'information."

[65] Robert F. Byrnes, "The Crisis in the French Publishing Industry in the 1890's," op. cit., p. 234.
La Femme et la Famille, November 6, 1875, informed its readers of its acquisition by "une puissante Société de personnes dévouées au bien et aux bonnes publications . . . afin de le faire connaître et le répandre partout où les journaux de ce genre sont susceptibles d'être introduits."

[66] Article on the death of the feminist Olympe Audouard in La Femme et la Famille, February 1890.

[67] A. de Valdor, "Les Femmes hygiènistes."

[68] Jeanne Bouchedor, "Les Temps sont arrivés." Articles written under this pseudonym contained the journal's most vitriolic antisemitic statements.

[69] A. de Valdor, "Les Femmes congressistes," an article on the International Women's Congress which took place in Paris in this year, in which he expressed opposition to any feminist movement not linked to Christian feminsim.

[70] "Les Temps sont arrivés," op. cit.

[71] A. De Valdor,"Les femmes au barreau," an article ostensibly praising the achievements of the first women lawyers.

[72] René Rémond, The Right Wing in France: 1815 to De Gaulle, op. cit., Ch. VII. See also, Eugen Weber, The Nationalist Revival in France: 1905-1914 (Berkeley, 1959).

[73] Le Féminisme Chrétien, June 1896, p. 86.

[74] "Notre Programme," Le Féminisme Chrétien, February 1896.

[75] Ibid.

[76] C. Mano, writing in the November 1903 issue of La Femme Contemporaine, even regretted that the advance of valid feminist proposals had been impeded because of the unfavorable publicity the movement had received from being associated with Socialism and other extremist doctrines. (He conveniently ignored the part some Catholic writers had played in this.)

[77] Jean Lagardère, "Notre Programme."

[78] An editorial by A. S. Morin, a frequent contributor to the journal on educational matters, La Femme et l'Enfant, January 1886.

[79] Hubertine Auclert, "Une Objection banale," an editorial rebutting the opposition's claims that emancipation would ruin the family.

[80] Edith Thomas, Les Pétroleuses (Paris, 1963), gives a full account of women's militancy in the Commune and the public's reaction. A contemporary account by one of the participants appears in Louise Michel, Mémoires (Paris, 1886; reprinted 1976).

[81] Editorial by Jules Gerbaud explaining the journal's position on the suffrage issue.

[82] From 1866 on, Maria Desraimes, Emile Legouvé and others were lecturing on women's issues in La Salle du Grand Orient, the masonic meeting hall. In 1870, Desraimes and Richer founded L'Association pour le Droit des Femmes, which marked the beginning of organized feminism in France.

[83] Archives Nationales F^{18}339, in an 1869 report from the Préfet de Police, lists Richer as an employee of l'Administration des Chemins de Fer d'Orléans and a journalist, a liberal in politics and comfortably off.

[84] This book, based on a series of lectures at the Collège de France in 1840, went into several editions in the nineteenth century.

[85] Li Dzeh Djen, La Presse féministe en France de 1869 à 1914, op. cit., Ch. I. Histoire générale de la presse, III, lists Jean Frollo as the nom de plume of a number of journalists on Le Petit Parisien, of whom Léon Richer was one.

[86] See Jules Gerbaud's comments in "Notre Position dans la lutte," La Femme et l'Enfant, January 1886.

[87] "Le Vote des femmes," an article in which Richer gloated over the failure of the direct action tactics of a group of feminists, including Auclert, who had attempted to inscribe themselves on the electoral lists.

[88] Najaille died, and Gerbaud was posted to a high administrative post in Indo-China.

[89] See a series of articles by Louise Koppe in June 1880, entitled "La Femme Epouse."

[90] Louise Koppe's report to the Union du Travail des Femmes, the women's self-help organization sponsored by the journal.

[91] Some confusion exists over La Femme's origins. Li Dzeh Djen lists Sarah Monod, daughter of an eminent Sorbonne professor, as founder/editor in 1878, and the journal as the organ of her branch of the feminist movement. The latter was undoubtedly the case by 1900, but internal evidence in the journal itself names a Mlle C. Delpech as founder/editor until 1882, followed by various editors, including a Mlle Sabatier who, according to Dzeh Djen, was still in place in the 1930's. The Monods, as a Protestant family, could have been indirectly associated with the journal from the beginning.

[92] Mme Agoult, "Le Foyer domestique," La Femme, November 15, 1885.

[93] "Aux Mères," La Femme, February 1885.

[94] Report of Sarah Monod's speech to the Congrès des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines, La Femme, September 1900.

[95] Reprint of M. Sabatier's Le Temps article, "Le Congrès féministe." Sabatier held the position of Doyen de la Faculté de Théologie, in Paris, and presumably was related to the Mlle Sabatier, editor of La Femme.

[96] Madeleine Guilbert, Les Femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914, op. cit., pp. 156-157.

[97] Editorial, "Lutte des classes, lutte des sexes."

[98] Dzeh Djen, pp. 59-60. Whether this loss of readership was on the divorce issue itself, which many women saw as a threat to their security, or from opposition to Richer's treatment of Naquet, is not made clear. See also Richer's comments in Le Droit des Femmes, January 5, 1890.

[99] Henri Avenel, Histoire de la presse (Paris, 1900), refers to La Fronde as a "journal féministe par excellence, qui a fait sensation."

[100] Huguette Champy, "Une Grande Féministe: Marguerite Durand," La Montagne Ste. Genevieve et ses abords (Bulletin de la Société Historique du 5e Arrondissement), 1963. See also Dzeh Djen, pp. 102-107.

[101] La Fronde, December 10, 1897.

[102] Emile Faguet writing in the final issue of La Fronde, March 11, 1905.

[103] Dzeh Djen, pp.102-107.

[104] Bernard Lacache, Séverine (Paris, 1930).

[105] Article by Marie Pognon in La Fronde, December 12, 1897.

[106] Léon Abensour, Histoire du féminisme, op. cit., p. 275.

[107] Histoire générale de la presse, III, 286.

[108] "Fin d'année," editorial assessing the reasons for the journal's success and reaffirming its aims and purposes.

[109] Anne-Marie Dardigna, Femmes-femmes sur papier glacé (Paris, 1975).

[110] Despite this apparent intransigeance, Editions Femina published a practical little handbook for modern women, Le Livre de la femme, by Mme Camille Pert, which gave up-to-date information on women's professional opportunities, training schemes, work conditions, and mutual aid schemes, not to mention legislation concerning women in their capacities as wage earners and on the domestic front.

[111] I have been unable to find a copy of this journal which apparently only lasted from 1902 to 1903. Dzeh Djen refers only to a Conseiller des Femmes for the same period. It is, however, also mentioned in the Catholic La Femme Contemporaine as a "journal de tous les emplois, des carrieres et des professions qui permettent aux femmes d'améliorer ou de gagner leur vie."

[112] Paule Nancel-Pénard, L'Evolution de la jurisprudence relativement à la femme, op. cit., cites examples of judges increasingly bending the law through the use of Article 1382 which provided damages for "moral and civil harm."
Le Droit des Femmes, May 1880, carried an article on the acquittal of Marie Bière who had shot her lover for refusing child support, and noted that recent judicial decision seemed to be signalling an end to the traditional tolerance of male debauchery at female expense.

CHAPTER V

WOMEN'S ROLE PERCEPTIONS AND THE INTENSIFICATION OF THE DOMESTIC IDEAL

Although, by the end of the nineteenth century, noticeable differences had emerged in the content, presentation, and range of audience of women's magazines in England and France, many of which can be traced to the comparable state of development of the periodical press in each country at this time, certain characteristics remained common to both. One of these was that women's journals, whatever their nature, revolved around the basic assumption that for most readers home and family still held first priority in their interests, and personal appearance a close second. Another was that, while upholding a strict moral code of behavior, they continually indulged the fantasies and vicarious desires of their readers for a more romantic and opulent life-style. Lastly, and most important, at a time when many more women were moving out into the wider world of the labor market and when feminist goals were receiving more public attention and even sympathy, their journals continued to project an image of woman's role which involved the intensification rather than the lessening of the domestic ideal.

This apparent contradiction has to be explained. The extreme view, that this was part of a conscious effort on the part of the male establishment as represented by publishers, editors and advertisers, to "keep women in their place," and assure the smooth maintenance of the status quo, ignores the fact that most of the personnel on these papers

were women, and that in England, in particular, they were very conscientious in keeping their readers abreast of wider opportunities. Furthermore, even advertisers had a vested interest in encouraging both women's economic self-reliance and the development of more independent attitudes on the home front, particularly where control of the family purse strings was concerned. Finally, while one may accept the argument that the role images and advertising presented in journals are by nature manipulative, one must remember that nobody forced these upon women, but that, like all of us, nineteenth-century women tended to buy those journals with whose image and message they identified in fact or imagination. It is precisely for this reason that women's journals are such a good source of women's role perceptions at any given time, because they portray women, not necessarily as they are, but frequently as they would like to be.

Alternatively, should one interpret the intensification of the domestic ideal as reflecting a complete rejection of the new opportunities by those for whom they were intended: as a retreat from the hazards of the unknown to the safe haven of the familiar role and experience? This also appears somewhat simplistic, for it assumes that the domestic ideal and women's attitudes to it had remained unchanged, whereas in fact, it now encompassed an image of an active, well-informed, efficient woman, fully in control of her family and household. Therefore any explanation of why a home-centered role retained its appeal for women, despite the changes with which they were confronted, must take into account what realistic choices were actually available

to women at this time, and leaving aside the question of ideological commitment, weigh their relative attractions in the late nineteenth-century context.

Despite the broadening of educational opportunities it is evident that interesting professional openings were still desperately few, while other jobs available to middle-class women were either those whose tedium and low wages made them unattractive to men, or for which employers, for reasons of economy, were no longer prepared to pay men's wages.[1] In fact, at the same time as it raised the level of women's expectations, the improvement of girls' education had produced a glut of over-qualified applicants ready to grasp at any straw. Overcrowding and low pay were even more prevalent in the labor market for unskilled working-class women. Consequently, far from offering dreams of "self-fulfillment," employment for many women symbolized endless drudgery and a bare means of survival, while marriage, however difficult it might later prove to be, seemed a happy release from uncertainty, since it represented both a gain in status and, theoretically, permanent economic security.[2]

On another level, many women clung to the notion of women's moral superiority, and so were unwilling to enter the world of business or civic and political action, whose masculine values they despised and which they blamed for society's ills. Such a preference for non-involvement is certainly implicit in some French arguments against women's suffrage.[3] Similarly, the large numbers of women who supported pacifist and temperance campaigns, or who fought against government

regulation of prostitution, provide further evidence of this attitude, since all were causes, by their very nature, critical of masculine values and behavior.

Given the limited and unattractive nature of alternative possibilities, is it surprising that the wife and mother role remained the ideal for most women well into the twentieth century? Rather than considering them simply as passive victims "submitting to a role," should one not, therefore, examine their own perceptions of this role more carefully to see how, guided and encouraged by their magazines, they developed it to suit their own needs for self-fulfillment and to acquire higher status and greater authority within the family?[4] Thus, the argument that women still considered their domestic responsibilities to be of primary importance need not necessarily entail their consequent rejection of feminism, or of the new possibilities for women which were gradually unfolding at the turn of the century, so much as the adaptation and use of these within the conceptual framework of the existing role.

However, while an interpretation of the domestic ideal as being a role freely chosen rather than just endured, restores to nineteenth-century women a level of self-respect which the "victim" argument has always denied them, it cannot be a complete solution. For one cannot divorce this choice, nor women's perceptions of it, from their cultural environment. Only variations in national heritage and institutional development can explain why journals for women in apparently comparable social and economic situations, had different perceptions of, and responses to the various proposals for their readers' emancipation.

I. The Significance of Cultural Influences on Role Preparation

Any conception of woman's role is determined by the nature and extent of her education. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, women's journals in England and France concurred in the belief that women's unequal situation derived from poor schooling, which not only provided girls with an inadequate preparation for the competitive world of the labor market, but also hindered their performance as wives and mothers. However, the relative importance assigned to each of these deficiencies in either country and the various remedies proposed to combat them demonstrate more clearly than discussions on any other feminist issue the extent to which national and cultural tradition continued to influence and mold women's role perceptions. For France, this means, above all, taking into account the enduring authority of the Roman Catholic Church together with the legacy of Classical tradition which colored the opinions of many of its eighteenth-century detractors, whose radical views were transmitted through the French Revolution to the supporters of nineteenth-century Republicanism.[5] Similarly, in England, the Protestant heritage brought its own special contribution to perceptions of woman's potential.

a) France

In nineteenth-century France, critics of the Roman Catholic Church saw it as the main villain in the perpetuation of women's subordination and dependence. They felt that any religion which saw woman as:

> la source du mal, l'auteur du péché, la pierre du tombeau, la porte de l'enfer, la fatalité de nos misères,
>
> St. Jean Chrysostom[6]

would automatically condemn her to a life of inferiority. But while burdening woman with the guilt of Eve, the Church also allowed her to bask in the reflected glory of the Virgin, whose example gave her access to a high moral pedestal and charged her with the mission to intercede for the rest of mankind.

Furthermore, while preaching obedience and submission to the traditional familial roles, the Church, through the religious orders, also provided an alternative profession for those women who did not marry, where they could be nurses, teachers or social workers without loss of status or social esteem, since they were considered to have chosen the higher path of service to God.[7] Zeldin remarks on the tremendous increase in the number of nuns in the nineteenth century, rising from 35,000 in 1789 to 125,000 in 1900.[8] Many of these were employed in running schools, hospitals, women's prisons, orphanages, and nursing homes, as well as the charitable workshops or "ouvroirs" which were such anathema to trade unionists. Probably, since a dowry was required from all but the lowest ranks, many of these women were drawn from the bourgeoisie, which could explain why there was comparatively less pressure than in England from women in this class, for the establishment of "suitable" alternative professions for single women. In addition to the religious orders, the Church's numerous charitable organizations provided occupations for lay women.[9] Thus,

within the religious sphere, women could see their efforts justified and given value on all sides.

Anti-clericals, of course, denied the positive aspects of the Church's activity, and only saw it as abusing the influence gained over women through the confessional and its virtual monopoly of female education in the convent schools,[10] to conduct an insidious campaign to divide families and gain control of the State. Shades of Michelet[11] can be detected in the following remarks from an editorial in La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, a pro-Republican woman's journal:

> La femme dévote réserve toute son affection pour son confesseur. Les deux époux ne parlent pas la même langue, ne vivent pas dans le même monde.[12]

The wider implications of the Catholic domination of women's education were discussed in the same journal by the feminist Eugénie Potonie-Pierre:

> Les jeunes filles sont perverties intellectuellement et moralement à jamais dans les institutions religieuses. Nos fillettes y prennent dès l'enfance des habitudes de réserve contrite, dont le vrai nom est l'hypocrisie. Elles ont l'esprit fermé à tout ce qui n'est pas catholique, orthodoxe, et elles entendraient avec épouvante exprimer devant elles certains doutes.[13]

Consequently, in France, the issue of women's education became not only a question of upgrading the level of teaching and curriculum, but also a crucial factor in the wider campaign for the complete laicization of education: a major issue in the struggle between Church and

State under the Third Republic:

> Si la femme, par l'insuffisance de son instruction est étrangère aux grandes questions qui intéressent le monde moderne, si par la mauvaise direction qu'elle a reçue elle reste subjuguée par les superstitions les plus grossières, il est à craindre que l'enfant à son tour ne reste comme emmailloté dans un cercle d'idées rétrogrades et ne demeure incapable de donner un concours utile à la société.
> La Femme et l'Enfant, January, 1886[14]

The Loi Camille Sée, which opened up lycée education to girls in 1880, was seen by its Republican supporters as a major victory in the struggle against the Catholic monopoly of the higher education of middle- and upper-class women. Commenting on the law in Le Droit des Femmes in January 1880, Eugénie Garcin saw it as a breakthrough for Frenchwomen's intellectual development:

> 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 jeunes filles d'autres pays, et l'étroite, mesquine, superstitieuse éducation que la France a toujours trouvée assez bonne pour la femme, qui chez nous, cependant, plus que partout ailleurs, exerce sur la destinée nationale, une si puissante influence?

More than twenty years later, the opposite opinion was expressed in an article in the Catholic La Femme Contemporaine which discussed the effects of this law and that of 1882 laicizing the communal schools. The writer saw both as destroying "l'enceinte sacrée où l'éducation de la femme a continué à fleurir," thus contributing to the contemporary moral downsliding of France; a trend which could only be reversed by

their suppression, and continued:

> L'importance de l'éducation religieuse des jeunes filles est donc en directe proportion avec leur influence future sur leurs enfants.[15]

Despite these apparently vital contradictions between Catholics and their opponents concerning the content of women's education and its purpose in the State, it should be noted that, historically, in matters pertaining to their status, Frenchwomen had little to thank the latter for either. It had been the radical Convention of Robespierre, strongly influenced by the Classical tradition of excluding women from public life, which had ordered women out of the Assembly and back to the kitchen in 1793, not the Catholic Restoration. Furthermore, their inferior position had been institutionalized in the provisions of the 1804 Civil Code, which followed Roman Law in its conception of women as legally perpetual minors and included the famous Article 213, dear to Napoleon but anathema to feminists:

> Le mari doit protection à sa femme, la femme doit obéissance à son mari.

In addition, when one examines theoretical influences on the attitudes of nineteenth-century French anticlericals to women's position and purpose, it is seen that the ideas of Rousseau tended to predominate among Republicans rather than those of Condorcet, in the same way that, in Socialist circles, the anti-feminist Proudhon carried more weight than Fourier or Marx on this particular issue.

While Proudhon's view of women as "ménagères ou courtisanes"[16]

had brought hiw own personal slant to the "madonnas and magdalenes" concept of Catholicism, Rousseau's theories sought to endow woman's subordinate position with scientific justification by grounding it in the law of nature. Unlike those of his Enlightenment contemporaries who saw women as human beings endowed with the same faculty of reason as men and hence ultimately with the same theoretical potential,[17] Rousseau saw the two sexes as fundamentally different in nature: complementary but unequal:

> La femme et l'homme sont faits l'un pour l'autre, mais leur mutuelle dépendance n'est pas égale; les hommes dépendent des femmes par leurs désirs; les femmes dépendent des hommes par leurs désirs et par leurs besoins.
>
> Emile, V, p. 702[18]

According to his theories, woman's sole function was to minister to man's needs, produce and nurture his children, and provide an ideal domestic environment for their early development, all of which should be taken into account in her education:

> Ainsi toute l'éducation des femmes doit être relative aux hommes, leur plaire, leur être utile, se faire aimer et honorer d'eux, les élever jeunes, les soigner grands, les conseiller, les consoler, leur rendre la vie agréable et douce, voilà les devoirs des femmes dans tous les tems, ce qu'on doit leur apprendre dès leur enfance.
>
> Emile, V, p. 703

In essence, this concept of woman's role differs little from that of the Catholic writer Joseph de Maistre, expressed in a letter to his daughter in 1808 but reproduced verbatim as a contemporary truth in

La Femme et la Famille in May 1885:

> Le mérite de la femme est de régler sa maison, de rendre son mari heureux, de le consoler, de l'encourager, et d'élever ses enfants, c'est-à-dire de faire des hommes qui croient en Dieu et n'aient pas peur des canons . . . les femmes en général ne doivent point se livrer à des connaissances qui contrarient leurs devoirs.

Thus French women found themselves between the devil and the deep blue sea, surrounded on left and right of the political spectrum by doctrines justifying their continued subservience and obedience. The Catholic doctrine of abnegation and self denial was boosted by Rousseau's tenet that women should be conditioned from childhood to accept their permanent dependency:

> Faite pour obéir à un être aussi imparfait que l'homme, elle doit apprendre de bonne heure à souffrir même l'injustice et à supporter tous les torts d'un mari sans se plaindre.
>
> Emile, V, p. 712

That these words came from the same pen which had pioneered new methods of early childhood education which are still in use today gave them, if anything, greater weight with his "progressive" supporters and made them reluctant to question his authority on this particular issue. In 1880, the Protestant magazine La Femme was still advising its readers to instill self-control and a spirit of acceptance in their daughters, because, unlike men, they could not hope to be masters of their own fate, but must make the best of whatever came:

> Mères qui désirez que vos filles soient heureuses, développez en elles la seule chose qui donne le bonheur: savoir un coeur reconnaissant.
>
> La Femme, February 15, 1880

To religious and philosophic justifications of women's inferiority, the nineteenth century added the authority of medical science, which provided physiological grounds for women's continuing subordination. Not only were they considered to be physically weaker than men, but also congenitally defective: hampered both physically and mentally by their procreative functions and doomed to lives as permanent invalids.[19]

However, despite the predominance of doctrines which preached women's subordination, the fact that they were accompanied on all sides by others exalting the maternal role and its influence on the spiritual well-being of the nation, endowed Frenchwomen with a sense of moral superiority and a belief in the importance of their particular contribution, which compensated many for their lack of freedom and opportunity in other spheres. That even the aspirations of some of the more advanced could be limited to the doctrine of "separate but equal" is seen in this extract from the radical feminist journal La Citoyenne, in January 1890:

> La nature, sociologue avisée, a institué la division du travail entre l'homme et la femme, a différencié les organes et marqué à chacun des sexes son rôle et sa destination. Le rôle naturel de la femme c'est la maternité. Son organisme est orienté vers cette fonction primordiale.[20]

The writer's subsequent support for equal education regardless of sex is marred by her insistence on the necessity for accommodating the individual to his or her milieu, which for women presumably meant the home.

Because of the unanimity of opinion in France on the primacy of the "mother-teacher" role, it is not surprising that efforts to enlarge women's educational horizons only gained wide support when they were championed in this context, whereas, in England, the principle justification was to give women an alternative preparation should the expected marriage and motherhood not materialize. This explains why, in the early part of the period, the main complaints voiced in French magazines concerned, not so much the lack of professional opportunities for women because of their indifferent education, as regret that they were unable to fulfill their true mission in life because of inadequate preparation:

> Il est fort à regretter que l'ignorance dans laquelle restent un grand nombre de femmes, les laisse sans ressource dans l'adversité, les empêche de s'occuper de l'éducation de leurs enfants, et ne leur permettre pas d'être pour leurs maris toute ce qu'il serait désirable qu'elles fussent.
>
> La Vie Domestique, March 1876[21]

In like vein, Louise Koppe, editor of La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, questioned whether "la femme, dans l'état actuel, le saurait-elle, peut-elle, vraiment remplir son rôle?"[22] and deplored that the abysmal ignorance of many women soon lost them the respect of their own children, with a consequent diminution of their moral

influence. She stressed the need to develop girls' intellectual capacities to a level equal to that of men in order that they might become adequate educators for their children:

> A elle le droit de recevoir la même instruction intellectuelle que l'homme, à elle le droit d'aller aussi avant que lui dans la route de la science pour acquérir le droit d'enseigner à l'enfant le principe de toute chose.[23]

This highlights a significant difference even in women's attitude to their maternal role between England and France, for Frenchwomen at all levels of society were apparently far less willing than their English counterparts to delegate their children's early education in particular to subordinates or professionals.[24] Women of all shades of opinion shared the view that this period was vital to a child's civic and religious formation, and that consequently its supervision was a major responsibility of the mother. As early as 1875, Nelly Lieutier, was welcoming the growing practice for middle-class girls to acquire their "Brevet d'institutrice," not so much because this would give them a professional qualification to teach elementary school, as for its domestic uses:

> Une fille aura acquis sa valeur lorsqu'elle pourra être largement l'éducatrice de ses enfants.
>
> La Vie Domestique, June 15, 1875

In the same year, Marie de Saverny, the editor of La Revue de la Mode, was reminding her readers:

> Je n'ai jamais hésité à proclamer ma préférence pour l'éducation faite au foyer même de la famille,

and constantly recommending books and correspondence courses to facilitate the mother's task. Subsequently, as editor of Le Moniteur de la Mode, she condemned those women who preferred worldly pleasures to this maternal obligation:

> Ces débuts de l'éducation morale sont de toute première importance. La mère seule a qualité pour cette haute mission. . . Confier à des domestiques, même d'une probité éprouvée, la première éducation des enfants, c'est une faute.
> Le Moniteur de la Mode, April 13, 1895

Even past the nursery stage, many middle-class girls from less affluent families continued to receive a major part of their education from their mother. However, after the introduction of lycées for girls in 1880 and of compulsory primary education for all children between the ages of six and thirteen in 1882, it gradually came to be accepted that girls, as well as boys, could receive a more adequate education in a professional environment aside from a convent.[25] In spite of this change of attitude, unlike their English counterparts, few but the most ardent advocates of women's educational emancipation seem to have protested the failure to institute the same curriculum requirements for both sexes, or the initial absence of any program in the new lycées to prepare women for the Baccalauréat which gave entry to the universities and professional schools. In fact, some regretted that the new lycées were too closely patterned on those for boys, particularly in their

rigid provisions for dormitory life:

> Nous regrettons que l'on commence pour nos filles cette vie de couvent ou de caserne que le lycée impose à nos fils.
> Le Droit des Femmes, February 1880[26]

Even La Fronde, which was active in its support for women's professional involvement and intellectual development, expressed some doubts about the environment in which the latter was taking place. It was particularly concerned with the suitability of the role models presented to young girls in the persons of the graduates from the new women's teacher training schools, whose discipline and convent-like atmosphere could, it feared, only attract the most dedicated spinster and countered:

> Nous estimons que pour préparer une génération de femmes, il est désirable qu'elle soit une femme complète, c'est-à-dire, qu'elle soit épouse et mère.
> La Fronde, December 1897[27]

On the other hand, while many educational reformers were critical of the rigidity of the French system, few were prepared to reform it entirely after the English or American models, despite their oft-repeated admiration for these. They were particularly wary of introducing coeducation, although some writers recognized that this might have a beneficial effect on boys' behavior and eventually bring about mutual comprehension between the sexes. Others, however, conceded that in Anglo-Saxon countries where women were allowed greater social

freedom than in France, this seemed to be accompanied by more respect from the opposite sex, but ascribed this to national temperament rather than social and educational customs, and reluctantly concluded that the Latin temperament, and the tradition of strict separation of the sexes, would make comparable liberty unworkable nearer home.[28]

There were similar differences of opinion on the benefits of physical education for girls. In contrast to England, where support for women's sports as ideal recreational activities blossomed forth at this time, enthusiasm in France was much more cautious, with physical exercise mostly valued in terms of its later benefits in pregnancy. Those who supported its inclusion in the curriculum did so, not so much to foster improved health and enjoyment among young women, as to guarantee the birth of lusty children in the future, which would be for the improvement of the race:

> La santé des futures mères de familles ne peut être indifférente au gouvernement de la République qui a courageusement entrepris la tâche du relèvement national.
>
> La Femme et l'Enfant, February 1885[29]

Thus, in France, while the improvement of women's education found many supporters, it was seen primarily in the context of strengthening the maternal role within the family, or as an extension of this, providing an ample supply of teachers for the new girls' schools, both of which it was hoped, would extend women's benevolent moral influence in the State.

b) England

In England, no one particular denomination had had the same continuous monopoly of religious truth as Catholicism in France, or had exercised a similar control over a large number of young women through its educational institutions. Nor had there been any comparable ideological necessity to harness the issue of women's education to the political bandwagon. However, certain aspects of a heritage of Protestant doctrines and traditions had certainly influenced English perceptions of women's role and situation. Among these was the predominance given to the teachings of the mysogynist St. Paul, which served to accentuate suspicions of the evils inherent in women's sexuality. Another was the greater emphasis placed on Biblical teaching and the Old Testament in particular, with the consequent transmission of Judaic family tradition and the elevation of the importance of the role of the father as opposed to that of the mother, which in Catholic countries had been counterbalanced by the development of the Marian doctrine.

Although traditions such as these served to perpetuate theories of women's inferiority, other Protestant beliefs, by helping to stimulate both women's religious activity and social participation, certainly prepared fertile soil for feminist doctrines in the nineteenth century. In this context, it should be noted incidentally, that several of the leading French feminists had Protestant backgrounds. The basic acceptance of the equality of all believers, as opposed to the assertion of the supremacy of the Church hierarchy in Catholic doctrine, and the consequent emphasis on the individual's responsibility

before God, placed each person's salvation in his or her own hands. In addition, the Puritan ethic, which saw hard work and material success as the "outward and visible signs of an inward and spiritual grace," tended to condemn idleness and passivity in any form, and stimulated a need to be useful even among those whose material situation absolved them of the need to work for financial gain.[30]

These attitudes are reflected in discussions of women's education in English women's journals, which, while never underestimating the importance of preparation for the maternal role, did not endow it with the same aura of Divine or patriotic mission as was prevalent in France. Instead, equal emphasis was placed on a girl's obligation to develop her mental capacities to the full in order to become a more interesting person and a more useful member of society:

> Waiving the vexed question of lucrative employment for women, no one can cavil at the assertion that it is well for them to have some decided occupation, and if girls are taught to love knowledge for its own sake, they are both happier themselves, and pleasanter associates. And if they do not attain the goal of a loving marriage, the crown of all true womanhood, they have mental resources to draw upon at all times and under all circumstances.
> The Lady's Pictorial, December 10, 1881[31]

In addition to personal enrichment, education was also seen as having definite moral value, especially for those whose social background removed them from economic worries, in that by stimulating girls' intelligence, it would, it was hoped, turn them away from a life of idleness and frivolity and encourage them to make a useful

contribution to society:

> I would have all who can labour, from the highest to the lowest . . . (All women) should be so educated that they would consider it a duty to follow some definite useful occupation, public or private, requiring their daily contribution of just toil, rather than to remain in idle ease.
>
> The Englishwoman's Review, September, 1880[32]

In the same vein, The Lady's World, while reassuring readers that a college education would not "raise women above their proper sphere as women, by thus competing with men, which would make them unwomanly," did support it for bestowing:

> a proper independence and self reliance, enabling them to earn their own living if ever required to do so, but if not, giving them a distate for idleness and tending to healthy mental activity.[33]

However, the main incentive for the improvement of girls' education in England came from the need to prepare them for alternative employment to marriage. From mid-century on, it had become increasingly apparent that the natural imbalance of the sexes, compounded by the reluctance of some men to marry until comfortably established and the disappearance of others abroad through emigration or government and military service, might leave many women, particularly from the upper and middle classes, without husbands. Moreover, they lacked the acceptable alternative outlet of the religious life, available to their French counterparts. Consequently reformers began to direct their efforts to counselling spinsters away from their traditional humiliating reliance on relatives' charity, or life as governesses,

towards a goal of financial and personal independence, and women's magazines played their part both in gaining acceptability for the idea and promoting its attainment.[34] While in 1880, The Englishwoman's Review was still deploring that:

> In England the difficulty of marrying and the overcrowding of women into every employment lower the position morally and socially of the female sex,[35]

by 1895, there was apparently some improvement, for The Lady could lavish praises on the "New Woman" as:

> strong enough to be independent if life metes out to her a solitary path . . . For she deems labour honorable and is thankful for talents that enable her to bear her own burden.[36]

Furthermore, there was a growing sentiment against the idea that any marriage is better than none:

> Girls, while feeling, as all true women must feel, that wifehood and motherhood are bright jewels in the feminine crown of happiness, have learned to take a more rational view of existence, to see that matrimony, desirable as it may be 'when hearts are bound in one with golden ease,' as well as lives, is not the only flower that blooms.
>
> Hearth and Home, November 12, 1891[37]

By the end of the period, writers considered that education and the possibility of employment had given all women, not only economic security, but also freedom of choice on the important question of marriage, although it must be stressed that they still considered the latter as

the ultimate goal:

> We are far from believing that any husband is better than none. This notion is fast disappearing. Girls are now better prepared to earn their own living and are not obliged to accept the first, or even the second thing in the shape of a man that has the audacity to propose to them.
>
> Home Chat, March 1895[38]

Even within marriage, Englishwomen were cautioned against letting their maternal obligations stultify their own intellectual growth:

> It is strange to see a woman of real ability with power to hold her own in any walk of life sink into a head nurse and nothing more, but it is a sight we see every day . . . If she now lets her husband and her friends learn to look on her as without ability for anything else, she will find it very hard to alter her position later on to readjust their values of her capacity.
>
> The Lady, April 23, 1885[39]

A domestic editor in Woman also urged her readers to be on their guard against falling into the domestic groove:

> I almost tremble when I think that I have been unintentionally impressing upon many fellow housewives that housekeeping and nursery management are the sole duty of married womankind.
>
> Woman, January, 1896[40]

In consequence, Englishwomen were constantly reminded that:

> The woman who retains some character and does not forget her higher possibilities is the most likely to keep her husband's friendship long after the young love of their early life is a thing of the past.
>
> The Lady, April 23, 1885

Thus, in England, in addition to its professional usefulness and contribution to personal enrichment, improved education was seen as enabling a married woman to enjoy a more satisfactory personal relationship with her husband. She was encouraged to prepare herself to be both his helpmeet and companion, a function which critics felt that traditional upper- and middle-class girls' schools had failed to accomplish:

> The ornamental education only does not prepare woman for her position. She must be the counterpart of man: an everready help in trouble. Our girls should be so trained that they can meet both the storms and the sunshines of life. There is no better remedy for foolish and idle thought than sound study.
>
> The Lady, February 21, 1895[41]

While not its primary intent, the development of mutual esteem and confidence between married couples was also used to justify women's education in France:

> Lorsque nous aurons montré que sous notre enveloppe de femme, nous possédons au même degré que lui, bien que différente, une force puissante d'initiative, d'entraînement, l'homme nous fera place à ses côtés . . . Faire l'entente entre l'homme et la femme: voilà notre but.
>
> La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, April 18, 1880[42]

Some writers felt this to be particularly necessary in France because the whole concept of marriage had been gradually eroded by the growing importance of economics in a choice which should be a matter of personal preference:

> Depuis le commencement du dix-neuvième siècle nous nous sommes vraiment trop habitués à considérer le mariage comme 'une affaire' et non comme la parfaite union de deux jeunes gens qui s'épousent parce qu'ils s'aiment.
>
> Femina, May 11, 1901[43]

Meanwhile, other commentators at the turn of the century were claiming that perceptible gains had already been made towards improving the quality of marriage:

> Pour la première fois, peut-être, la femme n'est traitée ni en esclave, ni en déesse, mais en égale et collaboratrice. Pour la première fois, les moeurs créent entre l'homme et la femme une véritable association.
>
> La Vie Heureuse, October 1902[44]

II. Reinforcement of the Value of a Wife's Traditional Functions

a) Domestic contribution

Even among ardent champions of the women's cause, the belief still existed in France, to a far greater extent than in England, that the two sexes, while theoretically equal, were fundamentally different. Consequently, while supporting the improvement of women's education, they tied this in with efforts to upgrade women's perceptions of the importance of their traditional functions, denying any inherent superiority in the masculine contribution to society:

> Est-ce que la femme remplit un rôle inférieur à celui de l'homme? Les soins donnés aux affaires domestiques, sont-ils moins précieux que l'attention apportée à l'exercice d'un métier? — Non!
>
> La Citoyenne, March 6, 1881[45]

Writers emphasized the economic value of a wife's domestic contribution, particularly in a working-class family, pointing out, not only its immediate benefit to the family involved, but also, by extension, to the social well-being of the community as a whole:

> Ce sont ses qualités ménagères: ordre, économie, prévoyance, qui assurent à ceux-ci le bien-être, même avec un salaire modeste.
>
> La Femme au Foyer, November 23, 1902

For this reason, in France, as in England, considerable attention was paid to providing a practical education for working-class girls,[46] as opposed to the academic one envisaged for members of the higher classes. These proposals sought, not only to provide basic training in some trade, but also to provide knowledge of housekeeping, child care and the handling of a family budget:

> Il est indispensable pour l'ordre et l'économie des ménages que la femme sache gérer le capital commun, et que ses efforts tendent à ne pas soustraire inutilement une parcelle de ce capital.
>
> La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, June 13, 1880[47]

With this end in view, Louise Koppe envisaged the establishment of four-year "maisons éducatives" in working-class districts:

> où la jeune fille peut être initiée aux arts, au commerce, à la couture, aux soins du ménage, à l'économie, à la cuisine, donnant pour résultat 'La Femme Accomplie.'
>
> Ibid.

Although such efforts were initially directed at girls from the

working classes, they were gradually extended to others, as supporters of women's education began having second thoughts about the lack of provision for domestic training in the new curricula:

> On se rend compte aujourd'hui que tout n'a pas été fait pour la femme en lui donnant l'instruction et qu'il y a tout un côté qui n'a pas été assez envisagé: le côté de l'enseignement pratique du rôle qui lui incombe au milieu de la société, comme directrice du foyer, comme épouse, comme mère. En celà surtout doit établir la différence entre l'instruction de l'homme et de la femme.
>
> La Femme et l'Enfant, April 10, 1890[48]

Similar doubts arose in England, once the initial euphoria of success had died down, about the tendency to over-emphasize the academic side of education in the new girls' schools. Educational pioneers such as Emily Davies had been unbending in their belief that women should be judged by the same rigorous educational criteria as men in order to claim access to the same opportunities, but from the first, this assumption had been questioned among proponents of educational reform.[49] Others felt that sexual differences should be taken into account with regard to curriculum demands and purposes, and it was increasingly asserted that more provision should be made for a girl's future career as wife and mother:

> We want another Frances Mary Buss, wiser than the first by the added experience of fifty years, who will show us how to develop a girl's mind and body without ignoring her sex, and without omitting some training in that profession which, after all, the majority of women do and must engage in: that of wife and mother.
>
> Hearth and Home, April 12, 1900[50]

b) Breastfeeding: a maternal duty

These efforts to mold women of all classes into perfect homemakers were not confined to their domestic skills, but extended equally to child care. In an age when all aspects of a child's growth were receiving added attention, mothers were constantly reminded that their performance could have lasting repercussions, not only on the physical, but also on the emotional and moral development of their children.[51] It was impressed on them that these obligations started in infancy, if not before, and that they could give no better start to their own children than by feeding them themselves. This major effort in each country to persuade mothers to nurse their own infants was additionally motivated by universal concern for the high infant mortality rates at the time. However, the fact that women's journals continued to bring up the subject throughout the period implies that it met with some resistance, especially in France, both for reasons of vanity, convenience and economics.

In England, although wetnursing, which had generally been confined to the upper classes who could afford to house and pay a nurse, was gradually dying out by 1875, it was being replaced from the late 1860's by the more convenient and less expensive substitute of bottle feeding, which had potential attractions for all classes of women.[52] However, while an improvement on earlier methods of artificial feeding, this created problems of its own in terms of infant nutrition and digestion, not to mention hygiene in an age when sterilization was not widely understood.[53] In particular, the continuing high mortality

rates among children of factory operatives, which averaged between 60 % and 70% , have been blamed upon the infants' poor adaptability to artificial feeding.[54]

Consequently, while upper-class magazines like The Queen sought to rally fashionable mothers "who are deserters to the flag to which nature called them,"[55] other journals sought to apprise women lower down the social scale of the adverse results of poor feeding, stressing that:

> the mere convenience of the mother should never be treated as sufficient reason for bringing up a child artificially or by wetnurse.
> Home Notes, January 26th, 1894[56]

The problem of convincing mothers to breastfeed their infants reached even greater proportions in France, where wetnursing remained a flourishing industry throughout the nineteenth century in underdeveloped rural areas and in the countryside around large towns, since it was patronized by women from all classes of society.[57] Furthermore, feeding with a bottle, commonly called "le biberon anglais," was looked upon as a poor substitute before the turn of the century.[58] This preference for using wetnurses, particularly common among the urban classes, was to have a serious effect on infant mortality rates. Sussman quotes the Parisian Bureau de Nourrissons as registering an average mortality rate of 41% for those infants placed between 1871 and 1874.[59] Similar high figures were quoted in an 1881 issue of La Citoyenne, which claimed that 7,200 out of a total of 18,000 Parisian infants so placed, or 40% , had subsequently died.[60] The practice

had an adverse effect on rural populations also, since women who were dependent on the income from the town children tended to neglect their own.

Since current medical opinion was strongly in favor of maternal feeding,[61] some women's magazines attempted to shame their readers into complying with their "natural duty":

> Quelle est la femme qui confierait, je ne dis pas sa fortune, mais ses bijoux à une étrangère? Et pourtant c'est à une nourrice dont elle sait à peine le nom, dont elle ignore la situation, les antécédents, la moralité, qu'une mère abandonne trop souvent son trésor le plus précieux.
> La Femme et l'Enfant, February 20, 1890[62]

However, La Citoyenne, among others, recognized that quite apart from personal vanity, social and economic pressures were often the cause of women's unwillingness to change:

> Les causes du mal? Chez les mères riches: la coquetterie, le soin de la santé et de la beauté. Chez les mère pauvres, le travail forcé auquel elles se livrent, le logis qu'elles occupent, les conditions difficiles de la vie.[63]

By the latter part of the century, upper-class Frenchwomen were apparently less willing to put their children out to country wet-nurses,[64] but this need not necessarily imply their conversion to Rousseau's doctrine so much as the adoption of the custom of the live-in nurse. However, it was far harder to change the habits of working women, and infant mortality remained high, despite the efforts of the 1874 Loi Roussel to bring some level of government regulation and

supervision into the business.[65] At the turn of the century, Femina was still citing the same abuses as the journals of the seventies.[66] Various remedies were put forward, such as paying working mothers a subsidy to stay home with their babies, providing facilities for nursing on the job, as was apparently practised in Italy, or distributing sterilized milk to homes with young infants.[67] Nevertheless, the problem was not to be alleviated until after 1900, when alternative methods to breastfeeding became safer and consequently publicly acceptable.

The whole issue was additionally complicated in France by its apparent relevance to the problem of depopulation, whose spectre haunted many contemporaries, hence its solution was linked to the question of national survival.[68] In consequence, patriotic duty was used as an added persuasive in many articles, particularly in Republican papers, leaving one with an unpleasant foretaste of future fascist policies through their apparent view of women as the nation's milch cows.

However, it would be wrong to fault women's journals in either country for their constant efforts to influence women in this matter. While Branca might see women's willingness to adopt bottle feeding as a sign of their modernization,[69] recent experience in some African countries which have been exposed to modern methods of artificial feeding has shown just how perilous these can be in areas lacking a pure water supply or elementary knowledge of hygiene. The latter was undoubtedly still the case in many parts of France and England in the late nineteenth century, consequently the concern of women's journals

to educate women to adopt what was considered to be the safest method of infant feeding at that time appears as laudable.

III. Responses to Proposals Affecting Women's Civil Status

While all women's journals attached great importance to furthering woman's education in its widest possible sense, some did not neglect the fact that other aspects of her situation, particularly her status in law, were in equal need of reform if she was to claim in reality the recognition and esteem which she theoretically enjoyed through social custom. Discussions ranged from the right of married women to enjoy a legal and economic identity of their own, to the right of all women to equal participation in civic affairs through the use of the vote.

However, a wide gulf existed between reactions of women in the two countries on these issues, suggesting once again that variations in local custom and institutional evolution can have greater importance in determining women's role perceptions than gender affinity. In England, while the value of women's suffrage could be called in question, issues like married women's property never aroused a dissenting voice in women's papers; by contrast, in France, the only women's papers to raise these questions at all were those with feminist sympathies or concerned for the alleviation of social problems. For while even French conservatives could draw upon a long national tradition of distinguished women intellectuals to justify their support for woman's

education, her legal and civic quality ran up against an almost impenetrable barrier of religious and cultural paternalism. Despite the idealism of the early Revolutionary years, with its goal of equal rights for all, the legal code which finally emerged during the Consulate in 1804 was strongly influenced by Roman Law, Rousseau's thought, through the person of one of its formulators, Portalis,[70] and Napoleon's personal prejudice—expressed below in its extremist form:

> La Femme est donnée à l'homme pour qu'elle ait des enfants: elle est donc sa propriété comme l'arbre à fruits est la propriété du jardinier.
> _Mémorial de Sainte-Hélène_[71]

Consequently, nineteenth-century Frenchwomen were considered to be legal minors, their every action and decision hemmed in by stipulations and conditions imposed by men. Even single women, who theoretically enjoyed the same legal rights as men, could not bear witness to civil acts, act as guardians, or be members of the "conseil de famille," since these were considered to be "fonctions publiques."[72] Furthermore, in practice, those liberties they did enjoy were often circumscribed by the authority of their father or the "conseil de famille."[73] Married women enjoyed no legal independence from their husbands at all, since although a marriage contract could provide "séparation des biens," it stipulated that a wife's property should be enjoyed and administered by her husband and that she could not dispose of it without his permission.[74] The latter was also necessary

for any woman who wished to take a job, and her subsequent earnings belonged to her husband whether she be married with separate or community property provisions.[75] Even the escape route of divorce was barred her, since the Restoration had overturned the limited provisions for this in the 1804 Code.[76]

Admittedly, Englishwomen were little better off, at least during the first half of the century. Single women enjoyed legal and economic autonomy, but no civil rights, and married women suffered from the same legal and religious fiction as their French counterparts: that man and wife are one person, and in law that person is the husband. However, whereas Frenchwomen's position had only recently become institutionalized in law, Englishwomen would benefit from a general movement in the nineteenth century spearheaded by the Philosophical Radicals, to rationalize ancient laws and legal practices.[77] Reformers would begin to question a system which not only separated married and single women, but also gave different protection to the property rights of married women, depending on whether or not they were rich enough to have a pre-marital settlement.[78] Moreover, they realized that legal equality and economic security were the best guarantees of a wife's protection and equal status within the marriage relationship, and consequently, from the 1850's on, introduced numerous legislative proposals to achieve these.

a) Married women's financial protection

The cornerstone of English legislation would be the 1882 Married Women's Property Act, whose advent was welcomed by The Lady's

Pictorial in an article in May 1881:

> The proposed bill may not be perfect . . . but at all events it is a step in the right direction.

It gave married women control of their earnings and property acquired before and after marriage, together with the right to dispose of this as they wished and to sue or be sued concerning it. Various articles subsequently appeared in women's magazines explaining the details of the new law and approving its provisions:

> It is, I think, quite an exploded idea that women are not equally competent with men for the discharge of such responsibilities as are incurred by the acceptance of an ordinary trust or administration,

wrote a barrister in The Lady, commenting on the new ability of women to be named as executors.[79] However, other writers cautioned women that with rights came responsibilities and reminded them that, where debts on their property were concerned, they were now in the same position as single women:

> If women claim equal rights and equal privileges they must be prepared for the inevitable result that they will have to share equal responsibilities . . . the delightful immunity from payment which was formerly possessed by married women is now at an end.
>
> The Queen, May 13, 1890[80]

Most writers seemed to feel that working women would be the main beneficiaries of the new law, since they would now have control

of their earnings. Even the conservative Home Notes, which generally opposed women's rights, heartily supported this provision as the only means of protecting poor women against improvident husbands, and enabling them to provide for themselves and their families. However, despite the general support given to the law, where other women were concerned, most commentators seemed to interpret it, not so much as a flag of freedom, the signal for a wife's future financial independence within marriage, as a guarantee of her protection and that of her children, in exceptional circumstances. In the majority of cases, they hoped that harmony of interests and mutual trust would prevail, together with division of labor:

> The man is the breadwinner and the money he earns is so far as the household is concerned expended by the wife. The moral law and customs of society are stronger than legal enactment.
>
> The Queen, February 16, 1885[81]

Frenchwomen had to wait until 1938 for a similar comprehensive charter of economic freedom. The most they got in the nineteenth century was the acceptance of the right of married women to deposit and withdraw money from post office savings accounts,[82] while legislation in 1907 gave working wives control of their earnings.[83] In both cases, the main purpose of the law was to strengthen the working-class family by protecting it from the incursions of an improvident or alcholic husband. Commenting on proposals for the former, La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, saw them as part of a

legislative trend throughout Europe in this direction:

> Il y a un mouvement général en Europe qui tend à assurer à la femme, surtout à la femme ouvrière, la possibilité de soustraire à l'ivrognerie et la brutalité de son mari, le fruit de son propre travail.[84]

Apart from the question of protecting working women's savings and wages, however, even feminist papers paid relatively little attention to the overall question of women's property rights, although throughout the period the program of papers like Le Droit des Femmes expressed a commitment to the joint administration of community property, and to a wife retaining more control over her own. Meanwhile, unlike their English counterparts, other women's journals completely ignored the whole issue.

Is one to explain this silence in terms of the bourgeois orientation of the women's press? Did Frenchwomen in this class feel less in need of legal security for their property rights, or were they simply less assertive than English women? Certainly, some contemporaries argued that women in France did not need protective legislation as they were already better off than Englishwomen because of the widespread practice of providing dowries, and marrying under the provision of "séparation des biens."[85] Although Branca claims that this practice was less frequent by 1900,[86] it was certainly still sufficiently far-reaching to extend into the commercial classes, while in England it had only ever been the practice of the upper classes.[87] However, since the value of these rights was often dependent on a husband's

good will, or good management, it would appear that in fact their protection could often prove illusory. Nevertheless, it seems that most Frenchwomen acquiesced in a system which placed their rights and preferences below the communal interest of the family unit, and continued to place their confidence in the age-old weapons of feminine charm and guile to exact their will, rather than legal autonomy, skills which their journals readily assisted them to perfect.

Possibly a further explanation of Frenchwomen's apparent lack of interest in legal guarantees, as on the question of middle-class employment, could be that they suffered less from a sense of relative deprivation vis-a-vis their menfolk than Englishwomen in the nineteenth century.[88] Whereas the latter could see men surging ahead with new economic opportunities and political rights, while they were increasingly relieved of all but household tasks and isolated in suburban villas, in France, whose economic development came more slowly, a comparable cleavage between home and business did not occur at the same pace or to the same extent, except in large enterprises. Consequently, many middle-class Frenchwomen continued the more traditional pattern of living in close proximity to the family business or occupation, and frequently assisted in its management or successful operation: all the more so, since their dowries were frequently invested therein.

b) Divorce

As in their comparative indifference to legal autonomy, a preference for maintaining the status quo is also evident in Frenchwomen's

response to the possibility of divorce, although their reluctance to support this issue was also undoubtedly a reflection of religious scruples. Léon Richer estimated that his journal had lost over two hundred subscribers in the early 1880's as a result of its support for the reinstitution of divorce,[89] all of whom were presumably educated women with feminist sympathies far in advance of their peers. When La Vie Domestique promoted a discussion of the subject in 1880, most of the correspondents, both for and against divorce, were men. Nelly Lieutier herself considered that, if couples married for friendship and companionship rather than ambition and money, and, if women were brought up to be the intellectual equals of their future husbands, divorce would not be necessary:

> Quand l'homme trouvera auprès de lui l'ami et le conseiller dont il a besoin, quand la femme se sentira mise à la place qui doit être la sienne, croyez-vous qu'on soulèvera cette question du divorce? Elle deviendra simplement une possibilité à laquelle on ne pensera pas, parce que l'on n'en aura pas besoin.
>
> La Vie Domestique, May 1, 1880[90]

When the Divorce Law finally passed in 1884, it brought little relief to discontented wives, for while the peccadilloes of errant husbands rarely proved grounds for adultery, the express prohibition against remarriage with a co-respondent was more likely to work to the detriment of a wife sued on the same grounds.[91] Rather than risk social ruin, most women preferred to stay with the old arrangement of judicial separation, particularly after legislation in 1893

gave legal independence to separated wives.

Support for divorce was not much warmer in English journals, even though divorce had been available since 1857. An 1890 editorial in The Queen condemned it as hedonistic:

> part of the modern repudiation of responsibility, which declines to accept the consequence of action and wants special laws made for the condemnation of folly and the infertility of rashness,[92]

and argued that legal separation was quite adequate to deal with any real problems. Divorce for Englishwomen, as for French, held few positive attractions, since it carried loss of status and social ostracism, not to mention probable economic deprivation. The article in The Queen reflected many readers' opinions when it claimed:

> The permanence or facile dissolubility of marriage touches the very source of women's moral status, and affects the very issues of her social influence.[93]

Furthermore, they feared to lose control over their children, although by the end of the century, in England at least, judicial practice was more likely to give custody to the mother, and a maintenance order to the father.[94]

Hence for a woman in nineteenth-century England or France, divorce did not symbolize freedom from an intolerable situation and the chance to make a new start. Rather she saw it as proof of her failure in the role in which she had found her identity, for it signalled the breakdown of that family harmony and unity which she

had committed herself to foster.

c) Suffrage and civic action

If the possibility of divorce was viewed by many women as a threat to family stability, some saw the issue of women's civic and political activity in the same light. To those who considered that the ideal family relationship rested on the separation of roles and hence power, the wife's participation in public affairs through the exercise of the vote was seen as an infringement of the husband's public functions. In addition it was perceived as a potential source of disagreement between the two, which could not be beneficial to family harmony.

This opinion was particularly strong in France, where it added to the already deep reluctance of French feminists to adopt the suffrage banner: a conviction which was grounded in their fear of obstructing the success of other aspects of the feminist program by reviving unpleasant memories of women's radical political activities in the past.[95] In an 1880 editorial, Louis Koppe chided a recent suffrage petition from Hubertine Auclert as "innoportune," and added that such a suggestion could only provoke family discord at a time when women needed all the help they could get from men:

> Que l'homme prête sa voix aux légitimes demandes et aux réclamations de la femme, qu'il se pénètre bien de cette idée que son intérêt à elle est son intérêt à lui. Dès à présent il nous faut établir l'entente, et au lieu de soulever des rivalités, faire naître la confiance.
>
> La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, May 7, 1880[96]

Attitudes of women's journals in England were more ambivalent. Several expressed support for the principle of woman's suffrage, as a means of guaranteeing her protection and equality of opportunity in other areas. However, in common with The Queen, they were reluctant to extend the vote beyond spinsters and widows, for they felt that the prospect of its use becoming a source of contention between husband and wife made married women's suffrage unthinkable.[97]

Away from the level of national politics, their support for women's civic participation was much stronger. English magazines urged their readers to interest themselves in local government and, throughout the period, spoke out in favor of women serving as school board members, Poor Law Guardians, or government factory inspectors. With reference to an upcoming local election in 1881, The Lady's Pictorial commented:

> Women will be to the fore at the following election of guardians of St. Pancras parish. Every ward is to be contested by a female candidate. We rejoice to hear it and wish every success to the effort.[98]

In a similar vein, an 1899 article in The Lady's Realm on the growing participation of women in public affairs, praised 1894 as:

> an annus mirabilis in the annals of the enfranchisement of women, it is a red letter date indeed,[99]

because it saw the beginnings of women's election to local councils.

Such ardent support derived from the fact that local government was seen as encompassing many functions which were in essence

extensions of women's traditional role, such as caring for the sick and indigent, providing for children's education and welfare, and inspecting housing conditions, sanitation and the sale and quality of food. Women's journals considered that, because of their long experience in such matters, women were better equipped than men to supervise their efficient administration and regulation. For the same reasons, they encouraged educated women in search of career options, to look beyond the traditional and overcrowded field of teaching, towards the newly emerging social service professions.

By contrast, in France, although in the 1890's women shopkeepers gained the right to elect judges to the Tribunaux de commerce, and women workers obtained representation on the Conseils des prud'hommes which regulated work requirements and arbitrated disputes in the various trades, women were, on the whole, excluded from participation in those affairs of local government which had given many English and American women a chance to try their wings in the political and administrative arena. Moreover, parallel opportunities frequently did not exist. The domination of the central government over all areas of the administration, which included both the educational system and much of local government, and the elitist educational recruitment to the bureaucratic hierarchy, meant that women, and indeed any amateur, had little opportunity to gain experience in practical government at any level.

It would appear that women's journals in the last part of the nineteenth century were helping their readers to assert their own identity in two ways. Most frequently this took the form of urging women to "professionalize" the traditional role of wife and mother, by taking advantage of improved educational opportunities, and by performing their maternal and domestic duties more conscientiously, thereby strengthening their image as the mainstay of the family and gaining recognition of their right to equal status in the marriage relationship. At the same time, some journals encouraged the view that, with proper training, women's traditional skills and values could be channelled into careers which would benefit, not only the participants, but society at large.

This emphasis on the particular contribution of women was an essential part of that intensification of the domestic ideal which became the prevalent image of woman in their journals at this time. However, far from symbolizing her retreat to a private cocoon, it represented her emergent self-awareness and increasing confidence in her own values. Therefore, rather than interpreting this trend in terms of a "conservative reaction" to the threat of the feminist "New Woman," could not a close connection be found between these apparent extremes, with the one being, to a certain degree, a reflection of the other? In other words, could not "domestic feminism" as exemplified in the increasing interest in the potential of wife and mother be the means by which many women internalized an ideological concept with which they subconsciously sympathized, but were, as

yet, unready to adopt in its more public forms of expression?

Seen in its nineteenth-century context, the "professionalization of the homemaker," which had come to replace the older concept of "the angel in the house," and which Dardigna has attacked in twentieth-century journals as simply a means of diverting women's interest from more attractive alternatives,[100] could take on a more positive coloration. To women long conditioned to see marriage and life at home as their true vocation, for whom permanent outside employment was still a last resort rather than a desired goal, any effort to enrich the quality and status of the role of wife and mother could seem as an advance in the position of women and a means of seeking self-fulfillment through the reinforcement of their own goals without inviting opposition. This would explain why those proposals from feminists and other reformers which were seen as relevant to the fostering of family stability, such as improvements in women's education and guarantees of their legal and financial security, were welcomed, while issues which were seen as potential causes of wealness and division, such as divorce and the suffrage question, provoked more negative reactions.

NOTES - CHAPTER V

[1] Louis Frank, La Femme dans les emplois publics, op. cit., points out that, throughout Europe, most of the new female employees in government service were relegated to very humble positions.

[2] Mary McDougall, "Working-Class Women during the Industrial Revolution," in Becoming Visible: Women in European History, ed. Renate Bridenthal and Claudia Koonz (Boston, 1977), p. 275, "To most nineteenth-century working women, it (marriage) meant a release from ceaseless ill-paid labor and a step up in status. Few saw their work as self-fulfilling or liberating."
See also Patricia Branca, Women in Europe since 1750, op. cit., Ch. I, who emphasizes that women's major identity remained family- rather than career-oriented, despite new opportunities.

[3] La Femme, August 15, 1900, reports that the second session of the Congres des Oeuvres et Institutions Féminines had decided to postpone the question of women's suffrage until the reform of the existing electoral and governmental system.

[4] This is the process which Daniel Scott-Smith examines under the term "Domestic Feminism," particularly in its relevance to control of sexuality, in his article on nineteenth-century American women, "Family Limitation, Sexual Control and Domestic Feminism," in Cleo's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women, ed. Mary S. Hartman and Lois W. Banner (New York, 1975), pp. 128-129.

[5] Lilian Waugh, "The Images of Woman in France on the Eve of the Loi Camille Sée," op. cit., discusses the influence of these attitudes on educational reform.

[6] Quoted by Paule Nancel-Pénard in L'Evolution de la jurisprudence relativement à la femme depuis 1804, op. cit., p. 2, as a typical example of a popular nineteenth-century text on women. Lilian Waugh also attests to the popularity of this and other Church fathers at this time, p. 20ff.

[7] Bonnie Smith, in her chapter on religion in "The Women of the Lille Bourgeoisie: 1850-1914," op. cit., notes how many of these women became inspirational role models for their pupils.

[8] Zeldin, France: 1848-1945, op. cit., II, 1010.

[9] Ibid., p. 1015. See also Barbara Corrado Pope, "Angels in the Devil's Workshop: Leisured and Charitable Women in Nineteenth-Century England and France," in Becoming Visible, op. cit., pp. 319-321.

[10] La Documentation Francaise, No. 71, November 1952, "La Femme dans la vie française," states that in 1878 there were 10,469 Catholic girls' schools and 17,003 Catholic mixed schools out of a total of 46,129 schools which received girls. Zeldon, II, 202, claims that 2/3 of those French girls in school in 1875 were in Catholic schools.

[11] Jules Michelet, Le Prêtre, la femme et la famille (Paris 1845). See also Zeldin's discussion of this subject in Conflicts in French Society: Anticlericalism, Education and Morals in the Nineteenth Century (London, 1970), Ch. I.

[12] A. S. Morin, "Les Femmes et le catholicisme," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, July 11, 1880.

[13] Eugénie Potonie-Pierre, article attacking convent education in La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, August 22, 1880.

[14] A. S. Morin, editorial on new opportunities for women.

[15] L'Abbé Frémontin, "L'Eglise Catholique et la Libre Pensée dans leur lutte pour la culture intellectuelle de la femme," La Femme Contemporaine, October 1903.

[16] Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, La Pornocratie eu les femmes dans les temps modernes, Vol V of Oeuvres Posthumes (Paris, 1875).

[17] Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, L'Admission des femmes au droit de la cité (1790), Oeuvres de Condorcet, ed. A. Condorcet O'Conor and M. F. Arago (Paris, 1847-1849), X, 120-130.

[18] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile (1762), Pleiade edition (Paris, 1969).

[19] Angus McLaren, "Medicine and Morality in France: 1800-1850," Feminist Studies,2 (1975), pp. 39-53.

[20] Louise Weber, "La Tribune": "L'Education rationelle de la femme," La Citoyenne, January 1890.

[21] Mme M. reviewing M. Hippeau's book on American education.

[22] Louise Koppe, "La Femme Mère," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, July 25, 1880. This was one of a series of articles on woman's position. The others were entitled "La Femme Epouse," and "La Jeune Fille."

[23] Louise Koppe, "La Femme Epouse," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, June 27, 1880.

[24] Corrado-Pope, in "Angels in the Devil's Workshop," op. cit., p. 312, claims that the nanny was virtually a non-existent institution in France. This compares strangely with French mothers' apparent willingness to send their newborn infants away to wetnurses (see below).
Bonnie Smith, "Women of the Lille Bourgeoisie," op. cit., pp. 124-128, comments that while children's physical needs were often left to servants, formation of character and intellectual capacity was the realm of the mother.

[25] A qualification must be added here, for while laicization of education proceeded at a steady pace after 1882, it was far slower for girls' schools than boys. According to Zeldin (II, 202), there were still 5,000 Catholic girls' schools in 1897, while 7,000 nuns were employed in the state system. Even in 1914, one out of four girls was still in a Catholic school, although the density varied according to the region.

[26] Eugénie Garcin commenting on the provisions of the Loi Camille Sée.

[27] Pauline Kergomard, "A travers l'éducation," a regular column in La Fronde. In this particular article she attacked the rigid standard of conduct and morality imposed on schoolteachers by public opinion, and demanded that they should be free to live normal lives.

[28] Review of M. Hippeau's book on American education, La Vie Domestique, March 1876. George Bellaire, "L'Ecole mixte d'horticulture à Londres," La Mode Pratique, April 28, 1902.

[29] J. G. Najaille, editorial on women's education where he specifically urges the inclusion of swimming and gymnastics in the new girls' schools' curriculum.

[30] Corrado-Pope, op. cit., comments on the influence of this doctrine on Englishwomen's involvement in social and charitable causes

in the nineteenth century. These areas were first seen as an extension of the domestic role, but later were used bymany as a springboard for a career of social and political activism.

[31] "Loveless Marriage," an article condemning mothers who urged their daughters to marry rather than become old maids, and suggesting that there were other alternatives.

[32] Emma Frances Edge, "A Plea for the Entire Freedom of Women both in Education and Employment."

[33] M. F. Donaldson, "A Day at Girton College," The Lady's World, February 1887.

[34] See Chapter III.

[35] "Our Surplus Girls," The Englishwoman's Review, June 15, 1880.

[36] "The Vanishing New Woman," The Lady, February 28, 1895, an article attacking those who caricatured modern women as hysterical shriekers, forever pushing themselves forward, and confronting such myths with the reality of the new trend towards quiet self-reliance.

[37] "Maidens and Matrimony, " Hearth and Home, November 12, 1891.

[38] "How to Stay Happy While Single," Home Chat, March 1895.

[39] "The Young Wife: What Shall She Be?" The Lady, April 23, 1885.

[40] "Keeping out of Grooves," Woman, January 1896.

[41] "The Education of Our Girls," The Lady, February 21, 1895.

[42] Louise Koppe, editorial.

[43] André Theuriet, the novelist, in an article on "L'Amour dans le mariage." He felt that France was far more vulnerable to criticism than England or Germany for letting material considerations influence the choice of marriage partners.

[44] "Le Coeur des femmes d'aujourd'hui," an article on the changing image of marriage.

[45] Hubertine Auclert, editorial.

[46] See Chapter III for comments on the need for practical education for working-class girls in Woman's World and The Queen.

[47] Louise Koppe, "La Jeune Fille."

[48] Louise Koppe, "L'Adolescente."

[49] Rita McWilliams-Tullberg discusses the philosophical differences between Emily Davies and some of her opponents in "Women and Degrees at Cambridge University, 1862-1897," op. cit.

[50] Edith Guest, "Passing Events," an editorial celebrating the golden anniversary of the North London Collegiate School for Girls, founded by Miss Buss.

[51] Edward Shorter, The Making of the Modern Family (New York, 1975), discusses the changing pattern of the mother/infant relationship in the nineteenth century.

[52] Patricia Branca, The Silent Sisterhood, op. cit., p. 103.

[53] Those articles which did recommend bottle feeding as a temporary convenience, or as a substitute for mothers who could not nurse, never suggested any other method of cleaning than rinsing out the bottle in warm water. Branca notes that overfeeding was a common problem since it caused considerable discomfort in infants (p. 104).

[54] Margaret Hewitt, Wives and Mothers in Victorian Industry (London, 1958), Ch. IX "The Sacrifice of Infants." The high mortality rates were prevalent even after mothers shifted from spoonfeeding to bottles. Branca, however, points out in Women and Europe since 1750, op. cit., Ch. I, that factory workers were a distinct minority among working women, rather than the norm.

[55] "Foolish Parents," editorial in The Queen, April 11, 1885.

[56] "Mothers in Council," Home Notes, January 28, 1894.

[57] George D. Sussman, "The Wetnursing Business in Nineteenth-Century France," French Historical Studies, 9 (1975), p. 308.

[58] Ibid. Apart from foundlings, bottle feeding was apparently only widely used in Normandy, where it was reflected in a higher incidence of infant deaths.

[59] Ibid., p. 321.

[60] Tony Révillon, "L'Allaitement des enfants par la mère," La Citoyenne, February 20, 1881.

[61] Mme Brès, the first woman doctor in France, wrote her thesis on this subject in 1875 (La Documentation Francaise, No. 71, op. cit.).

[62] "Le Devoir Maternel," La Femme et l'Enfant, February 20, 1890.

[63] Révillon, op. cit.

[64] Sussman, p. 307. Shorter, op. cit., dates this change from the late eighteenth century for bourgeois mothers.

[65] La Femme au Foyer, December 7, 1902.

[66] Mary Leopold Lacoeur, "Les Remplaçantes," Femina, November 1901.

[67] Maria Verone, writing in La Femme au Foyer, December 14, 1902.

[68] Léon Richer refers to this argument in Le Droit des Femmes, in 1879, although he himself is dubious as to the reality of the depopulation problem.

[69] Branca, The Silent Sisterhood, pp. 103-104.
_____, Women in Europe since 1750, p. 123.

[70] Jane Cérez, La Condition sociale de la femme de 1804 jusqu'au présent, op. cit., p. 128.

[71] Quoted by Marie-Thérèse Renard in La Participation des femmes à la vie civique (Paris, 1965), p. 25.

[72] Nancel-Pénard, L'Evolution de la jurisprudence relativement à la femme depuis 1804, op. cit.

[73] Renard, p. 25.

[74] Nancel-Pénard, pp. 73ff.

[75] Ibid.

[76] G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, La Restauration, op. cit., p. 329, "Dés 1816 la Chambre Introuvable a supprimé le divorce inscrit dans le Code Napoléon."

[77] Lee Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property: The Reform of the Married Women's Property Law, 1857-1882," op. cit., p. 4.

[78] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[79] "Law for Ladies: Husband and Wife," The Lady, March 5, 1885. This was one of a weekly series of articles giving advice on legal matters.

[80] "Liabilities of Married Women," The Queen, May 13, 1890.

[81] "The Working of the Married Women's Property Act," The Queen, February 16, 1885.

[82] Loi du 9 avril 1881 and Loi du 20 juillet 1895 concerning caisses d'epargne.

[83] Loi du 13 juillet 1907. However, a wife's autonomy was limited by the fact that her husband could still withdraw his authorization for her to work unless they were legally separated (see Nancel-Pénard, p. 198).

[84] A. S. Morin, "La Capacité légale des femmes," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, July 11, 1880.

[85] This argument was advanced by the Minister of Justice in the debate on the caissesd'epargne proposals, see A. S. Morin, "La Capacité légale des femmes," supra. Some English commentators apparently shared the view that Frenchwomen were in a better situation. An article in Hearth and Home, June 18, 1891, on Englishwomen's lack of training and consequent economic insecurity, commented, "French fathers provide the inevitable 'dot' but Englishmen do not even do that for their girls."

[86] Branca, Women in Europe since 1750, op. cit., p. 95, claims that by 1900 only 26% of marriages were by contract compared to 39% from 1856 to 1880.

[87] Holcombe, "Victorian Wives and Property," op. cit.

[88] Gerda Lerner, in her article "The Lady and the Mill Girl," reproduced in Our American Sisters, ed. Jean Friedman and William Shade, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1976), advances the concept of "relative deprivation" as a possible influence behind the women's movement in the United States. She argues that American middle-class women felt left behind as their menfolk gained both professional advancement and political power in the nineteenth century, while their own opportunities for employment contracted.

[89] Le Droit des Femmes, January 15, 1890.

[90] Nelly Lieutier, editorial.

[91] The rationale behind this provision was to avoid appearing to condone immorality. Other grounds for divorce were excessive cruelty, and imprisonment for the commission of a serious crime.

[92] "On Marriage," The Queen, May 17, 1890.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Branca, Women in Europe since 1750, p. 170, referring to the law of 1884. An article in Woman, January 8, 1896, welcomed the extension of custody rights and maintenance to wives who had obtained a judicial separation as a result of their husbands' brutality as, "Indeed an admirable measure, and one destined to alleviate the grievances of poor women considerably."

[95] See Chapter IV.

[96] "Le Droit politique des femmes," La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, May 7, 1880.

[97] See The Queen's editorial, "Married Women's Suffrage," March 28, 1885, quoted in Chapter III, fn. 44.

[98] "Poor Law Guardians," editorial, The Lady's Pictorial, March 21, 1881.

[99] R.Y.P., "Women in Public Affairs," The Lady's Realm, September 1899.

[100] Anne-Marie Dardigna, Femmes-femmes sur papier glacé, op. cit. See also Evelyne Sullerot's remarks in L'Histoire et sociologie du travail féminin (Paris, 1968), p. 29, "On a commencé de chanter les louanges de la ménagère seulement lorsqu'elle a voulu faire autre-chose."

C O N C L U S I O N

The period between 1875 and 1900 saw the publication of over two hundred and seventy magazines for women on either side of the Channel: a tremendous advance on anything which had gone before in this particular sector of the press, and one which reflected parallel advances in the industry in general. At the same time, women in both England and France were experiencing the expansion of their educational and professional opportunities, as well as the gradual alleviation of their legal and civil disabilities, under the combined pressure of a growing feminist movement and the changing economic and social needs of society at large.

While the two phenomena are obviously linked, both in terms of the creation of a wider public for women's literature, and in the changing image of women's lives reflected in their journals, which moved from society queen and domestic angel, to professional housewife and potential career woman during this period, it would be wrong to credit women's journals with being the principal agents for this change, although they certainly contributed to its acceptability. Such a hypothesis would assume a parallel evolution in the press of each country at this time, and an audience in a similar situation with identical responses to proposals for women's emancipation, both of which have been shown to be invalid. Similar numbers hid wide discrepancies in the state of the industry, its rate of development, and the nature of the audience in England and France.

By comparison to the advanced state of certain sectors of the French press, notably the popular Parisian dailies which were pioneers of their field in the 1880's, for most of the period under study women's magazines in France remained essentially at the same stage of development as their English counterparts prior to the appearance of Samuel Beeton. Until the mid-nineties, they were still predominantly fashion-oriented and patronized by the bourgeoishousewife who sought their advice on managing her household and creating a good impression in Society. Mostly put out by small firms, who were slow to adapt to modern publishing techniques like commercial advertising, and hampered by their limited size and resources from achieving a wide distribution in a country less homogeneous than England, their archaic price structure, and the orientation and treatment of their subject matter, limited the journals' appeal to a mass audience. Readers came to them; they did not actively seek them out.

Despite the innovative sales techniques of Le Petit Echo de la Mode, from the time of its inception in 1879, changes did not really come to the industry before the turn of the century, when the big publishing giants finally entered the scene and, threatened by competition from the trans-Atlantic glossies, effected its tranformation. Although these initial changes were mostly at the upper end of the market, from then on, it was only a matter of time until their extension further down the social scale.

By contrast, English women's magazines, already differentiated from the French by their superior textual content at the beginning of

the period, from the eighties on would be notable for their increasing variety, which they shared with other sections of the press. Far earlier than in France, English publishers and advertisers recognized the tremendous commercial potential of a female audience, and set out to exploit it by every means, gearing advertising, pricing, promotion techniques and subject matter to separate sections of this vast audience. The big leap forward came in the early nineties, when they finally abandoned the idea that a popular press should be "improving" and concentrated on entertainment.

When one looks at the women readers themselves, and their responses to the changes taking place around them, other differences emerge. It has been shown that, in England, the main incentive for women's educational and professional progress was the need to provide alternative employment opportunities for those middle-class women who did not marry. Moreover, the journals most committed to feminism in general were those which catered to educated and articulate women in the upper classes, rather than to the downtrodden worker or the harassed housewife, both of whom, like their counterparts in the twentieth century, would probably have been glad to exchange their lot for what they perceived to be a life of leisure.

However, in France, feminist agitation was almost non-existent among journals catering for the same classes of women, outside of those which were organs of the cause. Laying aside the effects of a conservative religious and philosophic tradition, opposed to women's participation in the public sphere, I have suggested that some

of the pressures for the provision of genteel employment could have been diffused by the alternative option of the religious life. With the increasing laicization of women's education particularly after 1900, and the consequent diminution in the influence of the Catholic Church, these demands would increase. In this respect, it is significant that the feminist journals which first saw the need for such changes were mostly backed by women with Protestant or anti-clerical sympathies. An additional deterrent to the emergence of feminist consciousness among Frenchwomen could have been the slower abandonment of older economic patterns involving the wife's continued participation or assistance in the family business or occupation, or at least, the lesser likelihood in France of that physical division between home and business which precipitated a sense of isolation and deprivation among many middle-class women in England. Another important factor which worked against the favorable reception of any feminist proposals in France, was that feminism, because of its earlier history and its consequent association in the public mind with Socialism, anti-clericalism and Revolution, was for a long time considered a "dangerous" doctrine which would undermine family and state.

If women's journals were not the direct agents for women's emancipation, since even the most committed expressed ambivalence on any variation from the traditional goal of marriage and motherhood, nor were they necessarily the tools of reaction. Throughout the period, journals in both countries continually pushed for an upgrading of the role of wife and mother in the family relationship, and supported those proposals

which they felt would achieve this in their respective countries. By doing so, they reassured women that the traditional feminine values had not become obsolete in a world increasingly devoted to the pursuit of capital and, at the same time, brought them out of their isolation into a feeling of community with other women of their class or kind: a particularly important contribution for those locked in the new suburbia.

This did not necessarily mean advocating the continuation of a traditional life-style. If women in 1900 were not the same as those in 1875 it was because their journals encouraged them to aspire to higher standards of education and domestic performance, and to adapt the benefits of the new industrial processes to their needs. Similarly, while they were furthering women's pursuit of the domestic ideal, it was women's journals which urged the acceptability of the idea of the middle-class working woman and of her independent life-style. In this sense, although not perhaps in the vanguard of woman's emancipation, they were certainly the agents for her modernization. The professionalization of the housewife, which some see as her entrenchement in a stereotype, should be seen against the wider background of nineteenth-century development, which saw a gradual upgrading of professional standards and qualifications all round. By urging women to do the same within the context of their homes, women's magazines built bridges between the traditional environment of the home, and the outside world of business and commerce.

Women's magazines are the manifestation of a "woman's culture." Their apparent triviality and emphasis on romance and vicarious experience are but a surface coverage for a deeper community of interests which all women hold in common. Through the medium of her chosen journal, a woman can communicate with other women of like ideas, receive advice and reassurance on her hopes and fears, and gain reinforcement of her sense of identity and purpose. That for the majority of women in the late nineteenth century this still involved the pursuance of a home-centered role was not necessarily the fault of women's journals, but of women's own perceptions of the relative attractions of alternative options at that time.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES, 1875-1900,

LISTED ACCORDING TO DATE OF ORIGIN, FREQUENCY, PRICE AND DURATION

W = Weekly
Bi/M = BiMonthly
M = Monthly
Q = Quarterly
D = Duration
* = trade journals

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Pre-1870's:					
*Beau Monde, 1862-73, became Draper's (and Milliner's) Gazette of Fashion, 1874-92			1/-		30
The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine, 1852-79, became The Illustrated Household Journal, 1880-81			1/-		27(29)
The Englishwoman's Review of Social and Industrial Questions, 1866-69; n.s. 1870-1910			1/-	1/-	44
*The Gazette of Fashion and Cutting Room Companion, 1846-88, became Minister's Gazette of Fashion, 1888-1900+			2/-		54
Journal des Modes, 1868-1913			1/6d		45
Ladies' Fashionable Repository, 1809-95					86
Ladies' Gazette of Fashion, 1834-94			1/-;6d		60(64)
1895-99	1d				
Ladies' Monthly Magazine, 1852-79, became Le Monde Elégant, 1880-91			*		27(39)

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Ladies' Treasury and Treasury of Literature, 1858-95		9d;6d; 7d			37
Lady's Own Paper, 1866-72 (76)	3d				6(10)
La Mode Illustrée, 1860-1900+ (London edition 1896-99)			2/6d		40+
Le Follet, 1846-1900			1/6d		54
Le Moniteur de la Mode, (Eng. Lang. ed.) 1851-1913			1/-		62
London and Paris Magazine of Fashion, 1828-91			1/-		63
Mother's Friend, 1848-95			1d		47
Mother's Treasury, 1864-1900+			1d		36+
The Queen, 1861+	6d				116+
Townsend's Parisian Costumes, 1823-88			1/-		65
Victoria Magazine, 1863-80			1/-		17
World of Fashion, 1824-91			1/-		67
The Young Englishwoman, 1867-77, became Sylvia's Home Journal, 1878-91, then Sylvia's Journal, 1892-94			6d		30
Young Ladies' Weekly Journal, 1864-1920 (incorporated in Cartwright's Lady's Companion)	1d				56
1870's:					
Better Life, 1879			1/-		1
Brighton Courier of Fashion, 1871-80			1/-		9

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Cassell's Household Guide, 1870's+			7d		-
Delineator, 1879-1900+			8½ d; 6d(97)		21+
Drawing Room Gazette, 1871-77	3d				7
Frythones, 1879-97			2d		18
Homely Friend for Young Women and Girls, 1877-79, became Home Friend, 1880-1920			1d		48
House, 1875+	3d				-
House and Home, 1879-82	1d				3
Housekeeper, 1876-93+	1d				18
Household Dressmaker, 1877-78			2d		1
Journal des Costumes, 1877-84, became Weldon's Journal of Costumes, 1884-1918			1/-; 6d		41
Ladies' Edinburgh Magazine, 1875-80			6d		5
La Mode Artistique, 1872-95		1/- 1/6d			23
La Mode Unique, 1878-93		1/-			5
Les Modes de la Saison, 1871-85 (Absorbed by La Saison, 1886)	6d		2/-		14
Little Dressmaker, 1872-74, became Mother's Help and Little Dressmaker, 1875-1905			7d; 3d; 1d		33
Madame Bayard's Bouquet of Fashion, 1879-95			1/-		16

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Milliner and Dressmaker, 1870-81, became Milliner, Dressmaker and Draper, 1882			1/-; 1/6d		12
Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion, 1875-1912			6d;2d		37
Myra's Journal of Dress and Needlework, 1878-81, (Amalgamated with Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion, 1882)			6d		3
Myra's Mid-Monthly Journal, 1877-82; 1891-92			6d; 3d(91)		5
Myra's Paris Patterns and Models, 1879-81			3d		2
Queen's Own, 1876-77	3d				1
Weldon's Ladies' Journal, 1879-1954	3d				75
Winning Words, 1877-78			1d		1
Women's Gazette, 1875-79, became Work and Leisure, 1880-93			2d		18
Women's Suffrage Journal, 1870-90			1d		20
Women's Union Journal, 1876-1890 became Women's Trade Union Review, 1891-1919			1d	3d (1890)	43
1880's:					
Amateur Art Work, 1884, became Art Designer, 1884-89, then Home Art Work, 1889-1912			1/-	1/- (1891)	28

Title	W	Bi/.	M	Q	D
Baby, 1887-1915 (subtitle Mother's Magazine '94+)			4d		28
Babyhood, 1884-99 (Mother's Nursery's Guide, 1893-95)			6d		15
Butterick's Quarterly Report of Metropolitan Fashions, 1881-96				*	15
Domestic, 1883	1d				1
Dorothy Novelette, 1889-90, became Dorothy Home Journal, 1891-99	1d				10
Dressmakers' Chart, 1888-90			1d		2
Edinburgh Illustrated Journal, 1882	1d				1
Home, 1881-82			6d		1
Home Chimes, 1884-94	1d		6d;4d		10
The Householder, 1886-89, became The Home, 1889-1900+			1d		14+
The Housewife, 1886-1900			3d;6d		14
Infant's Magazine, 1880's+			1d		-
Ladies' Friend, 1887	1d				1
Ladies' Illustrated Paper, 1881			1d		1
Ladies' Journal of Decoration, 1886-87			2d;3d		1
Ladies' Monthly Review, 1889-96, became Glass of Fashion, 1897-1902			3d		13
Ladies' Own Novelist, 1880	1d				1
*Ladies' Tailor, 1884-1900+			9d		16+

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Ladies' World, 1880-82	1d				2
The Lady, 1885+	6d;3d				92+
Lady's Magazine, 1889-1901			1/-		12
Lady's Own Novelette and Weekly Supplement, 1889-1900	1d				11
Lady's Pictorial, 1881-1921	3d;6d				40
Lady's World, 1886-87, became Woman's World, 1887-90			1/-		4
La Figurine, 1880-82		1/-			2
La Saison, 1882-84			1/-; 1/6d		2
Leach's Fancy Work Basket, 1887-1915			9d		28
Leach's Practical Family Dressmaker, 1880-1900+			2d		20+
Le Moniteur de la Mode, (London ed.) 1882-91 (merges with Lady's Magazine, 1891)			1/-		10
Lett's Illustrated Household Magazine, 1883-85		7d	6d(85)		2
Little Women, 1887-89, became Good Housewives, 1890-91, then Housewifery, 1891-95			6d; 1d(91)		18
*London Album of Ladies' Fashions, 1887-93			2/-		6
London Journal Fashions, 1886-1900	1d				14
Madame Schild's Journal, 1880-98			1/-; 4d(82)		18

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Mother's Companion, 1887-96			1d		9
Myra's Half-Yearly Budget of Ladies' Fashions, 1888-89				Bi/An	1
Myra's Threepenny Journal, 1882-93			3d		11
Orange Blossoms, 1884-85, became Court and Society Journal, 1885, then Court and Society Review, 1885-88	6d				4
Princess's Novelette, 1888-1900+	1d				12
Report of Ladies' Fashions, 1889-1900+				10/6d Bi/An	11
Rosebud, 1881-1914			3d		33
Schild's Penny Illustrated Magazine, 1882-1901, became Schild's Ladies' Magazine of Fashion, 1901			1d		23
The Season, 1884-97			1/-		13
Spence's Magazine of Fashion, 1882-86			(1d)		4
The Sportswomen's Weekly Guide to the Turf, 1880-86	*				6
Table, 1886-1930	1d				44
Weldon's Bazaar of Children's Costumes, 1881-1900			1d		20
Weldon's Illustrated Dressmaker, 1881-1935			1d		54
Weldon's Ladies' Quarterly, 1881-85			9d		4
Weldons' Quarterly Dressmaker, 1881-85			4d		4

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Weldon's Practical Needlework, 1885-1929				2d	44
Women's Gazette and Weekly News, 1888-93	1d		2d(91)		5
Women's Penny Paper, 1888-90, became Woman's Herald, 1891-93, (absorbed by Woman's Signal, 1893)	1d				5
Young Ladies' Weekly Reader, 1881	1d				1
1890's:					
Beauty and Fashion, 1890-92	1d				1 ½
Beauty's Queen's, 1890-92			1/-		2
Butterick's Fancy Work Series, 1897-1900+			3d		-
Butterick's Fashion Guide, 1898-1906			1d		8
Cartwright's Lady's Companion, 1892-1915			*		23
Continental Fashions, 1890-91			6d		1
Countess Novelette, 1890 (97)	1d				1
Decorative Needlework, 1900			2d		-
Dresscutting and Making, 1899	1d				1
Dressmaker and Milliner, 1895-98			1/6d		3
Dressmaking at Home, 1895, became Isobel's Dressmaking at Home, 1895-1905			1½ d		10
Domestic Life, 1897-98	1d				1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Duchess Novelette, 1894-1902	1d				8
Empress, 1894	1d				1
Empress Novelette and Diamond, 1897-1901, became Empress Dainty Novelette, 1901-02	1d				5
The Englishwoman, 1895-99			6d		4
English Ladies' Novelette, 1890-94	1d				4
Enquire Within, 1890-1923, became Ladies' Home Journal	1d		6d (1901)		33
Fashion Illustrated, 1896-98			1d		2
Fashion Novelties, 1898			1d		1
Fashion Summary, 1897			1/-		1
Fashionable London, 1892-94	1d				2
Fashions and Fancies, 1898-99			2d		1
Fashions and Patterns, 1898-1902			1d		4
Fashions of Today, 1893-94			1/-		1
Fiction and Fashion, 1890-91	1d				1
Forget-Me-Not, 1891-1918	1d				27
The Gentlewoman, 1890-1926	6d				36
Gleam of Fashion, 1897			3d		1
Good Health, 1892-96	1d				4
Grand Album of Metropolitan Fashions, 1897-1901			1/-		4
Happy Home, 1896-98	1d				2

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Harrison's Complete Dressmaker, 1898-1920			3d		22
Harrison's Home Novels, 1899	1d				1
Health Soap Journal, 1891-92			1d		1
Hearth and Home, 1891-1914	3d				23
Home Chat, 1895-1958	1d				63
Home Circle, 1891-97	1d(95)		4d		6
Home Companion, 1897-1956	1d				59
Home Life, 1893-98			1d		5
Home Notes, 1894-1957	1d				63
Home Novelette, 1895-1901	½d				6
Home Stories, 1897-1900+	1d				3
Home Sweet Home, 1893-1901	1d				8
House (For the Artistic Home), 1897-1903, became			6d		8
House Beautiful, 1904-05			6d		8
Household Hints and Mother's Handbook, 1899-1901	1d				2
Irish Household Journal, 1891-95			1d		4
Isobel's Home Cookery, 1896-1904			1d		8
José Lille's Practical Fashions, 1898-1920			1½ d		22
Ladies' Bits, 1892	1d				-1
*Ladies' Cutter, 1900-1914			1/-		14
Ladies' Field, 1896-1927	6d				31

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Ladies' Herald, 1895-1908, became Lady's Herald, 1897 on.			1d		13
Ladies' Home, 1898-99	*				1
Ladies' Home Journal, 1893			6d		1
Ladies' Realm, 1898-99	3d				1
Ladies' Review, 1892-1908	1d		1d(98)		16
Lady Cyclist, 1895-97 (Absorbed by Wheelwoman)	1d (97)		3d		2
Lady of the House, 1890-1924			1d		34
Ladyland, 1893	1d				-1
Ladyland, 1898-99			1d		-1
Ladies' Kennel Journal, 1895-1901			1/-		6
Lady's Companion, 1892-1915	1d (95)		1d		23
Lady's Own Magazine, 1896-1900			2d		4
Lady's Realm, 1896-1915			6d		19
Lady's World, 1893-94	*				1
Lady's World, 1896-1900+	6d				5
Lady's World, 1898-1926			3d		28
La Mode Pratique, (Eng. ed.), 1892-94			*		2
Latest Paris Fashions, 1898-1902			1/6d		4
Leach's Ladies'Work, Penny Series, 1893-1900+			1d		7+
London Album of Ladies' Fashions, 1894			2/-		1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
London and Paris, 1894-96+			1/-		2+
Love Stories, 1898	½d				1
Madame, 1895-1913	6d				18
Mayflower, 1891?-1902	½d				10
Mother (the Lady's Paper), 1893-94	1d				1
Mothers and Daughters, 1898-98			1d		6
Mothers in Council, 1891-1900+			6d		9+
Millinery Journal, 1893-97			1/6d		4
*Millinery Record, 1896-1903		7½d			7
My Lady's Novelette, 1890	*				1
My Magazine, 1899	*				1
My Paper, 1895	*				1
My Queen Library, 1896+	1d				-
Our Home, 1891-1927	1d(95)		1d		36
Parent's Review, 1890-1900+			1d;6d		10
Paris Fashions, 1899-1901	3d				2
Paris Mode, 1894-95	1d				1
Pioneer of Fashion, 1892-94				6d	2
Princess, 1890-98	1d				8
Red Letter, 1899-1900+	*				-
Romance, 1897-1900			1d		3
Shafts, 1892-99			3d	*	7
Schild's Monthly Journal, 1896-1900+			4d;3d		5+

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
Schild's Parisian Dress Patterns,					8
Social Review, 1893-1901	6d				8
Social World, 1897	1d				1
The Spinning Wheel, 1892-97	1d		3d(99)		7
The Sportswoman, 1895-96					1
The Sportswoman's Field, 1898-99					1
The Sportswoman's World,1899-1900					1
Sweetbrier, 1899					1
Weldon's Home Dressmaker, 1895-1900+			1d		5+
Weldon's Home Milliner, 1895-1928			1d		33
West End Gazette of Fashion, 1898+			1/-		-
West End Review, 1897-99	1/- (99)		1/-		2
What to Eat, 1898			6d		1
Wheelwoman, 1896-99	1d (99)		1d		3
The Wife, 1892-93					1
Woman, 1890-1912	1d				22
Woman at Home, 1893-1920			6d		27
Womanhood, 1898-1907			6d		9
Woman's Life, 1895-1934	1d				39
Woman's Weekly, 1898-1900	1d				2
Workbasket, 1895					1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	D
World of Dress, 1898-1908			6d		10
Y Gymraes (The Welshwoman), 1900			1d		-
The Young Gentlewoman, 1892-1921			6d		29
The Young Woman, 1892-1915			3d		23

APPENDIX B

FRENCH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES, 1875-1900,

LISTED ACCORDING TO DATE OF ORIGIN, FREQUENCY, PRICE AND DURATION

W = Weekly
Bi/M = Bimonthly
M = Monthly
Q = Quarterly
D = Duration
Ann. Sub. = Annual subscription
* = trade journals

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
Pre-1870's:						
La Boite à Ouvrage, 1863-83		*			10f.	20
Le Bon Ton, 1834-84 (Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode)	*				12f; 28f.	50
Le Caprice, 1841-1905					6f;10f; 12f;17f.	64
Le Conseiller des Dames et des Demoiselles, 1847-92		* (88)	*		10f;12f; 15f;20f; 26f.(88)	45
Le Conseiller des Familles, 1855-90's		*			6f;12f.	40
Le Coquet, 1866-95+		* (95)	*		10f;18f; 26f.12f-61f (95).	30
La Corbeille, 1836(?)-78			*			40+
Le Courrier de la Mode, 1857-71(80) (identical to Le Follet, 1867+)			*		18f;22f; 36f.	(15)
Le Droit des Femmes, 1869-91		* (80s)	*		10f.(75c a copy)	22
L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode, 1843-88			*		13f.	45

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann. Sub.	D
L'Élégance Parisienne, 1867-84 (Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode)	*				18f;20f; 40f.	17
(1890 A.P.F. listing)			*		6f.	
La Fantaisie Parisienne, 1866-77			*			9
La Femme et la Famille et le Journal des Jeunes Personnes, 1867-1905	*	* (84)	*		7f;14f; 22f.	38
Le Follet, 1829-82 (Absorbed by Bon Ton)			*		18f;36f.	53
La France Élégante, 1854-90		*			20f.	36
La Gazette Rose, 1857-84 (Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode)					20f;26f.	27
Le Génie de la Mode, pre-1864-85			*		6f;8f.	21+
Le Goût du Jour, 1864+			*		20f.	20+
Le Journal des Coiffures, 1836-75						40
Le Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles, 1840-1902	*				14f.	62
Le Journal des Demoiselles, 1833-1922	*				10f;16f; 20f;25f.	89
Le Journal des Marchands de Modes, 1866-84 (Absorbed by Le Diable Rose)		*			9f;14f. (80c a copy)	18
Le Magazin des Demoiselles, 1844-96		*			7f;10f; 15f.	52
La Mode Actuelle, 1869-88		*			19f.	19

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Mode Artistique, 1860's-90's		*			18f;26f.	30+
La Mode Illustrée, 1860-1937	*				12f;14f; 18f;25f.	77
La Mode Nouvelle, 1868-85			*		10f.	17
Les Modes Européennes, 1864-1903			*		10f;15f.	40
Les Modes Parisiennes, 1843-85 (Absorbed by Mode de Paris; La Saison)			*		6f;8f; 15f;18f.	42
Modes Vraies, 1850's-85(?)			*		7f.	(30)
Le Monde Élégant, 1857-82		*			12f;18f.	25
Le Moniteur de la Coiffure, 1858-97			*		12f.	39
Le Moniteur de la Mode, 1843-1913	*				16f;28f; 38f;52f.	70
Le Moniteur des Dames et des Demoiselles, 1854-1902		*			11f;14f.	48
Le Musée des Modes, 1835(?)-95+	*				12f;16f; 25f.	(60)
L'Observateur des Modes, 1835(?)-1880					12f.	(45)
Paris Élégant, 1837-81			*		12f.	44
La Parisienne, 1868-80			*		12f.	12
Le Petit Messager des Modes, 1842-89		*			10f;12f; 16f.	47
Psyché, 1835-78			*		10f.	43
La Saison, 1868-1902		*			6f;12f; 15f.	34

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann. Sub.	D
La Sylphide, 1840-84 (Absorbed by La France Élégante)						45
La Toilette de Paris, 1858-79						21
1870's:						
L'Album de la Toilette et Paris Mode, 1878-82		*			18f.	4
L'Aquarelle Mode, 1872-92			*		52f;60f.	20
L'Avenir de la Mode, 1875+		* (88)	*		12f. (75c a copy in 1888)	(15)
Les Bas Bleus became Les Gauloises, 1874-77, then La Gazette des Femmes Artistiques et des Femmes Lettrées 1878-94			*			20+
La Coiffure Illustrée, 1879			*		12f.	1
Le Courrier du Monde Élégant, 1877-78		*				1
La Dernière Mode, 1874-75		*			24f (50c a copy)	1
L'Ecole des Femmes, 1879	*				24f.	-1
Fashion-Mode, 1877-78			*			1
La Fée de la Mode, 1878-80			*			2
La Fée de Paris, 1876-77		*				-1
La Fée du Chic, 1879			*			1
La Femme, 1879-1937		*			4f. (15c a copy)	58

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Femme, 1879	*					1
La Femme de France, 1879			*		10c a copy	1
La Femme du Foyer, 1879-82	*				8f;15f; 22f.	3
La Figurine, 1873-86	*				20f.	13
La Figurine des Modes de la Saison, 1876-80+		*			20f.	5
La Figurine-Mode, 1872-75						3
La Gazette des Dames,1879-86, (1880+ et La Parisienne Réunies)			*		6f;12f.	7
Les Grandes Gravures Artistiques, 1875-95+				Bi/ An	25f;33f; 40f.	20+
L'Illustration de la Mode, 1871-86, became La Toilette de Paris,1876-79			*			5(8)
*Le Journal des Chapeliers, pre-1879						
Le Journal des Dames, 1876-79	*					3
Le Journal des Institutrices et des Mères de Famille,1872+			*			-
Le Journal des Jeunes Mères, 1873-79		* (81)	*		7f;12f. (1881)	6
Le Journal des Modistes (et Lingères), 1870-1915			*		16f.(2f. a copy)	45
La Lingère Parisienne, pre-1875			*		6f.	(10)
La Mode, 1878						-1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Mode de Paris, 1871-1890's	*				12f;24f.	20+
La Mode en Relief, 1878-80						2
La Mode Française, 1874-98+	*				12f;25f.	25
La Mode pour Tous, 1878-1901	* (95)	*			7f.50; 11f.50; 10f;14f; (95)	23
La Mode Universelle, 1874-85			*		6f;15f.	11
Les Modes de l'Enfance, 1870-87			*		10f.	17
Les Modes de la Saison, 1871-85 (Absorbed by La Saison)	*				12f;24f.	14
Les Modes Francaises, pre-1875			*		12f;24f.	-
La Modiste Élégante, pre-1879						-
La Modiste Universelle, 1876-87			*		15f.	11
Le Moniteur des Nouveautés, 1870-74, became Les Nouveautés Parisiennes, 1874-78		*				8
La Nouveauté, 1876-77						1
Paris Charmant, 1877+			*		6f.	-
Paris Charmant, 1878-93		*			12f;20f.	15
Paris Fashion, 1873-75 (Eng. edition of La Mode de Paris)						2
Paris Figurine, 1876-1890's			*		18f.(1f.75 a copy)	20

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
Le Petit Journal de la Mode, 1879-80 (Formerly L'Echo de la Mode, 1878-79), became Le Petit Echo de la Mode, 1880+	*				6f.	100
La Revue de la Coiffure, 1874-78			*		12f.(1f.25 a copy)	14
La Revue de la Mode, 1872-1913 (identical to Le Moniteur de la Mode, 1890+)	* (90)	*			13f;15f; 14f;16f. (1890+)	40 (18)
Le Salon de la Mode, 1876-1914		*			16f;26f; 40f.	38
La Toilette Illustrée, 1879-86		*			15f.	7
La Toilette Moderne, 1879						1
Les Variétés de la Mode, 1879-80's				*	20f.	6+
La Vie Domestique, 1875-94		*	*		10f;8f. (1890)	19
1880's:						
L'Album de la Mode, 1889-90			*		1f.20 (a copy)	1
L'Album Rêve, 1886-1912			*		60f.	26
L'Art dans le Costume, 1885-95+			*		12f;24f; 36f.	10+
L'Art de la Femme, 1883-86		*			30f.	3

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
L'Art de la Mode, 1880-95+ (et La Vie Mondaine)	* (95)	*			50f;60f; 100f. (1f;1f25 a copy)	15+
L'Art du Travestissement, 1883-86			*		4f. (a copy)	3
Le Bulletin de l'Union Universelle des Femmes, 1888			*		8f.	-1
Les Causeries Familières, 1880-1900	*				25c (a copy)	20
Le Chic, 1883-84			*		36f.	1
La Citoyenne, 1881-91	*		*		6f. (orig. 10c a copy)	10
Le Conseiller des Mères et des Jeunes Filles, 1881-95+		*			12f. (50c a copy)	15+
La Coupe Parisienne, 1886-95+		*			9f.	10
Le Courrier Mondain, 1885-95	*				30f. (75c a copy)	10
*La Couturière, 1885-1914		*	*		10f;24f.	29
La Dernière Mode, 1883-84						1
Les Dernières Créations, 1882+				*	30f. (a copy)	-
Les Dernières Modes de Paris, 1881	*				6f.	1
Les Dernières Modes de Paris, 1883				*	15f. (a copy)	1
L'Économie Domestique, 1881-83, became Le Chroniqueur du Foyer, 1883		*				2(3)

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann. Sub.	D
*L'Élégance, 1889-1905		*			16f;24f; 34f.	16
L'Esprit de la Femme,1889-96	*				6f.	1
La Fantaisie, 1880-85			*		10f.	5
La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, 1880-82, became	*				6f.	16
La Femme et l'Enfant, 1882-96			*			
La Femme du Monde, 1889-94			*		48f;60f.	5
France-Mode, 1888-1906	*				5f.	18
Le Goût Parisien,1883;1894				*	20f.(6f. a copy)	(10)
La Grande Couture,1885-95+		*	* (95)		54f;56f.	10+
La Grande Modiste, 1883+			*		8f.	-
Le Guide de la Mode, 1886-95+	*				15f.	10+
La Jeune Fille, 1887-90+	*				8f;10f.	3
La Jeunesse, 1880-86			*		10f.	6
*Le Journal de la Bonneterie Française,1886-1912						26
Le Journal des Bébés,1887	*				20f.	-1
Le Journal des Ménagères, 1884	*				6f.	-1
Le Journal des Ouvrages de Dames, 1888-1933			*		20f.	45
Le Lutin, 1884+			*		6f.	-

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
Le Luxe, 1885-1904, became Toilettes Artistiques			*		56f;100f. 140f.	19
La Maison Illustrée, 1889-91			*			2
La Mère et l'Enfant, 1885-1906 (absorbs Journal des Mamans, 1900)		* (90)	*		6f;7f.	20+
La Mode, 1883	*					-1
La Mode, 1887-91, became La Mode de Paris		*			6f.	4
La Mode, 1887-93		*	*			6
La Mode Bijou, 1882-90		*				8
Mode-Caprice, 1883-88		*	*		18f.	5
La Mode de Style, 1881-1909		*			25f.	28
La Mode Élégante, 1882-84		*			26f.	2
La Mode Jolie, 1887-95+			*		8f;11f.	(10)
La Mode Nationale, 1886-1930	* (90)	*			7f;20f.	44
La Mode Parisienne, 1887-1900+	*				5f.	14
La Mode Populaire, 1888-90(95)	*				4f.	2(7)
La Modiste Parisienne, 1888-1913		*			6f;12f; 15f.	25
Le Nouveau-Né, 1881-86			*		5f.	5
La Nouveauté, 1887-1906 (trade, 1891+)	* (91)	*			5ed.5f-28f. 7ed.9f-40f(95)	4(19)

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann. Sub.	D
Nouveauté-Journal, 1880-81						1
Paris-Élégant, 1882	*				20f.	-1
Paris Mode, 1882-85		*			18f.	3
Paris Modèle, 1884-95			*		60f.	11
Paris Toilette, 1881-90's			*		55f;60f.	(15)
La Parisienne Élégante, 1882-87	*				24f.	5
La Petite Gazette Rose, 1885-86						1
Le Petite Mode, 1880-81	*				6f.	1
Les Petites Modes Parisiennes, 1880 (absorbed by Les Modes Parisiennes)	*					1
Les Premières de la Mode, 1882-95+			*		100f.	13+
*Le Progrès, 1885+			*		7f;10f.	-
*La Revue Parisienne de la Mode, 1882-83						1
La Revue Scientifique des Femmes, 1888-89			*			1
La Santé des Enfants et des Jeunes Mères, 1887			*		5f.	1
La Science Illustrée, 1887-1905	*					18
*Les Toilettes Modèles, 1884-1905		*			48f;66f.	21
La Tribune des Femmes, 1882	*				6f.	1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Vie Élégante						1
1890's:						
L'Album des Nouveautés, 1892				*	5f.	1
L'Art de la Coiffure et de la Mode, 1896					10f.	1
L'Art de la Couture, 1897			*			-1
L'Avant Courrière, 1893					Free	-
Beauté, 1897	*				10c a copy	1
Le Bulletin des Modes Francaises, 1893-1905		*			10f.	12
Le Chic, 1891-97			*			6
Le Chic, 1895+		*			20f.	-
Le Chic Parisien, 1899+						-
Le Conseiller des Femmes, 1896-98		*			3f.	2
Le Costume de l'Enfant, 1892			*		36f;40f.	1
Le Courrier de la Mode, 1891-1905 (Identical to La Nouveauté)	*				5ed.5f.-28f. 7ed.9f.-40f.(95)	14
Le Courrier des Modes Parisiennes, 1891	*					1
La Couturière Bourgeoise, 1893-1905			*		2f.(10c a copy)	12
La Couturière Moderne, 1895-1900						5

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Cuisine, (Selection of short lived titles from same publisher 1890)						-1
La Cuisine Française						-1
Le Cuisinier,					5f(25c)	-1
La Cuisinière,						-1
La Dernière Mode, 1896-1901, *La Dernière Mode Professionnelle, 1896-1901		*			12f;14f; 23f;25f; 30f.	5
Les Dernières Créations Parisiennes, 1897-1902						5
Les Dessous Féminins, 1896			*		6f.	1
L'Élégance Mondaine, 1897-1901			*		25f.	4
L'Enfance, 1898		*			3f.	-1
L'Etoile des Modes, 1892			*		14f.	-1
Le Favori de la Mode, 1892-99 (identical to Le Génie de la Mode)			*		25c a copy	7
Le Féminisme Chrétien, 1896-99 became L'Echo Littéraire de la France, 1899		*			15f.	3
La Femme chez Elle, 1894-95		*			15f;17f.	1
La Femme chez Elle, 1899-1938			*		2f.75; 3f.75; 4f.75	39
La Femme de France, 1893		*			20f.	-
La Femme de l'Avenir, 1896-1901		*				5
La Française, 1893	*				5f.	-1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann. Sub.	D
La Fronde, 1897-1905	Daily				5c a copy	8
La Gazette d'Hygiène et d'Economie Domestique, 1891-1902			*			11
Le Génie de la Mode, 1891-95+		*			9f;12f; 15f;22f.	5+
La Grande Dame, 1893			*		25f.	-1
La Grande Mode, 1896			*		24f.	-1
L'Harmonie Sociale, 1892-93	*					1
L'Idéal de la Mode, 1896					25c a copy	-1
L'Idéal Social Féministe, 1896					10c a copy	-1
La Joie de la Maison, 1891-1905	*					14
Le Journal de la Jeune Fille, 1893-1921, became La Revue de la Jeunesse Protestante			*			30
Le Journal de la Maison, 1898-99	*	*			6f.	1
Le Journal de la Mode et de la Beauté, 1898	*				6f.	-1
Le Journal de la Première Enfance, 1891-96		*	*		5f.	5
Le Journal de Madame et de la Salle à Manger, 1898			*		5f.	1
Le Journal des Femmes, 1891-1911			*		4f.	20
Le Journal des Femmes Artistes, 1890-1901						11

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
Le Journal des Lingères, 1891-1904			*		7f.	13
Le Journal des Mères, 1898			*		1f.	1
La Ménagère, 1891			*		10c a copy	1
Le Messager des Modes, 1890-1913 (succeeds Le Petit Messager des Modes, 1843-89)		*			6f.-18f.	23
Mode-Charme, 1890-92			*		50f.-120f.	2
*La Mode dans la Coiffure, 1899+						-
La Mode de Paris and Paris Album of Fashion, 1890-98			*			8
La Mode du Jour, 1894-96	*				10c a copy	2
La Mode du Journal, 1896+ (supplement to Le Journal)						-
La Mode du Petit Journal, 1896-1930 (supplement to Le Petit Journal)						34
La Mode en Famille, 1891-92 (supplement to La Vie en Famille)						1
La Mode Nouvelle, 1894	*				5f.	1
La Mode Pratique, 1891-1939	*				12f;15f; 18f;22f.	48
Mode-Programme, 1897						-1
Les Modèles Parisiens, 1893		*			32f.	-1
Modes et Toilettes, 1892-1909 (supplement to Le Soleil du Dimanche)	*					17

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
*Modes Fashions (pour Tailleurs et Couturières) 1899-1911					10f.50	12
La Mondaine, 1897-1902		*			24f;30f.	5
Le Moniteur de la Couture, 1898		*			24f.	1
Le Moniteur de la Nouveauté, 1896	*				12f;24f.	1
Nouveautés Françaises, 1899-1900		*				1
La Nouvelle Mode, 1894-1926		*			8f.	32
Paris Coiffeur, 1892-96			*		4f.	4
Paris Élégant, 1891-95+			*		60f.	(5)
Paris Fashions, 1892-1902			*		20f.	10
Paris-London: London-Paris, 1890			*		18f.	-1
Paris Mode, 1890-1902, became Arts et Modes	*	*			18f.	12
La Parisienne, 1875-97+ (in English)	*				12f.	(2)
La Parisienne à Bicyclette, 1894 (supplement to Paris-Toilette)					2f.50	-1
*Le Petit Moniteur de la Couture, 1898						1
Le Progrès des Femmes, 1890			*		5f.	-1
La Revue de l'Hygiène et de la Beauté, 1898			*			1

Title	W	Bi/M	M	Q	Ann.Sub.	D
La Revue des Femmes Françaises, 1898						1
La Revue des Femmes Russes, 1896-97		*				1
La Revue Féministe, 1895-97		*				2
La Revue Mondaine Illustrée, 1892+			*		8f.	-
La Revue pour les Jeunes Filles, 1895-1900		*				5
Le Salon des Modes Parisiennes, 1898				*	50c a copy	17
La Société des Etudes Feministes, 1898			*		6f.	-1
Tailleur pour Dames, 1890-96 (supplement of L'Album des Tailleurs)					42f;50f.	6+
La Toilette des Enfants, 1896			*		6f.	-1
La Tribune des Femmes, 1898		*				1

APPENDIX C

ENGLISH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: 1875 - 1900

Compiled from: British Library's Periodical Publications Catalogues.

British Library's Newspaper Publications Catalogues.

British Union Catalogue of Periodicals. 4 v. London: 1955-58.

The Newspaper Press Directory, 1870-1902. W. Wellsman ed., (afterwards referred to as N.P.D.).

The Tercentenary Handlist of English and Welsh Newspapers, Magazines and Reviews. London: The Times, 1920. Facsimile edition, 1966.

The Waterloo Directory of Victorian Periodicals. 1824-1900. Phase I. Michael Wolff, John S. North and Dorothy Deering, eds. University of Waterloo, Ontario: 1976.

Place of publication, unless otherwise stated is London.
The N.P.D. dates are those in which the publication was listed in the Newspaper Press Directory, from which details of price, publisher and content were drawn.

* Denotes journals which were primarily trade publications.

I. Magazines of General Interest

BEAUTY AND FASHION Nov. 27 1890 - Jan. 23 1892 N.P.D. 1891-92

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Shepheard and St. John, St. Bride St.
Content: Illustrated journal for women.

BEAUTY'S QUEENS June 1890 - Jan. 1892 N.P.D. 1891-92

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Macfarlane and Co., Fleet St. (Sheffield, 1902).
Content: "Aids to beauty, health and fashion," (N.P.D.).

CARTWRIGHT'S LADY'S COMPANION Dec. 10 1892 - Feb. 27 1915

Became Leach's Lady's Companion then The Lady's Companion

Monthly

COUNTESS NOVELETTE Folio Feb. 1897 N.P.D. 1898

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Emmet, 7 Gough Square.
Editor: Charles Shurey, (Bow Bell Novelettes Inc.).
Content: "Complete Story. Illustrated" (N.P.D.).

DOROTHY NOVELETTE 4° 1889 - 90 N.P.D. 1890-99

Became

DOROTHY HOME JOURNAL 1890 - 99

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: T. R. Chapman, Strand.
Content: "Complete Story," (N.P.D. 1890).
"Journal of high class fiction, illustrated, with articles and correspondence on health, toilet, dress, fashion, handwriting and cookery," (N.P.D. 1891).
"Complete illustrated novelette," (N.P.D. 1896).

DRAWING ROOM GAZETTE July 1 1871 - July 5 1873 N.P.D. 1872-77

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: B. Colnaghi, Fleet St. (1872);
Thomas Smith, Fleet St. (1873);
Charles Graham, Fleet St. (1874).
Content: "Art, literature, music, fashion and amusement. The latest fashions and matters of interest for drawing room readers," (N.P.D. 1873).

DUCHESS NOVELETTE Folio N.P.D. 1895-1900+

Sept. 17 1894 - Sept. 15 1902

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Caxton House, Gough Square.
Editor: Charles Shurey, (Bow Bells Novelettes Inc.).
Content: Complete stories.

EDINBURGH ILLUSTRATED JOURNAL N.P.D. 1882

Price: 1d
Publisher: Berwick and Horridge, 6 India Buildings, Edinburgh.
Content: "Ladies' literature, fashion etc.," (N.P.D.).

EMPRESS N.P.D. 1894

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 59/60 Chancery Lane, W.C.
Content: "An illustrated paper for ladies," (N.P.D.).

(The catalogue of the British Library at Colindale lists only a registration issue for 1902 under this title.)

EMPRESS NOVELETTE AND DIAMOND Folio N.P.D. 1898-1900+
22 Mar. 1897 - 1901

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Caxton House, Gough Square, Fleet St.
Editor: Charles Shurey (Bow Bells Novelettes Inc.).
Content: Complete stories.

Became Empress Dainty Novelette, 1901-02,
then Dainty Novels, 1902-24.

ENGLISH HOUSEHOLD MAGAZINE 1881-85 N.P.D. 1882-84

The Waterloo Directory lists this as The North of England Household Magazine, Newcastle, 1880, then the English Household Magazine.

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: C. W. Allen, Ave Maria Lane.
Content: "Instruction and amusing literature," (N.P.D.).

THE ENGLISHWOMAN 8° Mar. 1895 - Dec. 1899 N.P.D. 1896-1900

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: F. W. White and Co., 125 Fleet St.
Editor: Ella Hepworth Dixon.
Content: Fashion, fiction and society features.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S DOMESTIC MAGAZINE 8° then Folio
1852-59; new series 1860-79 N.P.D. 1870-79

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Samuel Beeton, 1852-59;
Ward, Lock and Tyler, Paternoster Row, 1860-79.
Content: "Tales, Essays, Domestic Matters, Coloured Fashion Plates" (N.P.D.).

Continued as The Illustrated Household Journal and Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine (1880-81) then merged with The Milliner, Dressmaker and Draper.

ENQUIRE WITHIN: Ladies' Home Journal 4° N.P.D. 1892-1900+

11 Oct. 1890 - July 1923

Weekly
Price: 1d (1901 on: 6d monthly).
Publisher: Popular Publishing Co., 83 Farringdon St.;
T.P. Chapman, 15 York St. Covent Garden (1895 on).
Content: "For the Housewife and Home Circle" (N.P.D.).

(Later merged with Home Life)

FASHIONABLE LONDON 6 April 1892 - 21 April 1894 N.P.D. 1893-94

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 20 Wellington St.,Strand.
Content: "Illustrated journal for ladies" (N.P.D.).

FASHIONS AND FANCIES May 1898 - Aug. 1899 N.P.D. 1899

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publishers: George Newnes, 7-12 Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Magazine of fashion and domestic economy" (N.P.D.).

FICTION AND FASHION 4° 1890-91 N.P.D. 1891

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 6 Wine Office Court, Fleet St.
Content: "Complete novel, fashions, etc." (N.P.D.).

LE FOLLET (London edition) 4° 1846-1900 N.P.D. 1870-1900

(The French edition of this journal, which dated from 1829, was absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode in 1885.)

Monthly
Price: 1/6d; later 1/-.
Publisher: E. Minster and Son, 8 Argyll Place;
Mme. de Lorraine, 18 Piccadilly (1888);
Ranker and Co., Drury Lane (1892);
William Rider and Son (1894);
Simkin, Marshall and Co., Stationers Hall Court (1899).
Content: "High Class Fashion" "Subscribed to by the Queen and the Princess of Wales" (N.P.D.).

FORGET-ME-NOT: A Pictorial Journal for Ladies 8°

Nov. 1891 - 6 April 1918 N.P.D. 1892-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: The Periodical Publishing Corporation (Harmsworth Press).
Editor: Winifred Johnson.
Content: Fashion, fiction and domestic advice.

FRYTHONES(Y) 1879-97 N.P.D. 1883-92

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: D. Williams and Son. Llannelly.
Content: "Welsh magazine for females (literary, domestic etc.) illustrated" (N.P.D.).

THE GENTLEWOMAN 12 July 1890 - 7 Aug. 1926 N.P.D. 1890-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Effingham House, Arundel St., Strand.
Content: Fashion and society journal for upper-class women.

HAPPY HOME N.P.D. 1896-98

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: W.P. Chew, 172 Strand.
Content: "Everything of use and interest for the home" (N.P.D.).

HARRISON'S HOME NOVELS N.P.D. 1899

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Harrison and Viles, Salisbury Sq., Fleet St.
Content: "Library of Love Stories" (N.P.D.).

HEARTH AND HOME: Myra's Weekly Messenger N.P.D. 1891-1900+

21 May 1891 - 29 Jan. 1914

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Beeton and Co., 204 Regent St.
Content: "The New Illustrated Weekly for the Home for English-speaking Women throughout the World" (first issue: May 21, 1891).

HOME

N.P.D. 1881-82

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Ellison and Co., 15 Wine Office Court, Fleet St.
Content: "Literary and domestic magazine" (N.P.D.).

HOME

N.P.D. 1890-1900+

(The Waterloo Directory lists this title under The Householder, 1886-89.)

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 3 Brushfield St. E.
Content: "Illustrated journal for house and home" (N.P.D.).

HOME CHAT 4° 23 Mar. 1895 - 1958 N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Periodical Publishing Corporation (Harmsworth Press).
Editor: Maud Brown.
Content: Intended to be inexpensive "quality" journal for middle-class women.

HOME CHIMES 8° 1886-94 N.P.D. 1884-94

Weekly, then monthly
Price: 1d, then 6d;4d
Publisher: R. Willoughby, 27 Ivy Lane.
Content: Family magazine.

HOME CIRCLE May 1894 - Oct. 1897 N.P.D. 1891-96

Monthly, then weekly from 1895
Price: 4d; 1d (1895 on).
Publisher: King, Bell and Railton, E.C.
30 Bouverie St. (1895).
Content: Originally a ladies' magazine concerned with "health, comfort and dress," but after 1895 is directed at "all members of the household" (N.P.D.).

(This journal is not the same as the Home Circle of 1902, published by Harmsworth.)

HOME COMPANION 4° 1897-1956 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Harmsworth Press, Carmelite St.
Content: Long complete story and serials (N.P.D.).

HOME LIFE 1893-98 N.P.D. 1894-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Marshall and Horner;
R.W. Cartwright (1899 on).
(The Waterloo Directory lists this journal as published by S. W. Partridge and edited by Smedley Norton.)
Content: "For young and old: a publication for the home circle," "For daughters and wives" (1899 on), (N.P.D.).

HOME NOTES 4° 18 Jan. 1894 - 1957 N.P.D. 1894-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta St., Strand.
Content: Fashion, fiction and domestic advice.

HOME NOVELETTE 4° N.P.D. 1896-1901

Weekly
Price: ½d
Publisher: 2 Red Lion Court, Fleet St.
Content: "Romantic love stories" (N.P.D.).

HOME STORIES 4° 14 Mar. 1896 - 17 Oct. 1900 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: W. Lucas, 26 Dean St., Fetter Lane.
Content: "Short stories and high class illustrations" (N.P.D.).

(The Waterloo Directory lists this journal as a successor to Lazyland (1893-94), and Good Company (1894-96.)

HOME SWEET HOME 18 Mar. 1893 - 13 April 1901 N.P.D. 1894-1901

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Harmsworth Press, Carmelite St.
Content: "Stories and pictures for everybody" (N.P.D.).

ILLUSTRATED HOUSEHOLD JOURNAL and Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine 1880-81 N.P.D. 1880-81

Monthly
Price: 9d
Publisher: Ward, Lock and Co., Salisbury Square.
Content: "Tales, Essays, Domestic Matters, Fashion and Needlework" (N.P.D.).

Later merged with The Milliner, Dressmaker and Draper.

IRISH HOUSEHOLD JOURNAL N.P.D. 1891-95

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: C.W. Otly, Royal Ave. Belfast.
Content: "Household matters and amusing tit-bits" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' BITS 13 Jan - 1 Sept 1892 N.P.D. 1893-94

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Marshall and Son, 125 Fleet St.
Content: "Fashions, Society, Art and Literature" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' EDINBURGH MAGAZINE N.P.D. 1875-80

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Maclaren and Macniven, 138 Princes St., Edinburgh;
Murray and Gibbs (1879-80).
Content: "Conducted by ladies exclusively, containing Tales,
Essays, Poetry etc." (N.P.D.).

LADIES' FIELD 8° Oct. 1896 - June 1897;
Mar. 1898 - Mar. 1927 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: George Newnes, Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Most Artistic Illustrated Paper for Gentlewomen"
"A paper essentially for ladies full of fashion, music,
art, society, sport and drama" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' FRIEND N.P.D. 1887

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Maclaren and Son,Glasgow.
Content: "Fiction, Fashion and Household Management" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' GAZETTE OF FASHION 4° 1834-94 N.P.D. 1870-99

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 6d (1885 on)
Publisher: J.G. Berger, 12 Newcastle St., W.C. (1870's);
E.W. Allen (1881);
Houlston and Son, Paternoster Square (1885 on).
Content: High class fashion magazine. The Queen and various members
of the Royal Family are cited as patrons in the N.P.D.

Continued as 1d Weekly 16 Feb. 1895 - 13 May 1899
Publisher: W.H. and L. Collingridge, 148/9 Aldersgate St. E.C.
Content: "Practical directions in home dressmaking, needlework society and fashion; domestic cookery etc." (N.P.D.).

LADIES' HERALD 1895-1908 N.P.D. 1896-1900+
LADY'S HERALD (1897 on)

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 11/12 D'Olier St., Dublin.
Content: "The fashion journal of Ireland" (N.P.D.).

LADIES'HOME 21 May 1895 - 11 Feb. 1899

Weekly

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL N.P.D. 1893

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: 53 Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus.
Content: "Tales, Fashions, etc." (N.P.D.).

LADIES' ILLUSTRATED PAPER N.P.D. 1881

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Cecil Brooks and Co., 13/14 Catherine St., Strand.
Content: "Fiction, fashion, literature, music, etc." (N.P.D.)

THE LADIES' MONTHLY MAGAZINE 4° 1852-79

See WORLD OF FASHION

LADIES' REALM N.P.D. 1899
(Listed as beginning in May 1898)
Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: 172 Strand, W.C.
Content: "Admirably arranged and edited lady's paper full of all that can interest the lady in her home" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' TREASURY AND TREASURY OF LITERATURE 8°
1858-1895 N.P.D. 1870-96

Monthly
Price: 9d; 6d (1877); 7d (1883)
Publisher: Bemrose and Sons, 21 Paternoster Row.
Content: "Literature, Education, Domestic Management, Fashions and Needlework" (N.P.D.).

LADIES' WORLD N.P.D. 1880-82

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: J.W. Allingham, 29 Farringdon St.
Content: "Tales, Miscellanies etc. Illustrated." (N.P.D.)

THE LADY Folio 19 Feb. 1885 - N.P.D. 1886-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d; 3d(1889)
Publisher: Blenkinson, 12 Tavistock St. Covent Garden;
39/40 Bedford St., Strand, (1891).
Founder: Thomas Gibson Bowles
Editor: Miss Stewart
Miss Rita Shell (1894 on).
Content: Fashion, household management, nursery advice, social news.

THE LADY OF THE HOUSE Jan. 1890 - Sept. 1924 N.P.D. 1892-1900+

Monthly
Pride: 1d
Publisher: Wilson Stathill and Co. Dublin.
Content: "The only Irish Illustrated Paper: a Journal of Fashion and Society" (N.P.D.).

LADYLAND 4° Oct. - Nov. 1893 N.P.D. 1894
Nov. - Jan. 1899

Weekly (1893); Monthly (1898-99)
Price: 1d
Publisher: 110 Shoe Lane, E.C. (1893).
Editor: Smedley Norton (1898, see White, Women's Magazines, op.cit.)
Content: "Fact, fiction and fashion" (N.P.D. 1894).

LADY'S COMPANION 10 Dec. 1892 - 27 Feb. 1915 N.P.D. 1894-1900+

Monthly; Weekly (1895)
Price: 1d
Publisher: R.S. Cartwright, 8 Johnson Court, Fleet St.
Content: "For daughters and wives" (N.P.D.).

LADY'S MAGAZINE N.P.D. 1889-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 6d (1901)
Publisher: Myra and Son, 39/40 Bedford St. Covent Garden;
Beeton and Co., 6 Fetter Lane (1891) ;
C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta St. (1901);
Content: "High class monthly" (N.P.D.), i.e. society and fashion.

LADY'S OWN MAGAZINE 8° 1896-1900 N.P.D. 1897-1900

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: Cricket Press, 23 Temple Chambers E.C.
Editor: W.R. Ferguson Weir.
Content: Fiction, fashion, art, music and drama.
Cycling news added 1898 (N.P.D.).

LADY'S OWN NOVELETTE AND WEEKLY SUPPLEMENT 4° 1899-1900 N.P.D. 1889-1900

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: W. Lucas, 42 Essex St., then Dean St. Fetter Lane.
Content: "32 pages, 2 complete novels" (N.P.D.).

LADY'S OWN NOVELIST 8° 1880 (1-24) N.P.D. 1881

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Roberts and Co. 42/43 Essex St., Strand.
Content: One complete novel each week.

LADY'S OWN PAPER 24 Nov. 1866-26 Oct. 1872 N.P.D. 1870-76

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Marlborough and Co. Ave Maria Lane, E.C.
Content: "all news and information fit for the feminine eye" "nothing is committed into its columns that the mothers of England need hesitate to place in the hands of their daughters" (N.P.D.).

THE LADY'S PICTORIAL Folio N.P.D. 1881-1900+

5 Mar. 1881 - 24 Feb. 1921
(Specimen issue Nov. 1880)

Weekly
Price: 3d; 6d (1884)
Publisher: Judd and Co. Doctor's Commons E.C.
Alfred Gibbons and Co., 172 Strand (1882-97)
W.P. Chew (1897)
Content: "Not a mere fashion journal but deals with all subjects interesting to ladies" (N.P.D.).

THE LADY'S REALM 8° Nov. 1896 - May 1915 N.P.D. 1897-1900+

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Hutchinson and Co., Paternoster Row, E.C.
Content: Journal by and for upper-class women.

THE LADY'S WORLD 8° 1886-90 N.P.D. 1887-90
WOMAN'S WORLD (1887 on)

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Cassell and Co., La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill.
Editor: Oscar Wilde (1887-89).
Content: "An illustrated Magazine of Fashion and Society" (N.P.D.).

THE LADY'S WORLD April 1893 - Jan. 1894 (Colindale)

THE LADY'S WORLD 24 Mar. - 24 April 1894 N.P.D. 1896+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: King, Sell and Railton, Bolt Court, Fleet St.
Content: "General ladies' paper (illustrated)" (N.P.D.).

THE LADY'S WORLD Dec. 1898 - Sept. 1926 N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Son, Temple House, E.C.
Content: Illustrated monthly review for ladies. Fashion and Society.

LOVE STORIES N.P.D. 1898

Weekly
Price: ½d
Publisher: C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta St., Strand.
Content: "Stories for young people of both sexes" (N.P.D.).

MADAME 21 Sept. 1895 - 7 June 1913 N.P.D. 1897-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Granville House, Arundel St., Strand.
Content: "Contains all the usual features of a 'lady's'paper" (N.P.D.).

MAYFLOWER 1891-1900 N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Weekly
Price: ½d
Publisher: W. Lucas, 158 Fleet St.
Content: "Complete novelettes" (N.P.D.).

LA MODE ILLUSTRÉE N.P.D. 1870-1900+

(Presumably a London edition of the successful French journal, although The Waterloo Directory only lists one from 1896 to 1899.)

Monthly; Quarterly, 1886-99; Weekly, 1900
Price: 2/6d
Publisher: Asher and Co., 13 Bedford St., W.C.
Content: "Fashions, Ladies' Toilettes, Novels, etc." (N.P.D.).

LE MONITEUR DE LA MODE 1882- Dec. 1891 N.P.D. 1883-92

(merges with The Lady's Magazine, 1891)

London edition of Goubaud's French journal, 1843-1913

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Variously listed as Goubaud and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Myra and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Mayson, Beeton, 39/40 Bedford St.
Content: High class fashion, fiction, society notes, art needlework, "4 coloured plates, 100 engravings" (N.P.D.).

MY LADY'S NOVELETTE 4° 16 Aug. - 20 Sept. 1890

Weekly

MY MAGAZINE 4° 1899

MY PAPER 30 Mar. - 5 April 1895

Weekly

MY QUEEN LIBRARY N.P.D. 1896+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Aldine Publishing Co., 123 Chancery Lane.
Content: "Each number a complete story" (N.P.D.).

MYRA'S JOURNAL OF DRESS AND FASHION 4° N.P.D. 1875-1900+
9 Feb. 1875 - Aug. 1912

Monthly
Price: 6d; 2d
Publisher: Myra and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Goubaud and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Mayson M. Beeton, 39/40 Bedford St. (1891), 6 Fetter Lane (1892). (Cynthia White, Women's Magazines, op. cit., p. 56, claims that Samuel Beeton arranged for Weldon's to publish this journal, but this is not mentioned in The Newspaper Press Directory).
Editor: Matilda Browne (Myra).
Content: Fashion, society and needlework. Paper patterns from Les Magasins du Louvre, household advice and fiction (N.P.D.). Claims to be aiming at "higher and middle classes" (1891).

MYRA'S THREEPENNY JOURNAL 4° May 1877 - Nov. 1882
1891 - 92 N.P.D. 1883-92

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Myra and Son; Goubaud and Son; Mayson Beeton (1891).
Content: Cheaper version of Myra's Journal.

Reappeared in 1891 amalgamated with Myra's Mid-Monthly Journal and Children's Bazaar.

ORANGE BLOSSOMS Aug. 1884 - July 1885 N.P.D. 1885

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: 325 Strand, W.C.
Content: Society journal, aiming at the bridal market.

Becomes The Court and Society Journal, July - Sept. 1885
then The Court and Society Review, Sept. 1885 - June 1888

THE PRINCESS 1 Mar. 1890 - 2 July 1898 N.P.D. 1891-98

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: W.K. Blenkinson, 39/40 Bedford St., Strand.
Content: "A home journal for maid and matron; ladies fashions and general newspaper" (N.P.D.).

THE PRINCESS'S NOVELETTE 4° 1886 - 1904 N.P.D. 1888-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: E.J. Brett, 173 Fleet St.
Content: Complete stories.

THE QUEEN Folio Sept. 1861 - N.P.D. 1870-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Originally Samuel Beeton, then Ward, Lock and Tyler. By 1870's it was controlled by Horace Cox, 346 Strand.
Content: "Particularly intended for ladies' reading" (N.P.D.). Fashions, needlework, society news, pastimes, and fiction.

QUEEN'S OWN N.P.D. 1876-77

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: John Berger, 8 Catherine St., Strand.
Content: "Ladies' paper; illustrated" (N.P.D.).

ROMANCE 4° Aug. 23 - Nov. 1890

Weekly

ROMANCE 8° 1897 - 1900+ N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Aldine Publishing Co., 1,2,3, Cross Court, Chancery Lane.
Content: Complete novel. Companion to My Queen.

ROYAL NOVELETTE Folio 1898

Edited by Charles Shurey (Bow Bell Novelettes Inc.).

SOCIAL REVIEW 23 Oct. 1893- 6 April 1901 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 6d
Publisher: McRedy, Ryte and Co., Dublin (1897).
Content: "Society and Fashion" (N.P.D.).

SOCIAL WORLD N.P.D. 1897

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 30 Bouverie St.
Content: "High class paper, illustrated" (N.P.D.).

SYLVIA'S HOME JOURNAL 4° 1878-91

(See The Young Englishwoman)

SWEET BRIER Folio 1898 - 99 N.P.D. 1899

Weekly
Price: ½d
Publisher: Aldine Publishing Co., Chancery Lane.
Content: Ladies' novelette. Supplement of My Queen.

WELDON'S LADIES' JOURNAL 1 July 1879-1954 N.P.D. 1880-1900+

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: Dress, needlework and household matters: "home weekly."

WELDON'S LADIES' QUARTERLY N.P.D. 1881-85

Quarterly
Price: 9d
Publisher: Weldon and Co.
Content: Dress, fashion and household matters.

WEST END REVIEW April 1897 - Aug. 1899 N.P.D. 1898-99

Monthly; Weekly (1899)
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Son, 125 Fleet St.
Content: "Illustrated journal of Society, Art and Fashion" (N.P.D.).

WINNING WORDS N.P.D. 1877-78

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row .
Content: "Tales, articles, etc. for Young Women" (N.P.D.).

WOMAN 4° 3 Jan. 1890 - 9 Aug. 1912 N.P.D. 1890-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Woman Publishing Co. Ltd., 26 Henrietta St., Covent Garden; 10/11 Fetter Lane (1898) i.e. a Mayson Beeton address.
Editor: Fitzroy Gardner, then Arnold Bennett (1896-1900).
Content: "For all sorts and conditions of women" (Woman 1890). Dress, household hints, recreations, etc.

WOMAN AT HOME 8° 1893-1920 N.P.D. 1894-1900+

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Hodder and Stoughton, Paternoster Row.
Content: "Bright and varied general reading and information"(N.P.D.).

WOMANHOOD 4° Dec. 1893 - June 1907 N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: F.L. Ballin, 5 Agar St., Strand.
Content: "A review of matters interesting to women" (N.P.D.).

WOMAN'S LIFE 14 Dec. 1895 - 22 Sept. 1934 N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: George Newnes Ltd., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "the latest, most up-to-datest woman's paper" (N.P.D. 1897). Illustrated home weekly.

WOMAN'S WEEKLY Folio 30 July 1898 - 1 Sept. 1900 N.P.D. 1899-1900

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Westminster Gazette Office, Tudor St., Whitefriars.
Content: "The only woman's newspaper" (N.P.D.). Gossip, fashions and fiction.

WOMAN'S WORLD 8° 1887-1890

(See The Ladies' World)

WOMAN'S WORLD 8° 1898

WORLD OF FASHION 4° 1824-51 N.P.D. 1870-92 1894+

Becomes The Ladies' Monthly Magazine 1851-79, then Le Monde Elégant 1880-91.

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Simkin, Marshall and Co., Stationer's Hall Court; E. Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey (1889); William Rider and Son (1894).
Content: "Coloured fashion plates; light readings" (N.P.D.).

Y GYMRAES (The Welshwoman) N.P.D. 1900

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: E.W. Evans, Dolgelly.
Content: "Illustrated Periodical for Women" (N.P.D.).

THE YOUNG ENGLISHWOMAN 4° 1864-77 N.P.D. 1870-77
1878-95

Becomes Sylvia's Home Journal 1878-91,
then Sylvia's Journal 1891-94.

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Originally Samuel Beeton, then Ward, Lock and Tyler.
Content: Tales, fashion and needlework for the younger market.

THE YOUNG GENTLEWOMAN Aug. 1892 - Jan. 1921 N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Harvard House, Arundel St.
Content: "For young girls" (N.P.D.).

YOUNG LADIES' READER N.P.D. 1881

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Farrington and Co. Fetter Lane.
Content: "Tales and sketches" (N.P.D.).

YOUNG LADIES' WEEKLY JOURNAL N.P.D. 1870-1900+

13 April 1864 - Feb. 1920

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Harrison, Salisbury Square.
Content: Fashions, needlework and literature.

(Later incorporated in Cartwright's Lady's Companion)

THE YOUNG WOMAN 8° Oct. 1892 - April 1915 N.P.D. 1892-1900+

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row;
Horace Marshall and Son, Fleet St. (1897 on).
Editor: F.A. Atkins.
Content: "Popular Magazine for Young Women" (N.P.D.).

II. Fashion and Needlework Journals

BRIGHTON COURIER OF FASHION 1871-1880 N.P.D. 1873-80

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: S. Miller, 37 Tavistock St., Covent Garden.
Content: "Fashion plates and patterns" (N.P.D.).

BUTTERICK'S FASHION GUIDE 1898 - Sept. 1906 N.P.D. 1900

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co., 87-89 Paul St., Finsbury.
Content: "Fashions and general household matters" (N.P.D.).

BUTTERICK'S QUARTERLY REPORT OF METROPOLITAN FASHION

June 1881 - Nov. 1896 (The Waterloo Directory)

BUTTERICK'S FANCY WORK SERIES N.P.D. 1897-1900+

Quarterly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co. Ltd. 171-175 Regent St.
Content: "Fancy work for ladies" (N.P.D.).

CONTINENTAL FASHION 4° 1890-91 N.P.D. 1891

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Trischler and Co., New Bridge St.
Content: "Fashion (illustrated)" (N.P.D.).

DECORATIVE NEEDLEWORK N.P.D. 1900

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: W. Briggs and Co., Manchester.
Content: "Illustrations in the latest photographic process"(N.P.D.).

DELINEATOR Jan 1893 - 1900+ (The Waterloo Directory) N.P.D. 1879-1900+

Monthly
Price: 8½d; 6d (1897)
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co., 177 Regent St.
Content: Illustrations of British and American fashions (N.P.D.).

*DRAPER'S GAZETTE OF FASHION (Draper's and Milliner's Gazette of Fashion) N.P.D. 1874-92

Successor to Beau Monde 1862-73

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St., Covent Garden.
Content: Fashion plates and patterns. Trade mag. (N.P.D.).

DRESSCUTTING AND MAKING N.P.D. 1899

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Williamson and Co., 93/94 Drury Lane.
Content: Fashions: Materials, cutting and making. (N.P.D.)

DRESSMAKER AND MILLINER Mar. 1895 - Nov. 1896 N.P.D. 1896-98

Quarterly
Price: 1/6d
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co., 173 Regent St.
Content: Dress and fashion.

DRESSMAKER'S CHART Jan. 1888 - Nov. 1890 N.P.D. 1896-98

Price: 1d
Publisher: J. Heywood, Manchester.
Content: Dressmaking hints (N.P.D.).

DRESSMAKING AT HOME Jan. - May 1895 N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Became Isobel's Dressmaking at Home June 1895 - Aug. 1905

Monthly
Price: 1½d
Publisher: Pearson's Ltd. Henrietta St., W.C.
Content: Dressmaking patterns and instructions (N.P.D.).

FASHION ILLUSTRATED 1 Aug. 1896 - Feb. 1898 N.P.D. 1897

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: F. Cordeaux and Sons, Bristol.
Content: "Novelties in millinery" (N.P.D.).

FASHION NOVELTIES N.P.D. 1898

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 24 Tudor St., E.C.
Content: "Latest fashions; free paper patterns" (N.P.D.).

FASHION SUMMARY N.P.D. 1897

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Granville House, Arundel St., W.C.

FASHIONS AND PATTERNS Dec. 1898 - 1902 N.P.D. 1900

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Andrew Williams, 14 Hogarth Rd., Earls Court.

FASHIONS OF TODAY N.P.D. 1893-94

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Sampson, Low, Marston and Co., London E.C.
Content: "Latest Paris fashions, art needlework, etc." (N.P.D.).

LA FIGURINE N.P.D. 1880-82

(Possibly an English edition of the French magazine.)

Fortnightly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Weldon and Co., 9 Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Water-colour drawings of latest novelties in dress" (N.P.D.).

*THE GAZETTE OF FASHION AND CUTTING ROOM COMPANION. 8° and 4°
1846 - Dec. 1888 N.P.D. 1872-94

Became Minister's Gazette of Fashion 1888 - 1900+

Monthly
Price: 2/-
Publisher: Simkin, Marshall and Co., Stationer's Hall Court; Minister and Co., 39 Marlborough St. (1888 on).
Content: Trade Magazine.

THE GLASS OF FASHION Oct. 1896 - Aug. 1902 N.P.D. 1897-1900+

(See Ladies' Monthly Review)

THE GLEAM OF FASHION N.P.D. 1897

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co., 173 Regent St.
Content: "Resumé of Metropolitan Fashion" (N.P.D.).

GRAND ALBUM OF METROPOLITAN FASHIONS N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Mar. 1897 - June 1901

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Butterick Publishing Co., Paul St., Finsbury.
Content: "Coloured plates and fashions" (N.P.D.).

HARRISON'S COMPLETE DRESSMAKER N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Dec. 1898 - Feb. 1920

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Harrison and Viles, Salisbury Square, Fleet St.
Content: "Monthly magazine of fashion" (N.P.D.).

HOUSEHOLD DRESSMAKER 4° 1877-78 N.P.D. 1878

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: Humphreys and Co., 274 Strand.
Content: "Fashion and instruction for ladies" (N.P.D.).

ISOBEL'S DRESSMAKING AT HOME 1895-1905

(See Dressmaking at Home)

ISOBEL'S FASHIONS FOR CHILDREN June 1895 - 1899

Publisher: Pearson's Ltd., Henrietta St.
Content: Children's clothes.

JOSE LILLE'S PRACTICAL FASHIONS N.P.D. 1899

May 1898 - Aug. 1920

Monthly
Price: 1½d
Publisher: 83 Farringdon St.
Content: Ladies' fashion journal (N.P.D.).

(See also Jose Lille's Juvenile Dressmaker.)

JOURNAL DES MODES 1868 - 1913 N.P.D. 1872-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1/6d.
Publisher: Marie Schild, 37 Tavistock St.
Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St. (1873 on).
Content: "Fashionable magazine with colour plates and patterns"(N.P.D.).

*LADIES' CUTTER June 1900 - 1914 N.P.D. 1900+

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey.
Content: "Ladies' tailoring; trade mag." (N.P.D.).

LADIES' FASHIONABLE REPOSITORY 1809-1895

LADIES' MONTHLY REVIEW 1889 - 96 N.P.D. 1889-96
Became The Glass of Fashion Oct. 1896 -Aug. 1902 1897-1900+

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Butterick and Co., 173 Regent St.; Paul St., Finsbury.
Content: "Resumé of Metropolitan Fashion" (N.P.D.).

Merged with The Delineator 1902.

*LADIES' TAILOR 1884 - 1936 N.P.D. 1887-1900+

Monthly
Price: 9d
Publisher: J. Williamson and Co., Drury Lane.
Content: Trade journal.

LATEST PARIS FASHIONS 1898 - Mar. 1902 N.P.D. 1900

Monthly
Price: 1/6d.
Publisher: Asher and Co., 13 Bedford St., Strand.
Content: Ladies' fashions.

LEACH'S FANCY WORK BASKET 1880's - April 1915 N.P.D. 1887-1900+

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: R.S. Cartwright, Johnson Court, Fleet St.
Content: "Practical directions for fancy work" (N.P.D.).

LEACH'S LADIES' WORK (Penny Series) N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: R.S. Cartwright, Fleet St.
Content: Knitting and crochet work (N.P.D.).

LEACH'S PRACTICAL FAMILY DRESSMAKER N.P.D. 1880-1900+

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: R.S. Cartwright, Johnson Court, Fleet St.
Content: "How to make ladies' and children's clothes" (N.P.D.).

*LONDON ALBUM OF LADIES' FASHIONS 1887-93 N.P.D. 1894
(Journal for Ladies' Tailors)

Monthly
Price: 2/-
Publisher: Record Press, 376 Strand.
Content: "High class ladies' fashion journal" (N.P.D.).

LONDON AND PARIS MAGAZINE OF FASHION 1828-91 N.P.D. 1870-92

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Kent and Co., 23 Paternoster Row;
Marlborough and Co., 51 Old Bailey (1888 on).
Content: "Fashions and dress descriptions. Light reading" (N.P.D.).

LONDON AND PARIS N.P.D. 1894-96

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: William Rider and Son, Bartholomew St.;
Simkin, Marshall and Co., Stationer's Hall Court (1896).
Content: Ladies magazine.

LONDON JOURNAL FASHIONS Dec. 1886 - Dec. 1889 N.P.D. 1892-1900+
(The Waterloo Directory)

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: C.W. Bradley and Co., 12/13 Fetter Lane.
Content: "Latest Paris fashions" (N.P.D.).

Published in conjunction with London Journal: Novels and Tales.

MADAME BAYARD'S BOUQUET OF FASHION 4° 1879-84 N.P.D. 1881-95

April/November; Monthly.
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton Row.
Content: "Designs for ladies' and children's clothes."

MADAME SCHILD'S JOURNAL N.P.D. 1880-98

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 4d (1882)
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St.; 142 Long Acre.
Content: "Coloured plates and fashion engravings" (N.P.D.).

THE MILLINER AND DRESSMAKER 1870 - 81 N.P.D. 1871-81

Combined with The Illustrated Household Journal,
to become The Milliner, Dressmaker and Draper, 1881-82,
then merged with Le Moniteur de la Mode.

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 1/6 (1877); 1/- (1879).
Publisher: Abel Goubaud and Sons, 30 Henrietta St.;
Gustave Letellier (1877);
Ward, Lock and Co. (1879).
Content: "Journal of modes and fashions" (N.P.D.).

THE MILLINERY JOURNAL April 1893 - Oct. 1897 N.P.D. 1894-97

Monthly
Price: 1/6d; 1/- (1895)
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 142 Long Acre.
Content: "Coloured illustrations of millinery " (N.P.D.).

*THE MILLINERY RECORD Feb. 1896 - 1903 N.P.D. 1897-1900+

Bi-monthly; Monthly (1899)
Price: 7½d; 1/-
Publisher: Minister and Co., 46 Great Marlborough St.
Content: Patterns for milliners (N.P.D.).

LA MODE ARTISTIQUE N.P.D. 1872-1895

English edition of French magazine.

Bi-monthly
Price: 1/-; 1/6d (1878)
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St.
Content: Fashion plates and patterns (N.P.D.).

LA MODE UNIQUE 1878 -83 N.P.D. 1879-83

Bi-monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Water-coloured drawings of the latest novelty in dress" (N.P.D.).

LA MODE PRATIQUE English edition: 1892-94.

LES MODES DE LA SAISON 1871 - 85 N.P.D. 1871-74
1879-86

English edition of French magazine which was later absorbed by La Saison.

Weekly; Monthly (1879)
Price: 6d; 2/-
Publisher: Marie Schild, 37 Tavistock St., Covent Garden ;
Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St., (1873 on);
Weldon and Co., 9 Paternoster Row, Strand (1879).
Content: "Journal illustré de la famille with English descriptions of coloured plates" (N.P.D.).

MYRA'S JOURNAL OF DRESS AND NEEDLEWORK 4° N.P.D. 1878-81
Feb. 1875 - Aug. 1912

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Goubaud and Son, 39 Bedford St., Strand.
Content: Dress fashions, etc.

Amalgamated with Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion, 1882.

MYRA'S MID-MONTHLY JOURNAL 4° N.P.D. 1879-82
1891-92
May 1877 - Nov. 1882

Monthly
Price: 6d; 3d (1891)
Publisher: Goubaud and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Mayson M. Beeton, 39/40 Bedford St. (1891)
Content: Children's dress and fashion.
"Fashion and fiction for children" (1891) (N.P.D.).

Amalgamated with Myra's Threepenny Journal and Children's Bazaar, 1891.

MYRA'S PARIS PATTERNS AND MODELS N.P.D. 1879-81

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Goubaud and Son, 39/40 Bedford St.
Content: Paper patterns.

PARIS FASHIONS 1899 - April 1901 N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: Toler Bros., Tudor St.
Content: Fashions and pictures (N.P.D.).

PARIS MODE Nov. 1894 - July 1895 N.P.D. 1895

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Cassell and Co. La Belle Sauvage, Ludgate Hill.
Content: Fashion.

PIONEER OF FASHION Folio Dec. 1892 - Mar. 1894 N.P.D. 1894

Quarterly
Price: 6d
Publisher: H. Hope Hopkins, 110 Strand.
Content: "For Gentlewomen: what to buy and where to buy it" (N.P.D.).

REPORT OF LADIES' FASHIONS N.P.D. 1889-1900+

Half-yearly
Price: 10/6d
Publisher: G. Minister and Co., Great Marlborough St.
Content: "Large colour plates" (N.P.D.).

LA SAISON N.P.D. 1882-84

English edition of French magazine.

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 1/6d (1884)
Publisher: W.A. French, 12 Paternoster Square; 75 Fleet St.
Content: Fashion.

SCHILD'S MONTHLY JOURNAL N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Monthly
Price: 4d; 3d (1900)
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 142 Long Acre.
Content: Fashion and needlework.

SCHILD'S PARISIAN DRESS PATTERNS 1894 - 1902
(The Waterloo Directory)

SCHILD'S PENNY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE 8° N.P.D. 1884-1900+
Mar. 1882 - July 1905

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Samuel Miller, Southampton St.
Content: "General fashions for ladies and children" (N.P.D.).

Became Schild's Ladies' Magazine of Fashion 1901.

THE SEASON Oct. 1884 - Dec. 1897 N.P.D. 1888-97

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 6d (1890, without colored plates).
Publisher: Asher and Co.,13 Bedford St.
Content: Ladies fashions.

SPENCE'S MAGAZINE OF FASHION N.P.D. 1882-86

Monthly
Price: 1d, then gratis.
Publisher: James Spence and Co., St. Paul's Church Yard.
Content: "Illustrated novelties in dress and millinery"(N.P.D.).

SPINNING WHEEL Oct. 1892 - June 1899 N.P.D. 1894-99

Weekly; Monthly (1899)
Price: 1d ;3d
Publisher: 1 Essex St., Strand;
H. Rideout, Strand, (1896); 98/99 Temple Chambers,(1898).
Content: "A home journal for wives, mothers and daughters" (1896 N.P.D.).
"Official Organ of the Ladies' Needlework Guild" (1898 N.P.D.).

TOWNSEND'S PARISIAN COSTUMES 1823-1888 N.P.D. 1870-88

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Simkin, Marshall and Co., Stationer's Hall Court.
Content: "Models of fashions, engravings and light literature" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S BAZAAR OF CHILDREN'S COSTUMES 1881-1900 N.P.D. 1880's

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St. Strand.
Content: "Instructions for making children's dresses at home" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S HOME DRESSMAKER 1895 - 1900+ N.P.D. 1897

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Weldon and Co. Southampton St. Strand.
Content: "Complete art of cutting and fitting" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S HOME MILLINER 1895 - 1928 N.P.D. 1897-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Complete art of home millinery" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S ILLUSTRATED DRESSMAKER N.P.D. 1881-1900+

Mar. 1880 - Mar. 1935

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Instructions for cutting out and making latest dresses" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S JOURNAL OF COSTUMES N.P.D. 1880-1900+

(Journal des Costumes 1877 - 1884
Weldon's Journal of Costumes 1884 - 1918.)

Monthly; (Quarterly, 1883)
Price: 1/-; 6d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St. Strand.
Content: "Devoted entirely to dress. Coloured plates, cut-out patterns" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S PRACTICAL NEEDLEWORK SERIES 1885-1929 N.P.D. 1887-

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "A complete guide to all fancy work at home" (N.P.D.).

WELDON'S QUARTERLY DRESSMAKER N.P.D. 1881-85

Quarterly
Price: 4d
Publisher: Weldon and Co., Southampton St., Strand.
Content: "Collection of patterns" (N.P.D.).

WEST END GAZETTE OF FASHION N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: E. Green, 32 Baker St.
Content: "Gentlemen and ladies' fashions" (N.P.D.).

WORKBASKET N.P.D. 1895

By subscription
Publisher: 147 Great Portland St.
Content: "Fancy work and materials" (N.P.D.).

WORLD OF DRESS April 1898 - Dec. 1908 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane.
Content: "Fashions from London, Paris, Vienna and New York" (N.P.D.).

III. Domestic, Health and Child-Care Journals

BABY 4° Dec. 1887 - Oct. 1915 N.P.D. 1888-1900+
(and The Mother's Magazine 1894 on.)

Monthly
Price: 4d
Publisher: Wyman and Sons, Great Queen St. (1888-91);
Mrs. Ada Bullin, Agar St., Strand (1895 on).
Content: "Advice for mothers and those who take care of children" (N.P.D.).

BABYHOOD 8° 1884 - 1892; 1895- 99 N.P.D. 1889-99
Becomes Mother's Nursery Guide 1892-95

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: R.J. Bush, 92/93 Fleet St.
Content: "Devoted to the interests of the nursery" (N.P.D.).

CASSELL'S HOUSEHOLD GUIDE N.P.D. 1870's on

Monthly
Price: 7d
Publisher: Cassell and Co., Belle Sauvage Yard, Ludgate Hill.
Content: "For every department of practical life; illustrated"(N.P.D.).

DOMESTIC N.P.D. 1883

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Whiting and Co., Sardinia St., W.C.
Content: "Journal for every home" (N.P.D.).

DOMESTIC LIFE April 1897 - July 1898 N.P.D. 1898

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Talbot House, Arundel St., Strand.
Content: "An illustrated journal for the house" (N.P.D.).

GOOD HEALTH 1892 -96 N.P.D. 1896
1902

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 56 Fleet St., E.C.
Content: "Journal for the household" (N.P.D.).
"Hygiene and healthful living" (N.P.D. 1902).

HEALTH SOAP JOURNAL N.P.D. 1891 -92

Quarterly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Health Soap Co., Liverpool.
Content: "Information for mothers" (N.P.D.).

HOUSE N.P.D. 1875 +

Weekly
Price: 3d
Publisher: G. Thomas, 8 Salisbury Court, Fleet St.
Content: "All subjects related to the dwelling; the laundry, the kitchen, the bedroom, the workroom etc." (N.P.D.).

HOUSE (for the Artistic Home) N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Mar. 1897 - Dec. 1903

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Horace Cox, Breams Buildings, E.C.
Content: "Articles on home decoration and management" (N.P.D.).

Became House Beautiful 1904-05.

HOUSE AND HOME 4° 1879 - 82 N.P.D. 1879-80

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: John Pearce, 355 Strand.
Content: "Home improvement, sanitation, domestic economy. Particularly aimed at tenants and owners of dwellings for the poor" (N.P.D.).

HOUSEHOLD HINTS AND MOTHER'S HANDBOOK N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Nov. 1899 - Dec. 1901

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Allen, Godfrey and Co., 282 High Holborn.
Content: "Homely paper for homely people" (N.P.D.).

HOUSEKEEPER N.P.D. 1876-93

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 420 Strand; 10 New Bridge St. (1880 on).
Content: "Domestic matters such as arrangements of a house, servants, food, cooking, purchasing, etc." (N.P.D.).
Organ of London and Westminster Supply Association, specializing in hotel management (1880 on).
Organ of Spiers and Pond Ltd. (1890 on).

THE HOUSEWIFE 8° 1886 - 1900 N.P.D. 1886-98

Monthly
Price: 3d; 6d
Publisher: 4 Ludgate Circus Buildings; 20-22 Bridge St. (1890 on).
Content: "Everything about the home"; "For all classes" (N.P.D.).

HOUSEWIFERY N.P.D. 1894-96

(See Little Women)

INFANT'S MAGAZINE N.P.D. 1880+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row.
Content: "Rhymes, readings and music for the nursery" (N.P.D.).

ISOBEL'S HOME COOKERY Jan. 1896 - Dec. 1904 N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Pearson's Ltd., Henrietta St., Covent Garden
Content: "Cookery and home making" (N.P.D.).

LETT'S ILLUSTRATED HOUSEHOLD MAGAZINE 8° N.P.D. 1884-85

1883 -85

Bi-monthly; Monthly (1885)
Price: 7d; 6d
Publisher: Lett's and Co. Ltd., 33 King William St. London Bridge.
Content: "A complete encyclopaedia of domestic requirements" (N.P.D.).

LITTLE WOMEN July 1887 - Dec. 1889 N.P.D. 1888-93

Became then Good Housewives 1890-91, Housewifery 1892-95 N.P.D. 1894-96

Quarterly; Monthly (1894)
Price: 6d; 1d (1894)
Publisher: J. Heywood, Paternoster Buildings; S.W. Partridge and Co., 9 Paternoster Row (1894).
Content: "Raising the tone of domestic work" (1888 N.P.D.). "Organ of the National Housewife's Association" (1894 N.P.D.).

MOTHER: The Lady's Paper N.P.D. 1893-94

10 Jan. 1893 - Oct. 1893

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: B. Colnaghi, 280 Strand.
Content: "Interests of women, fashions, etc." (N.P.D.).

MOTHER'S COMPANION 1887 - 96 N.P.D. 1887-97

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge, Paternoster Row.
Content: "Magazine for the home" (N.P.D.).

MOTHER'S FRIEND 1848 - 95 N.P.D. 1870-96

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Hodder and Stoughton, 27 Paternoster Row.
Editor: Ann Jane Morgan.
Content: "Helps and hints for mothers and families (N.P.D.).

MOTHER'S HELP 4° 1875 - 1905 N.P.D. 1879-1900+
(and Little Dressmaker, 1878 on.)

Monthly
Price: 7d; 3d (1885); 1d
Publisher: Samuel Miller, 37 Tavistock St.
Content: "Companion for the nursery; fashion for children and dolls" (N.P.D.).

MOTHER'S NURSERY GUIDE N.P.D. 1893-95
(See Babyhood)

MOTHER'S TREASURY 1864 - 1900+ N.P.D. 1870-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: The Book Society, Paternoster Row;
E. Streachan, 293 Strand (1896 on).
Content: "Religious miscellanies for family reading plus hints for mothers" (N.P.D.).

MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS 8° 1893-98 N.P.D. 1894-1900
(See Our Mothers and Our Daughters.)

MOTHERS IN COUNCIL 8° 1891-1900+ N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Quarterly
Price: 6 d
Publisher: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co.
Editor: Charlotte M. Yonge.
Content: "High class magazine for mothers" (N.P.D.).

OUR MOTHERS AND OUR DAUGHTERS 8° 1892-93 N.P.D. 189 -1900
Became Mothers and Daughters 1893-98

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: A.W. Hall, Hutton St., Fleet St.
Content: "Domestic and home affairs" (N.P.D.)
"General literature for women" (1899 on).

OUR HOME N.P.D. 1891-95+

Monthly; Weekly (1895)
Price: 1d
Publisher: H. Taylor, Prince's St., Edinburgh;
Macdonald and Martin, 190 Fleet St. (1895).
Content: "Household, garden and poultry yard" (N.P.D.).

OUR HOME Jan. 1898 - Feb. 1927 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Son, 125 Fleet St.
Content: "Illustrated household magazine" (N.P.D.).

PARENT'S REVIEW 8° Feb. 1890- 1900+ N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d; 6d (1896)
Publisher: Kegan Paul and Co.
Content: "Home training and culture; educational journal" (N.P.D.).

ROSEBUD 8° April 1881 - 1914 N.P.D. 1882-1900+

Monthly
Price: 3d
Publisher: James Clarke and Co., 13 Fleet St.
Content: "Monthly magazine of nursery nurture and amusement" (N.P.D.).

TABLE 1886 - 1930 N.P.D. 1898-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Simkin, Marshall and Co., 93/94 Drury Lane.
Content: "Cooking, gastronomy, food, etc." (N.P.D.).

WHAT TO EAT N.P.D. 1898

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: 4 Pilgrim St., Ludgate Hill.
Content: "Food, cooking, table furnishings and decoration" (N.P.D.).

IV. Professional and Recreational Journals

THE AMATEUR ART DESIGNER 4° 1884

Becomes The Art Designer 1884-89
then Home Art Work 1889-1912 N.P.D. 1890-1900+

Monthly; Quarterly (1891)
Price: 1/-
Publisher: J. Heywood, Deansgate and Redgefield, Manchester.
Editor: Mrs. Conyers Morrell
Content: Home ornamentation. Designs for paintings and artistic work.

DOMESTIC HELP Jan. 1884 - June 1904 N.P.D. 1884-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Hetherington, 334 Strand.
Content: "Tales, stories and advertisements for situations at home and abroad, including information regarding emigration" (N.P.D.).

DOMESTIC SERVANTS' GAZETTE N.P.D. 1896-97

Monthly
Price: ½d
Publisher: Domestic Servants Union.

GOVERNESS N.P.D. 1883-84

Becomes Governess and Headmistress

Monthly
Price: 6d
Publisher: Joseph Hughes, Pilgrim's St., E.C.
Content: "Ladies' literary magazine"
"For certified and High School teachers" (1884 N.P.D.).

HOME WORK 1885 -86 N.P.D. 1886-88

Monthly; Weekly (1888)
Price: 6d; 2d
Publisher: 20 High Holborn, W.C.
12-14 Catherine St., Strand.
Content: "Ladies industrial magazine" (N.P.D.).
"A home magazine and free register of articles of private work for disposal" (Tercentenary Handlist).

INFANT'S MISTRESS, KINDERGARTEN AND NEEDLEWORK TEACHER

Became Girls' and Infants' Mistress

Jan. 14 1893 - Jan. 1898 N.P.D. 1894-96

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Joseph Hughes and Co., Paternoster Square.
Content: "Journal for infants' mistresses" (N.P.D.).

LADIES'JOURNAL OF DECORATION N.P.D. 1886-87

Monthly
Price: 2d; 3d (1887)
Publisher: H. Vickers, 317 Strand.
Content: "For lady amateurs and artists" (N.P.D.).

LADIES'KENNEL JOURNAL N.P.D. 1895-1901

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Kennel Publishing Co., Gt. James St., Bedford Row.
Content: "High class monthly" (N.P.D.).

LADY EXHIBITOR AND THE EXHIBITOR N.P.D. 1900

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 5 Great James St., Bedford Row, W.C.
Content: "For exhibitors of livestock and produce" (N.P.D.).

LADY CYCLIST Mar. 1895 - July 1897 N.P.D. 1896-97

Absorbed by Wheelwoman 1896.

Monthly; Weekly (1897).
Price: 3d; 1d
Publisher: The Cycle Press Ltd., 108 Fleet St., E.C.
Content: "The official organ of the principal ladies' cycling clubs and associations. Cycling fashions, etc."(N.P.D.).

MISTRESS AND MAID 1890 - 92 N.P.D. 1890+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 29 Wellington St., Strand.
Content: "Interests of domestic servants, both male and female are advanced and advocated" (N.P.D.).

NURSING NOTES Dec. 1 1887 - N.P.D. 1890's

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: Renshaw Nichol, 12 Buckingham St., Strand.
Content: "Practical journal for nurses" (N.P.D.).

NURSING RECORD AND HOSPITAL WORLD 1888-1902 N.P.D. 1890's

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: F.J. Rebman, Adam St.
Content: "Journal for nurses and chronicle of hospital and institutional news" (N.P.D.).

NURSING WORLD AND HOSPITAL REVIEW N.P.D. 1896-98

Became Nursing News and Hospital Review, 1897

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 3 Victoria St.
Content: "Chronicle of nursing and hygiene" (N.P.D.).

SCHOOLMISTRESS N.P.D. 1881

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 15 Wine Office Court.
Content: "To assist schoolmistresses in their work. Educational news is given in condensed form" (N.P.D.).

SERVANTS' OWN PAPER July 18 - Dec. 1893 N.P.D. 1894

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: W.J. Simkins, Paternoster Square.
Content: "Journal for domestic servants" (N.P.D.).

SHOP ASSISTANT 1896 - 1904 N.P.D. 1899-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: St. Mary St., Cardiff.
Content: "Shop life and social advancement" (N.P.D.).

THE SPORTSWOMAN 9 Nov. 1895 - 7 Oct. 1896

SPORTSWOMAN'S FIELD 15 Oct. 1898 - 15 April 1899

SPORTSWOMAN'S WORLD 15 Oct. 1899 - 14 July 1900

THE TYPIST'S GAZETTE N.P.D. 1898

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Son, 125 Fleet St.
Content: "For typewriters" (N.P.D.).

WHEELWOMAN N.P.D. 1896-99

Monthly; Weekly (1899)
Price: 1d
Publisher: The Roxburgh Press, 3 Victoria St.; 176 Fleet St. (1898); 161 Strand (1899).
Content: "Journal for lady cyclists" (N.P.D.).

Absorbed Lady Cyclist, 1897.

WOMAN'S AGRICULTURAL TIMES N.P.D. 1899-

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Lady Warwick Hostel, Reading.
Content: "Specially for women" (N.P.D.).

WOMEN'S INDUSTRIAL NEWS N.P.D. 1902

Annual subscription; ½ d
Publisher: 12 Buckingham St., Strand.
Content: "Organ of Women's Industrial Council" (N.P.D.).

WOMEN'S UNION JOURNAL Feb. 1876 - Dec. 1890 N.P.D. 1879-1891

Became Women's Trade Union Review, July 1891-July 1918 N.P.D. 1892-1900+

Monthly; Quarterly (1890)
Price: 1d; 3d
Publisher: Women's Printing Society Ltd., 21 College St., Westminster. (a variety of subsequent addresses).
Content: "Notes on work and trade unions for women"
"Quarterly report of Women's Trade Union League" (N.P.D.).

V. Feminist Journals

BETTER LIFE 8° 1879 N.P.D. 1880

Monthly
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Victoria Press, 117 Praed St.
Content: "For mothers, wives and daughters" (N.P.D.).

THE ENGLISHWOMAN'S REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND INDUSTRIAL QUESTIONS 8°
Oct. 1866 - July 1910 N.P.D. 1870-1900+

Monthly; Quarterly (1892)
Price: 1/-
Publisher: Trübner and Co., 60 Paternoster Row;
William and Norgate, Henrietta St. (1895).
Editor: Jessie Boucherett; C.A. Biggs (1870-89);
Helen Blackburn (1889-1903).
Content: Succeeded The English Woman's Journal as the main organ of the feminist movement in Great Britain.

JOURNAL OF THE WOMEN'S EDUCATION UNION 1872 -

Editor: Miss Sheriff; Mr. Bartley. (Englishwoman's Review, Oct. 1878 "Women's Newspapers" pp. 430-440).

THE LADIES' REVIEW 9 April 1892 - Dec. 1908 N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Monthly; Weekly (1898)
Price: 1d
Publisher: 83 Farringdon St., E.C.
Content: "Devoted to the interests of women" (N.P.D.).

SHAFTS Nov. 1892 - Dec. 1899 N.P.D. 1895-1900+

Monthly; Quarterly (1900)
Price: 3d
Publisher: Granville House, Arundel St., W.C.;
Dawburn and Ward, Farringdon Hill (1897).
Content: "For women and workers" (N.P.D.).

THE VICTORIA MAGAZINE 8° 1863 - 1880 N.P.D. 1870-81

Monthly
Price: 1/-; 6d (1880)
Publisher: The Victoria Press, Princes St., Hanover Square; Praed St., Paddington; Simkin, Marshall and Co. (1877 on).
Editor: Emily Faithfull
Content: "The epitome of women's work with tales, original articles and reviews by women" (N.P.D.).

WOMAN'S GAZETTE 8° 1875 - 79 N.P.D. 1877-80
Became Work and Leisure 1880 - 93 1881-94

Monthly
Price: 2d; 3d
Publisher: Hatchard's and Co., 187 Piccadilly; Kirby, 17 Bouverie St. (1893).
Editor: E. L. Hubbard.
Content: News about women's work (N.P.D.).

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE JOURNAL 4° 1870 - 90 N.P.D. 1870-90

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Trübner and Co., 60 Paternoster Row. (also Manchester)
Editor: Lydia Becker.
Content: Women's Rights.

WOMEN'S GAZETTE AND WEEKLY NEWS N.P.D. 1888-93

Weekly; Monthly (1891)
Price: 1d; 2d
Publisher: Heywood, Manchester and Paternoster Buildings, London. 62 Fleet St. (1890); 16 Henrietta St. (1893).
Content: "Organ of the Women's Liberal Federation" (N.P.D.)

WOMEN'S PENNY PAPER Oct. 1888 - Dec. 1890

Became The Woman's Herald Jan. 1891 - Dec. 1893,
then The Woman's Signal Jan. 1894 - Mar. 1899

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: The Women's Printing Society, 21 Great College St.
Editor: Helen Temple.
Content: News of women's work in all its branches.

Became: THE WOMAN'S HERALD Jan. 1891 - Dec. 1893

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 86 Strand (1891); 47 Victoria St. (1893).
Editor: Christina Bremmer (1891);
Lady Somerset (1893).
Content: "Written by women for women to express their views on all subjects."
Associated with the Women's Liberal Federation (1892).

Then: THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL Jan. 1894 - Mar. 1899

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Sons, 125 Fleet St.
Editor: Lady Somerset.
Content: Temperance journal.

VI. Journals with Religious or Social Service Affiliations

BRITISH WORKWOMAN, OUT AND AT HOME N.P.D. 1872-1900+

(Companion to British Workman)

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 29 Paternoster Row;
R. Willoughby, 27 Ivy Lane (1877-1900+).
Content: "Religious and moral instruction for women." (N.P.D.)

BRITISH WOMEN'S TEMPERANCE JOURNAL N.P.D. 1884 -92

Became WINGS 1893 -1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Wade and Co., Ludgate Arcade;
Eliot Stock, Paternoster Row;
Farringdon St.,Ludgate Hill (1898).
Content: Organ of the British Women's Temperance Organization.

CHURCHWOMAN Sept. 1895+ N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: 157 Strand;
S. Rentell, Ludgate Hill (1899).
Content: "Especially founded to help forward woman's work in the Church. Illustrated," (N.P.D.).

FRIENDLY LEAVES N.P.D. 1877+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Hatchard's, 187 Piccadilly;
Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co., Paternoster Buildings.
Content: "For working girls. Organ of the Girls' Friendly Society," (N.P.D.).

FRIENDLY WORK N.P.D. 1884-1900+

Monthly; Quarterly (1895+)
Price: 2d; 1d (1893)
Publisher: Hatchard's, 187 Piccadilly;
Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co., (1893).
Content: Magazine for young women.

HOMELY FRIEND FOR YOUNG WOMEN AND GIRLS 8° N.P.D. 1879-81

Jan. 1877 - 79
Became THE HOME FRIEND 1880 - 1925 1882-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., 9 Paternoster Row;
MacNive and Wallace, Edinburgh.
Content: "Aimed at cultivating the minds of the nearly literate by giving them good and pleasant things to think of";
"For young women and girls. Organ of the Scottish Girls Friendly Society," (N.P.D. 1890's).

LADIES AUXILIARY FOR FEMALE EDUCATION N.P.D. 1882

also known as Ladies' Occasional Papers

Quarterly, (irreg.)
Price: 1d
Publisher: Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate Within.
Content: Occasional pamphlets on women's education.

LADIES' LEAGUE GAZETTE 1900+ N.P.D. 1901+

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: Simkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co.
Content: "Reformed faith of the Church of England," (N.P.D.).

LADIES' SUNDAY READER N.P.D. 1881

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: R.J.Brett, 173 Fleet St.
Content: "Pure literature for the Sabbath," (N.P.D.).

MOTHERS' UNION JOURNAL N.P.D. 1893-1900+

Quarterly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co., Paternoster Row.
Content: For mothers.

OUR HELP N.P.D. 1891-92

Price: 1d
Publisher: Women's Help Society, 29 Queen's Square, W.C.

OUR OWN GAZETTE N.P.D. 1889-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row.
Content: Organ of the Y.W.C.A.

OUR PAPER N.P.D. 1887-1900+

Monthly
Price: ½ d
Publisher: Women's Help Society, 29 Queen's Square;
Skeffington and Son, 163 Piccadilly (1898);
Young Women's Help Society (1901).
Content: Organ of Church of England's Women's Help Society.

OUR SISTERS N.P.D. 1897-99

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge, Paternoster Row;
Marshall Bros., Paternoster Row (1898).
Content: Magazine for women.

PROTESTANT WOMAN N.P.D. 1896-1900+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Marshall Bros., Keswick House, Paternoster Row.
Content: "Organ of Woman's Protestant Union," (N.P.D.).

QUARTERLY NEWS OF WOMEN'S WORK N.P.D. 1888-96

Quarterly
Price: 1d
Publisher: London Missionary Society. J. Snow and Co., Ivy Lane.
Content: "News of women in the mission field," (N.P.D.).

THE SHIELD 1870 - N.P.D. 1877+

Monthly; Weekly (1879)
Price: 1d
Publisher: W. Tweedie, 337 Strand;
Dyer Bros., Amen Corner (1883).
Content: Organ of the Ladies' Association for the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts.

SPRINGTIME N.P.D. 1897-1900+

(and Christian Endeavour) Jan. 1896 - Dec. 1932

Monthly
Price: 2d
Publisher: T. Mitchell, 248 Aldergate St.E.C.
Content: "For young men and maidens," (N.P.D.).

WINGS N.P.D. 1893-1900+

(See British Women's Temperance Journal)

WOMAN'S SIGNAL Jan. 1894 - Mar. 1899 N.P.D. 1894-1900

(See Women's Penny Paper; Woman's Herald)

Weekly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Horace Marshall and Sons, 125 Fleet St.
Editor: Lady Somerset.
Content: Temperance paper.

WOMAN'S WORK N.P.D. 1891-1900+

Quarterly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Ladies' Auxiliary, Wesleyan Mission House, Bishopsgate.
Content: News of Wesleyan missions.

WOMAN'S WORK IN THE GREAT HARVEST FIELD N.P.D. 1873-94

Monthly
Price: 4d; 3d
Publisher: S.W. Partridge and Co., Paternoster Row.
Content: "The ministry of women in its different aspects," (N.P.D.).

WOMEN IN THE MISSION FIELD 1900 N.P.D. 1901+

Monthly
Price: 1d
Publisher: Wells Gardner.
Content: News of missionary work.

APPENDIX D

FRENCH WOMEN'S MAGAZINES: 1875 - 1900

Compiled from: Catalogue collectif des périodiques du début du XVIIe siècle à 1939, conservés dans les bibliothèques de Paris et les bibliothèques universitaires des départements. Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1967-.

L'Annuaire de la presse française. 1880-1901. Ed. Emile Mermet. Paris: 1880-1901.

La Publicité en France. 1879-80. Ed. Emile Mermet. Paris: 1879-1880.

Djen, Li Dzeh. La Presse féministe en France, de 1869 à 1914. Paris: 1934, pp. 219-230.

Place of publication, unless otherwise stated, is Paris. The price listed is usually the cost of an annual subscription.
The A.P.F. dates are those in which the publication was listed in, or existed, according to the Annuaire de la presse française, from which details of price, publisher and content were drawn. It is frequently inaccurate regarding duration.

*Denotes journals which were primarily trade publications.

I. Fashion and Society Papers

L'ALBUM DE LA MODE — A.P.F. Jan. 1 1889-1890

Monthly
Price: 1fr. 20 (a copy)
Publisher: L. Michau, 82 rue de Richelieu.
Content: "Revue spéciale des modes pratiques."

L'ALBUM DE LA TOILETTE ET PARIS MODE — 4° — A.P.F. 1878-82

Bimonthly
Price: 18fr.
Publisher: G. Henry, 47 rue Vivienne.

L'ALBUM DES NOUVEAUTÉS A.P.F. 1892

Quarterly
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: Alice Patureau, 42 rue du Bac.

L'ALBUM RÊVE A.P.F. 1886

Monthly
Price: 60fr.
Publisher: Rêve, 38 rue de la Sourdière, then
71 rue des Petits Champs.

L'AQUARELLE MODE Folio A.P.F. pre 1865+

Sept. 1872-March 1892

Monthly
Price: 52fr; 60fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault, 5 rue du 4 Septembre; then
169 rue Montmartre, then
rue d'Uzès.
Content: Illustrated glossy.
Similar/Identical to La Femme du Foyer, 1879-1882,
which it absorbed.

*L'ART DANS LE COSTUME Oct. 1885 A.P.F. 1885-95+

Monthly
Price: 12fr; 24fr. (with engraving); 36fr. (with engraving and
models). 20fr. (1895+)
Publisher: 18 rue du Mail (1885); 11 rue de Mulhouse (1890);
Mme A. Guerre, 166 rue de Montmartre (1895+).
Content: Summary of latest fashions and novelties.
1895+ listed as a professional journal for dressmakers.

L'ART DE LA COIFFURE ET DE LA MODE 30 March 1896 A.P.F. 1896

Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Desbois, 257 rue St. Honoré.

L'ART DE LA FEMME 8° A.P.F. 1883-86

Bimonthly
Price: 30fr.
Publisher: Rouveyre et Blond, 98 rue de Richelieu.
Content: Fashions, light literature.

L'ART DE LA MODE (et La Vie Mondaine) Folio A.P.F. 1880-95+

Monthly; Weekly (1895+)
Price: 50 fr.; 60fr.; 100fr. 1fr./1fr.25 a copy (1888).
Publisher: De Montaut; H. de Hern (1888); Charles Chantel, 8 rue Halévy (1895).
Content: 20 pages of fashion designs and text. Artist, Arthur Stevens.

L'ART DU TRAVESTISSEMENT 1883 A.P.F. 1886

Monthly
Price: 4fr. a copy
Publisher: Léon Sault, 11 rue d'Uzès.
Content: Specialized in fancy dress costumes.

L'AVENIR DE LA MODE 4° A.P.F. 1875+

Monthly; Bimonthly (1888+)
Price: 12fr. 1fr. a copy, 75c (1888).
Publisher: H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
Editor: La Comtesse de Vérissey (1888+)
Content: Similar/identical to Le Printemps which it absorbed in 1881. "Journal spécial des modistes et lingères, 3,400 abonnés." E. Mermet, La Publicité en France, 1880.

BEAUTÉ A.P.F. 1897

Weekly
Price: 10c a copy
Publisher: Dujardin.
Editor: Victorien de Saussay.

LE BON TON 1834-1884 A.P.F. 1885

Weekly
Price: 12fr.; 28fr.
Publisher: Goubaud. 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: According to Evelyne Sullerot, Histoire de la Presse Féminine en France (1966), p. 140, this was one of the most important fashion and society magazines in the nineteenth century.

1885. Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

)1885 A.P.F. listing. i.e.)year of take-over by Le)Moniteur de la Mode.

LE BULLETIN DES MODES FRANÇAISES A.P.F. 1893+

June 5 1893 - 1905

Bimonthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: J. Thériard, 15 Boulevard de Strasbourg.

LE CAPRICE 8° - 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880-1900+
(Journal de la lingerie) Lists 1836 as
March 1841 - Aug. 1905 date of origin.
(No issue Oct. 1870-mid 1871)

Price: 6fr.; 10fr.; 12fr.; 17fr.)A.P.F. 1880's editions
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre)
Content: Specialized in fashions, accessories and children's clothes.
1879-92: Appeared in several editions with varying texts.
1893: Had 2 editions: one for fashions; one for children's clothes.
1872: Absorbed lingerie edition of La Corbeille.
1879: Absorbed 2nd edition of Les Nouveautés Parisiennes.
1887: Absorbed Les Modes de l'Enfance (and added title to own).
Similar/identical to Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles; Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LE CHIC Folio Oct. 1883 - Oct. 1884 A.P.F. 1883

Monthly
Price: 36fr.
Publisher: A. Reputti, 1 Impasse Gombourt.
Content: Journal of latest Paris fashions.

LE CHIC Folio 1891 - 1897

Monthly
Content: Artistic journal devoted to high fashion.

LE CHIC 4° March 1895+ A.P.F. 1895+

Bimonthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Roger d'Abret, 1 Fb. St. Honoré.

LE CHIC PARISIEN Folio pub. Vienna & Paris B.N. 1899+

Content: Specialized in Paris and Vienna fashions.
Multilingual text.
Special editions under individual titles: Album de bal; Chapeaux pratiques; Elégance d'été, etc.

LA COIFFURE ILLUSTRÉE 4° A.P.F. 1879

Monthly
Price: 12fr.
Publisher: Dondel, 5 rue Royale.
Content: Hair fashions.

LE CONSEILLER DES DAMES ET DES DEMOISELLES (Modes Nouvelles et Miroir Parisien réunis) 4° A.P.F. 1846-90's

Nov. 1847 - June 1892

Monthly; Bimonthly 1888+.
Price: 10fr.; 12fr. 1888+: 15fr.; 20fr.; 26fr. (inc. 24 patterns to own specification)
Publisher: Couverer, 13 Bd. St. Michel.
Mme Marie Apparuti (1888+)
Content: Fashion magazine which saw its heyday during the 2nd Empire (Sullerot op. cit.). Included fashion and social advice; practical dressmaking hints and patterns, elaborate needlework and decorative designs; domestic hints and advice; quality literary contributions, and coloured engravings. "Littérature morale, principes de famille" (A.P.F.).

*LE COQUET 4° A.P.F. 1866-95+

Monthly; Bimonthly 1895+(?).
Price: 10fr.; 18fr.; 26fr. 1895+: 12 - 61 frs. 75c per copy.
Publisher: A. Albert
Content: Originally listed in A.P.F. as specialized journal for dressmakers, but given more general description after 1895.

LA CORBEILLE 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880

1830's - 1878
(no issue Oct. 1870 - Mar. 1871)
(B.N. holdings begin 1843, but 1872 ed. claims "founded 1836.")

Monthly
Publisher: 3 rue du 4 Septembre (i.e. part of Goubaud group according to A.P.F.).
Content: Throughout lifetime ran similar/identical text to other magazines.
1872: lingerie edition absorbed by Le Caprice (op. cit.)
1874+: identical to Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles; Moniteur de la Mode, etc.
Absorbed by Le Petit Messager des modes.

LA COUPE PARISIENNE A.P.F. 1886, '88, '95

Bimonthly
Price: 9fr.
Publisher: L. Hurel, 70 rue Basse-du-Rempart.
Content: Practical fashion journal.

LE COURRIER DE LA MODE (Journal des dames et des demoiselles) 4° 1857 - Sept. 1871 (No issue Sept. 1870 - March 1871) A.P.F. 1880

Monthly
Price: 18fr.; 22fr.; 36fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Fashion journal, identical 1867+ with Le Follet which it absorbed.

LE COURRIER DE LA MODE Folio 1891-1905

Weekly
Content: Artistic and literary fashion journal with same text and numbering as La Nouveauté.
Partly identical to: La Mode; La Modiste Parisienne; Le Messager des Modes; Le Caprice; Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles; Moniteur de la Mode, etc. i.e. one of Goubaud group.

LE COURRIER DES MODES PARISIENNES A.P.F. 1891

Weekly
Publisher: 42, rue du Bac.

LE COURRIER DU MONDE ÉLÉGANT Folio Dec. 1877 - Oct. 1878

Bimonthly

LE COURRIER MONDAIN Folio Feb.1885-May1895 A.P.F. 1887+

Weekly
Price: 30fr.; 75c a copy
Publisher: H. d'Albert, 11 rue Mansart.
Content: Artistic fashion journal.

*LA COUTURIÈRE Folio Dec.1885-Aug.1905 n.s.1905-1914 A.P.F. 1885+

Monthly (1885); Bimonthly.
Price: 10-24fr.
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue de Richelieu.
Content: Professional journal for dressmakers and furnishers of women's and children's clothes.
Multi-lingual editions: French, German, English and Russian.
Partly identical to: L'Élégance; Le Luxe; Le Monde et les Théâtres.

LA COUTURIÈRE BOURGEOISE Folio 1893-1895 A.P.F. 1895

Monthly
Price: 2fr. 10c per copy
Publisher: G. Henry, 257 rue St. Hororé.
Content: Paris fashions.

LA COUTURIÈRE MODERNE Folio 1895-1900

Published in Lyon.

LA DERNIÈRE MODE Folio Sept. 1874-Dec. 1875
(Gazette du monde et de la famille.)

Bimonthly
Price: 24fr. 50c 1f.25 a copy.
Publisher: Stéphane Mallarmé.
Editor: Stéphane Mallarmé.

LA DERNIÈRE MODE 4° oblong 1883-1884
(Journal album)

LA DERNIÈRE MODE Folio 1896-1901 A.P.F. 1896

Bimonthly
Price: 12fr.; 14fr.; 23fr.; 25fr.; 30fr.
Publisher: Gentil et Cie., 34 rue Vivienne.
Content: "Journal d'élégance pratique."
Supplement: La dernière mode dans les théâtres.

*LA DERNIÈRE MODE PROFESSIONNELLE Folio 1896-1901

Same as above, but angled for trade.

LES DERNIÈRES CRÉATIONS A.P.F. 1882+

Quarterly
Price: 30fr. a copy.
Publisher: Louvel, 65 rue de Montmartre.
Content: Illustrated fashion album.

LES DERNIÈRES CRÉATIONS PARISIENNES Folio Dec. 1897-1902

LES DERNIÈRES MODES DE PARIS A.P.F. 1881

Weekly
Price: 6fr. 10c a copy.
Publisher: 3 rue Madame.

LES DERNIÈRES MODES DE PARIS — A.P.F. 1883

Quarterly
Price: 15fr. a copy
Publisher: Louvel, 65 rue Montmartre.
Content: Illustrated fashion album.

LES DESSOUS FÉMININS — A.P.F. 1896

Monthly
Price: 6fr. 60c per copy
Publisher: F. de Launay, 78 rue Taitbout.
Editor: Mme la baronne d'Argissonne
Content: Specialized in underclothing.

LE DIABLE ROSE — listed as pre-1879 — A.P.F.1880,1885

Publisher: 5 rue Feydeau.
1881: absorbed by Le Génie de la Mode (same publisher)
1885:is relisted.

Bimonthly
Price: 9fr.;12 fr.
Publisher: 7 rue de Chateaubriand.

L'ÉCHO DU MONITEUR DE LA MODE — 4° - Folio — 1843-88
(no issue Sept. 1870 - 1871)

Monthly
Price: 13fr.
Publisher: A. Picart, 42 rue d'Hauteville,Paris
1885 circulation: 1300
) 1885A.P.F. listing
Content: Similar/identical to Le Moniteur de la Mode; Le Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles, and others in Goubaud group. Absorbed by Le Petit Messager des Modes, 1887 on, and appears as: L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode; la Mode Actuelle, et le Petit Messager des Modes Réunis.

*L'ÉLÉGANCE — Folio — March 1889-1905 — A.P.F. 1889+

Bimonthly.
Price: 16 - 24 fr. (1890); 34fr. (1889)
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue de Richelieu.
Content: "Professional journal for dressmakers" (A.P.F. 1890)
Partly identical to La Couturière; Le Luxe; Le Monde et les Théâtres.

*L'ÉLÉGANCE MONDAINE Folio August 1897-1901 A.P.F. 1900

Monthly
Price: 25fr.
Publisher: 36 rue de Trévère.
Content: Partly identical to Le Progrès, which specialized in tailoring trade.
Absorbed by Le Progrès.

L'ÉLÉGANCE PARISIENNE Folio - 4° A.P.F. 1885,1890

October 1867 - 1884
(no issue Sept. 1870-Oct. 1871)

Content: Fashions, literature, society, theatre, etc.
One of Goubaud group: 1885 absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

Still listed separately A.P.F. 1885,1890.

Weekly (1885); Monthly (1890).
Price: 18fr.; 20fr.; 40fr. 75c a copy (1885); 6fr. (1890).
Publisher: E. Desmaret (1885)
Charles Blanchin (1890).

L'ÉTOILE DES MODES A.P.F.1892

Monthly
Price: 14fr.
Publisher: Dubosclard, 78 Bd. St. Michel.

LA FANTAISIE Folio Mar. 1880- A.P.F. 1885
(Journal des modistes et lingères.)

Monthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault, 169 rue Montmartre.
Content: Similar/identical to L'Aquarelle Mode; La Femme du Foyer; La Figurine, etc.

LA FANTAISIE PARISIENNE 4° July 1868-July 1877
(et Petites affiches de la mode.) (no issue Feb. 1870-Jan.1872)

Monthly
Publisher:)La Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein.
Editor:)

FASHION-MODE Archives Nationales F.18 348. 1877,1878

Monthly
Publisher: M. Sallerin. (former corporal, now concierge.)

LE FAVORI DE LA MODE Folio Oct. 1894 - May 1899 A.P.F. 1892+

Bimonthly
Price: 25c per copy
Publisher: L. Boulanger, 78 Bd. St. Michel.
Content: "Journal entièrement français"
Identical to Le Génie de la Mode.

LA FÉE DE LA MODE Archives Nationales F.^{18}348. 1878,1880

Monthly
Publisher: M. Chevaldonné. 1880: M. Rendu (employé de banque)

LA FÉE DE PARIS 4° Dec. 1876-June 1877

Bimonthly
Content: "Journal de primes élégantes."

LA FÉE DU CHIC Archives Nationales F.^{18}348. 1879

Monthly
Publisher: Philippe Moraison (coiffeur).
Content: Specialized in hairdressing.

FEMINA Folio Feb. 1901- Sept. 1939

Monthly
Price: 50c per copy
Publisher: Pierre Lafitte.
Content: Luxurious glossy, representative of new trend in women's journalism at end of century - includes articles of more general interest than predecessors, and lots of photos. Gradually replaces Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LA FEMME DU FOYER Folio 1879-82 A.P.F. 1880's
(Revue de la mode, illustrée)

Monthly
Price:
Publisher: Léon Sault, 5 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar/identical to L'Aquarelle-Mode; La Fantaisie; La Figurine, etc.
Absorbed by L'Aquarelle-Mode.

LA FEMME DU MONDE Folio June 1889-1894 A.P.F. 1890
(Journal de la mode de Paris)

Monthly
Price: 48fr. (small ed.); 60fr. (large ed.)
Publisher: de la Costa, 9-11 rue du Mail.
Editor: Aline de Rochebaron

LA FIGURINE Folio A.P.F. 1880
1873-78; March 1880-Feb.1886

Weekly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault, 5 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Fashion journal for everyone; colored illustrations. Similar/identical to L'Aquarelle Mode; La Fantaisie; La Femme du Foyer, etc.
1879-80 replaced by La Femme du Foyer.

LA FIGURINE-MODE Folio 1872-75

LA FIGURINE DES MODES DE LA SAISON
La Publicité en France: 1876-80

Bimonthly
Price: 20fr. 5fr. a copy subscription probably 200fr or journal appeared quarterly
Publisher: Ebhardt.
Content: Luxurious publication containing very latest fashions in color, with cut-out patterns. (La Publicité en France, 1880. E. Mermet ed.)

LE FOLLET 8° - 4° Folio A.P.F. 1885
(later: et Courrier de la Mode)
Nov. 1829 - Oct. 1882
(no issue Sept. 1870- mid 1871)

Monthly
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: One of long-lasting journals of 19th century which merged with Le Courrier de la Mode, another big success, in 1871, and was itself absorbed by another long runner, Le Bon Ton. All eventually taken over by Le Moniteur de la Mode in 1885.

LA FRANCE ÉLÉGANTE Folio - 4° A.P.F. 1880's
Nov. 1854-Sept. 1890
(no issue Sept. 1870-March 1871)
Bimonthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar/identical to Bon Ton; Le Moniteur de la Mode and other Goubaud papers.
1881 absorbs Paris Élégant.)
1885 absorbs La Sylphide.) 1888+ combines title.
1887 absorbs La Parisienne Élégante.)

FRANCE-MODE Folio July 1888-1906 A.P.F. 1880's
(Journal illustré des deux mondes)

Weekly
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: 56, rue du Château d'eau.
Content: Practical fashion journal "le plus complet."
Supplement: France-Mode Littéraire (published separately 1888-89).

LA GAZETTE DES DAMES Folio Nov.1879-1886 A.P.F. 1880;1885
(later "et La Parisienne réunis")

Monthly
Price: 3fr.(?) 50c a copy (1880); 12fr. (1885)
Publisher: J. Alesson, 9 rue de Fleurus (1880).
H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas (1885).

LA GAZETTE ROSE Folio A.P.F. 1879; 1885
1857-1884
(no issue Oct. 1870-Sept.1871)
("Revue mondaine des salons et de la mode")

Price: 20fr. (1879); 26fr.(1885)
Publisher: La Vicomtesse de Renneville (till 1885).
Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre
Content: 1882+ identical to Bon Ton, Caprice, France Élégante, etc. (Goubaud group).
1885: Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LE GÉNIE DE LA MODE 4° A.P.F.1881,1885
(listed as pre-1864)

Monthly
Price: 6fr.; 8fr.
Publisher: 5 rue Feydeau; 38 rue de Laval(1885);7 rue de Chateaubriand.
Content: Specialized in paper patterns.
1881: Absorbs Le Diable Rose (same house).

LE GÉNIE DE LA MODE

A.P.F. 1895
(Listed as "founded 1891")

Bimonthly
Price: 9fr.; 12fr.; 15fr.; 22fr.; Patterns 3fr.; embroidery patterns 3fr.
Publisher: M. Dubosclard, 78 Bd. St. Michel.
Editor: La Comtesse de Lisowezyk
Content: A.P.F. 1895 lists it as "one of the most practical and advantageous fashion journals."

LE GOÛT DU JOUR 4°

A.P.F. 1864+

Monthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Auguste Petit,7 rue de la Paix.
Content: Specialized in hair fashions.

LE GOÛT PARISIEN

A.P.F. 1883; 1894

Quarterly
Price: 20fr. 6fr. a copy
Publisher: 338 rue St. Honoré.
1894: listed as "founded 1888", publisher: Dubosclard, 65, rue Montmartre.

LA GRANDE COUTURE

A.P.F. 1885-1895+

Bimonthly; monthly (1895)
Price: 54/56fr.
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue Richelieu.
Content: Collection of fashion engravings, whose texts were published in La Couturière.

LA GRANDE DAME

A.P.F. 1893

Monthly
Price: 25fr. 2fr.50 per copy
Publisher: F.G. Dumas, 7 rue St. Benoit.
Content: Fashionable "glossy."

LA GRANDE MODE 12 Aug. 1895

A.P.F. 1896

Monthly
Price: 24fr. 3fr. a copy
Publisher: Casimir Barsius, 17 rue Paul Leroy.

LA GRANDE MODISTE

A.P.F. 1883+

Monthly.
Price: 8 fr. Publisher: 2 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Specialized in millinery.

LES GRANDES GRAVURES ARTISTIQUES In Plano A.P.F. 1875+

Bi-annual: February and August
Price: 33fr. 1895: 25fr.; abroad: 40fr.
Publisher: Roussel, 10 rue de Bouloi.
Content: Collection of engravings of latest fashions.

LE GUIDE DE LA MODE A.P.F.1886-1895+

Weekly
Price: 15fr.
Publisher: L. Portier, 10 rue d'Aboukir.
Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre (1895+).

L'IDÉAL DE LA MODE 20 April 1896 A.P.F.1896

Price: 25c a copy

ILLUSTRATION DE LA MODE Folio Nov. 1871-Nov.1876
(becomes La Toilette de Paris, 1876.)

Monthly
1874: Absorbed La Toilette de Paris (added the name 1875)
Content: Similar/identical to Les Modes Parisiennes.

LA JEUNESSE Folio 1880-Feb. 1886 A.P.F. 1885

Monthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault, 169 rue Montmartre.
Content: Specialized in children's fashions.
Partly identical to L'Aquarelle Mode; La Fantaisie; La Femme du Foyer, etc.

*JOURNAL DE LA BONNETERIE FRANÇAISE Folio March 1886-1912

Published at Troyes
Content: Specialized in interests of hosiery trade.

JOURNAL DE LA MODE ET DE LA BEAUTÉ A.P.F. 1898

Weekly
Price: 6fr. 10c a copy
Publisher: A. Prat, 100, rue de Richelieu.

*JOURNAL DES CHAPELIERS A.P.F. pre-1879+

Publisher: 56 rue J.J. Rousseau
Content: Specialized in interests of hatting trade.

LE JOURNAL DES COIFFURES 8° - 4° Folio
Nov. 1836 - March 1875
(no issue Oct. 1870 - Mar. 1871)

La Publicité en France: 1880

Publisher: A.P.F. lists H. de Besterveld, 3 Faubourg St. Honoré but more likely was one of Goubaud group.
Content: Similar/identical to Moniteur de la Mode; Nouveautés Parisiennes, etc.
Spanish and English editions.

LE JOURNAL DES DAMES Gr. Folio Dec. 1879-April 1877

Weekly

LE JOURNAL DES DAMES ET DES DEMOISELLES Folio A.P.F. 1840+(1890)
(et Brodeuse Illustrée réunis) 1840's-1902

Published in Brussels/Paris

Weekly)
Price: 14fr.) 1890 A.P.F.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue 4 Septembre)
Content: Complete guide to ladies' needlework.
Similar/identical text to Bon Ton; Le Caprice; L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode and other papers in Goubaud group.
Absorbed Brodeuse Illustrée.
Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LE JOURNAL DES DEMOISELLES 8° - 4° A.P.F. 1880-1900
Feb. 1833 - 1922

Weekly
Price: 10fr.; 16fr.; 20fr.; 25fr. (different editions distinguished by color).
Publisher: 2 rue Drouot; F. Thiery, 48 rue Vivienne (1890+).
Content: Concentrates on "young ladies." Fashion, fiction and advice.

LE JOURNAL DES LINGÈRES Folio Oct.1891-Feb.1904 A.P.F. 1895+

Monthly
Price: 7fr.
Publisher: A. Albert, 6 rue Favart.
Content: Drapery, underclothes, hats and layette.

LE JOURNAL DES MARCHANDS DE MODES 8° - 4° Folio A.P.F. 1885
July 1866 - Oct. 1884

Bimonthly
Price: 9fr.; 14fr. 80c per copy
Publisher: Rue de Laval.
Content: Specialized in hats and bonnets.
Similar/identical to Le Génie de la Mode; Journal des Couturières.
Absorbed by Le Diable Rose.

JOURNAL DES MODISTES (ET LINGÈRES) 4° 1870-1915 A.P.F. 1895

Price: 16fr. 2fr. per copy.) 1895 A.P.F.
Publisher: A. Albert, 6 rue Favart)
Content: Specialized in millinery and drapery.

LA LINGÈRE PARISIENNE A.P.F. pre-1875+ (1885)

Monthly
Price: 6fr.
Publisher: A. Picart, 42 rue d'Hauteville.
Content: Gave an underwear pattern every month.
Circulation 1200 (1885).

LE LUTIN A.P.F. 1884+

Monthly
Price: 6fr. 50c per copy
Publisher: P. Chayrou, 35 Fb. Montmartre.
Editor: Marie Gervais
Content: Specialized mainly in children's clothes. Patterns and coloured engravings.

LE LUXE Folio 1885-Sept. 1904 A.P.F. 1895
(later: Toilettes Artistiques)

Monthly
Price: 56fr.; 100fr.; 140fr.
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue de Richelieu.
Content: Similar/identical to Le Monde et les Théâtres; Le Conseiller de la Mode; La Couturière; L'Élégance.
Absorbed by Le Chic Français 1903.

LE MESSAGER DES MODES Folio 1890-1913 A.P.F. 1895
(succeeds Le Petit Messager des Modes 1842-1889).

Bimonthly
Price: 6 - 18fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar/identical to Le Caprice; Le Guide de la Mode; Le Moniteur de la Mode.
Absorbed by La Mode Pratique.

LA MODE Folio Oct. - Nov. 1878

"Revue littéraire, artistique et mondaine."
Apparently a continuation of Emile de Girardin's political and society journal, La Mode (1829-55), and La Mode Nouvelle,(1856-62).

LA MODE Folio April - May 1883

Weekly.
Content: "Journal des élégances parisiennes."

LA MODE Folio 1887-1893 A.P.F. 1880's-90's

Monthly (Bimonthly acc. to A.P.F.)
Publisher: A.P.F. lists publisher as W. Imans; G. A. Patureau, 35 rue de Verneuil, but was more probably Goubaud, as listed as having identical texts to Goubaud papers.
Content: Similar/identical to Le Caprice; Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles; Le Moniteur de la Mode, etc.
Absorbed by Gazette de la Famille et Messager de la Mode.
Regional ed. at Saintes: La Mode: Gazette régionale de la famille.

LA MODE Gr. Folio pre-1890-Oct. 1891 A.P.F. 1890 ("4th year")
(later La Mode de Paris)

Bimonthly
Price: 6fr. 25c per copy
Publisher: Eva Laroche, 6 rue de la Paix.

*LA MODE ACTUELLE 4°-Folio A.P.F. 1885; 1890
Oct. 1869 - March 1888
(later Petit Messager des Modes et L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode réunis)

Bimonthly
Price: 19fr. } 1890 A.P.F.
Publisher: A. Picart, 42 rue d'Hauteville
Content: Trade journal for modistes. Circulation 3700 (1885).
B.N. lists it as similar/identical to Le Caprice; L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode, Le Moniteur de la Mode, and other Goubaud papers.
Supplement: Patrons découpés, monthly pattern journal.

LA MODE ARTISTIQUE Folio 1860's-1892+ A.P.F. 1885-1895

Bimonthly
Price: 18fr.; 26fr. (1895+) 24fr.
Publisher: Gustave Jannet, Carrefour de l'Observatoire.
Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre (1895).
Content: Collection of latest fashions, many in color.
Life size dress patterns.

LA MODE-BIJOU Folio A.P.F. 1882
Sept. 1882 - April 1890

Bimonthly
Paris and local editions.
Content: Jewelry fashions.
"Journal de réclames pour des Magasins de Nouveautés." (A.P.F.).

MODE CAPRICE Folio 1883-Feb. 1886 A.P.F.1888 ("4th year")

Monthly; Bimonthly (A.P.F.).
Price: 18fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault
Content: Similar/identical to La Fantaisie; La Figurine; La Toilette Illustrée, etc.
Absorbed by L'Aquarelle-Mode.

MODE CHARME Folio April 1890-March 1892 A.P.F. 1891

Monthly
Price: 50-120fr. (according to edition)
Publisher: Léon Sault, 11 rue d'Uzès
Content: Drawings and patterns of very latest novelties.

*LA MODE DANS LA COIFFURE Folio Sept. 1899

Organ which supported the corporate interests of the hairdressing industry.

LA MODE DE PARIS, L'ILLUSTRATEUR DES DAMES ET LE JOURNAL DES SOIRÉES DE FAMILLE réunis Folio 1871 thru 1890's
A.P.F. 1885

Weekly
Price: 12fr.; 24fr.
Publisher: Thirion, 25 rue de Lille.
Content: Literature, fashion and the arts.
Similar/identical to L'Illustrateur des Dames et des Demoiselles; La Boite à Ouvrage; La Joie du Foyer; Paris Mode; La Saison, with which it merged 1886.
English edition: L'Arc de Triomphe; Paris-fashion.

LA MODE DE PARIS + Paris Album of Fashion Folio 1890-98
(New York + Paris)

Monthly fashion journal with American edition.

LA MODE DE STYLE Folio A.P.F. 1881+
Sept. 1881 - June 1909
(later Revue Illustrée des Élégances Parisiennes)

Bimonthly
Price: 25fr. + engraving. 75c per copy.
Publisher: H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
Editor: La Comtesse de Verissey (1890)
Content: Similar/identical to Le Salon de la Mode; Le Printemps; L'Avenir de la Mode.
High fashion, with large water color illustrations.
English, German and American editions. La Mode de Paris; Neuste Parisen.

LA MODE DU JOUR Folio 1894-June 1896 A.P.F. 1895

Weekly
Price: 10c
Editor: Mme de Poinsignon, 1 rue des Colonnes.

LA MODE DU JOURNAL Folio June 1896+

Supplement to daily newspaper Le Journal.

LA MODE DU PETIT JOURNAL Folio 1896-1930

Supplement to daily newspaper Le Petit Journal.

LA MODE ÉLÉGANTE Folio May 1882-1884 A.P.F. 1885

Bimonthly
Price: 26fr.
Publisher: D. Guerre, 15 rue de Richelieu.
Content: "journal spécial de coupe" (tailoring magazine?)

LA MODE EN FAMILLE Folio May 1891-Oct.1892

Supplement to Vie en Famille.

LA MODE EN RELIEF Folio 1878-80

Cut out models of every aspect of fashion.

LA MODE FRANÇAISE Folio Sept. 1874-1898+ A.P.F. 1879-90+
(then GAZETTE PARISIENNE ILLUSTRÉE DE LA FAMILLE)

Weekly
Price: 12fr. (1885); 25fr. 25c.; 50c; 75c per copy (1890)
Publisher: Orsoni, 37 rue de Lille (1885);67 rue de Grenelle (1890).
Editor: Baronne de Clessy
Content: Address and administration is same as Le Petit Echo de la Mode.

LA MODE JOLIE June 1887 A.P.F. 1887-95+

Monthly
Price: 8fr.;11fr. (with pattern)
Publisher: Mme Thirion, 15, Ave de Chatillon (1887); 36, rue Mazarin (1895).

LA MODE ILLUSTRÉE Folio 1860-Aug. 1937 A.P.F. 1880-1900
(Journal de la famille)

Weekly
Price: 12fr.; 15fr.; 18fr.; 25fr.
Publisher: 1860 launched by Firmin Didot
1880 Mme Emmeline Raymond, 56 rue Jacob (editor).
Content: Fashion, society, literature, advice.
Accepted no publicity, in order to be free to counsel readers.
Circulation: 1866 - 40,000 subscribers. (Sullerot, Presse Féminine, p. 11).
1880 - 100,000 subscribers (A.P.F.).
Spanish edition 1861+: La Moda Illustrada.
Literary supplement 1889+.

LA MODE NATIONALE Folio 1886-1930
(Messager des modes nouvelles.) A.P.F. 1890;1895

Bimonthly (1886); Weekly (1890).
Price: 7fr. 10c per copy.
Also 20fr. edition with pattern and engraving.
Publisher: Jules Rueff, 10 rue Git-le-Coeur; 106 Bd. St. Germain.

LA MODE NOUVELLE 4° A.P.F. 1885
(et Miroir Parisien réunis)
Oct. 1868-1885+
(no issue Oct. 1870-March1871)
Monthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Courcier, 13 Bd. St. Michel.
Content: For women and young ladies. Includes literature and fine arts.

LA MODE NOUVELLE 8 Feb. 1894 A.P.F. 1894

Weekly
Price: 5fr 10c a copy.
Publisher: Coffignon, 8 rue St. Joseph.

LA MODE PARISIENNE Dec. 1887 A.P.F. 1887+

Weekly
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: Picot, 6 rue St. Denis.

LA MODE POPULAIRE Folio Oct.1888-1890 A.P.F. 1890;1895
(Journal de la famille.)

Weekly
Price: 4fr.
Publisher: 51 rue Vivienne (1890). Droz, rue des Colonnes (1895).
Editor: Berthe de Pierre.

LA MODE POUR TOUS Folio A.P.F. 1885-95
(Journal de la famille et des modes pratiques)
Oct. 1878-Nov. 1901

Bimonthly; Weekly (1895)
Price: 7fr.50; 11fr.50. 1895+: 10fr.; 14fr.
Publisher: Ch. Fleck (1890);Alphonse Fleck (1895), 54 rue du Chateau d'Eau.
Content: 1890 A.P.F. lists it as "journal de réclame pour les magasins Tapis Rouge."
1895 A.P.F. lists it as journal of practical fashions.

LA MODE PRATIQUE Folio Dec.1891- A.P.F. 1895
(revue de la famille) Sept. 1939

Weekly
Price: 12fr.; 15fr.; 18fr.; 22fr.
Publisher: Hachette, 79 Bd. St. Germain.
Editor: Mme. de Broutelles
Content: Similar/identical to La Corbeille à Ouvrage; Le Caprice, etc. 1900+
1913: Absorbed Le Moniteur de la Mode and most of Goubaud group.

MODE-PROGRAMME A.P.F. 1897

Publisher: Lagrange, 10 rue de la Paix.

LA MODE UNIVERSELLE Folio 1874-1885 A.P.F. 1880's
(journal illustré des dames)

Monthly
Price: 6fr.; 15fr.
Publisher: Thirion, 25 rue de Lille.
Content: Similar/identical to La Toilette de Paris; Les Modes Parisiennes; Les Modes de la Saison; La Mode de Paris, etc.
1885: Absorbed by La Saison, but isolated numbers still appeared, till 1896.

LES MODÈLES PARISIENS 28 June 1893 A.P.F. 1893

Bimonthly
Price: 32fr.
Publisher: Rêve, 71 rue des Petits Champs (Album Rêve).

LES MODES DE L'ENFANCE 4° A.P.F. 1880's
(Journal des jeunes mères) Oct. 1870-March 1887

Monthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: A. Picard, 42 rue d'Hauteville.
Circulation 1000 (A.P.F. 1885)
Content: Similar/identical to L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode; La Mode Actuelle, etc.
Absorbed by Le Caprice (Journal de la lingerie.)

LES MODES DE LA SAISON Folio 1871-1885 A.P.F. 1880's
(Journal illustré de la famille)

Weekly
Price: 12fr.;24fr.
Publisher: J. Ebhardt; Thirion (1885)
Editor: Mme Louise D'Alq
Content: Similar/identical to La Mode de Paris; La Mode Universelle; L'Illustrateur des Dames; Les Modes Parisiennes.
1885: Absorbed by La Saison, but isolated numbers still appeared.

MODES ET TOILETTES DE L'ILLUSTRÉ SOLEIL DU DIMANCHE Folio
1892-1909

Supplement of Soleil du Dimanche.
1st issues called Mode en couleurs; Modes en famille.
1894 + Similar/identical to La Nouvelle Mode, journal de la famille.

LES MODES EUROPÉENNES Folio 1864-1903 A.P.F. 1880+
(No issue Sept.1870-July 1871)

Monthly
Price: 10fr.;15fr.
Publisher: Laporte, rue des Petits Champs.
Content: Probably angled at tailoring trade as was absorbed by Le Progrès, which catered for this market.
Several foreign language editions.
Circulation: 6000 (A.P.F. 1885)

*MODES FASHIONS (POUR TAILLEURS ET COUTURIERS) 4° A.P.F. 1900
1899-1911

Price: 10fr.50
Publisher: 29-31 Galerie Vivienne.
Content: Artistic publication of La Faculté nationale de coupe de Paris.

LES MODES FRANÇAISES A.P.F. pre-1875+

Monthly
Price: 12fr.; 24fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.

LES MODES PARISIENNES Folio 4°
May 1843 - 1885 A.P.F. 1880's

Monthly ; Bimonthly (1885)
Price: 6fr.; 8fr. (without pattern). 15fr.; 18fr. (with pattern, etc.)
Publisher: Thirion, 25 rue de Lille.
Content: 1880: Absorbed La Mode de Paris;
Similar/identical to La Mode Universelle; Les Modes de la Saison
1885: Absorbed by La Saison.

MODES VRAIES 4° A.P.F. pre-1875+
(1885 = "35th year")

Monthly
Price: 7fr.
Content: Supplement to Musée de la Famille.

LA MODISTE ÉLÉGANTE A.P.F. pre-1879

Publisher: 148 Fb. St. Denis, Paris.

LA MODISTE PARISIENNE Folio 1888-1913 A.P.F. 1895
(and Caprice réunis 1894+)

Bimonthly)
Price: 6fr.;12fr.;15fr.) 1895 A.P.F.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre)
Content: Similar/identical to La Nouveauté; Le Caprice; Le Moniteur de la Mode, etc.
Millinery fashions.

LA MODISTE UNIVERSELLE Folio A.P.F. 1880's
Oct. 1876 - Aug. 1887

Monthly
Price: 15fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Model hats.
Foreign language editions.

LA MONDAINE Folio Nov. 1897-June 1902 A.P.F. 1900

Bimonthly
Price: 24fr.; 30fr. 1fr.; 1fr.25; 1fr.50 per copy
Publisher: A. Prat, 12 rue des Beaux-Arts, Paris.
1900+: probably Goubaud
Content: "Le plus luxueux de tous les journaux de mode" (A.P.F.)
1900+: Similar/identical to Le Caprice; Le Moniteur de la Mode, etc.
Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LE MONDE ÉLÉGANT 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880-85
(Journal de modes des dames)
April 1857-Oct. 1882
(no issue Sept. 1870-Mar. 1871)

1881: merged with Le Courrier de la Mode.
1882 A.P.F. listing:
Publisher: 9 rue Villedo (i.e. office of Le Courrier de la Mode).
1885 A.P.F. still has separate listing:
Bimonthly
Price: 12fr.;18fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre. (N.B. had already absorbed Le Courrier de la Mode).

LE MONITEUR DE LA COIFFURE 4° A.P.F. 1880-1898
Nov. 1858-May 1897
(no issue Sept. 1870-June 1871)
Monthly
Price: 12fr.
Publisher: A. Picard, 42 rue d'Hauteville.
Content: Specialized in hair fashions, but also included light literature, fancy dress costumes, theatre news, etc.
Circulation: 1400. (A.P.F. 1885).
1888: Absorbed Revue de la Coiffure et des Modes.
Merged with: La Coiffure Parisienne Illustrée, and took title.

LE MONITEUR DE LA COUTURE A.P.F. 1898

Bimonthly
Price: 24fr.
Publisher: L. Favrot, 12 rue d'Hauteville.

LE MONITEUR DE LA MODE 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880-1900
(Journal du grande monde)
April 1843- Oct. 1913
(no issue Oct. 1870-March 1871)
Weekly
Price: 16fr.; 28fr.; 38fr.; 52fr.; (acc. to edition)
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Editor: Gabrielle d'Eze. Marie de Saverny (1890).
Content: Similar/identical to others in Goubaud group whom it gradually absorbed over the years. e.g.:
1885: Absorbs Le Bon Ton; L'Élégance Parisienne; La Gazette Rose.
1889: Absorbs La Revue de la Mode; Le Guide de la Mode.
1902: Absorbs La Mondaine; Paris Mode; Le Journal des Dames et des Demoiselles.
1913: Absorbed by La Mode Pratique.

LE MONITEUR DE LA MODE (continued)

Multi-lingual editions and supplements: English, German, Spanish.
1851+ Anglo-French edition.
Queen's engravings were identical to those in Le Moniteur de la Mode as Beeton had come to an agreement with Goubaud in 1860's.
Circulation: 200,000 (1890), Sullerot, Presse Féminine (1963) p. 142.

LE MONITEUR DE LA NOUVEAUTÉ 27 March 1896 A.P.F. 1896

Weekly
Price: 24fr. 25c a copy
Publisher: Gal, 161 rue Montmartre.

LE MONITEUR DES DAMES ET DES DEMOISELLES 4° - Folio
(et Brodeuse Illustrée réunis) 1854-1902 A.P.F. 1880-1900

Bimonthly
Price: 11fr. 14fr.(1895+)
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: "Guide complet de tous les travaux de dames." (i.e. needlework, etc.)
Similiar/identical to Le Moniteur de la Mode and other Goubaud papers.
Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

LE MUSÉE DES MODES 4° A.P.F. 1880-1895+
(lists 1835 as 1st year)

Weekly
Price: 12fr.; 16fr.; 25fr.
Publisher: F. Ladevèze, 56 rue J.J. Rousseau.
Content: Artistic fashion journal for tailors. (Trade?)

LA NOUVEAUTÉ Folio Oct. 1876-March 1877

Content: Fashions of Paris and Brussels.

LA NOUVEAUTÉ Folio A.P.F. 1887-1900
(Journal des modes) Sept. 1887-1906

Bimonthly; Weekly (1891+)
Price: 5 editions: 5 - 28fr.; 7 editions: 9 - 40fr. (1895)
Publisher: W. Imans, 35 rue de Verneuil.
Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre (1895 A.P.F.).
Content: The Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale claims that the magazine was absorbed 1891 by Le Messager des Modes, but that a professional edition remained for dressmakers.

NOUVEAUTÉ-JOURNAL Folio April 1880-July 1881

Content: Fashion; novelties and literature.

NOUVEAUTÉS FRANÇAISES Folio Nov. 1899-Nov. 1900

Bimonthly
Latest French fashions.
Bilingual Dutch edition: Fransch-hollandsche-modegids.

LES NOUVEAUTÉS PARISIENNES Folio 1874-1878 A.P.F. 1880

Bimonthly
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar/identical to other Goubaud journals.
2 editions: one absorbed by Le Petit Messager des Modes.
one absorbed by Le Caprice.

LA NOUVELLE MODE Folio
(Journal de la famille) May 1894-Aug.1926 A.P.F. 1895+

Bimonthly
Price: 8fr.
Publisher: 5 Bd. des Capucines
Editor: Mme G. de Billy
Content: Similar/identical to Les Modes et Toilettes; La Grande Couture.
English edition: Paris-fashions.
Appeared also as supplement to Le Soleil du Dimanche
1900: Special edition: "A l'Exposition."

L'OBSERVATEUR DES MODES A.P.F. 1880(1835+)

Price: 12fr.
Publisher: F. Ladevèze et Chiberre, 56 rue J.J. Rousseau.

PARIS CHARMANT A.P.F. 1877-1885+

Monthly
Price: 6fr.
Content: "Journal de réclame des magazins St. Joseph"(A.P.F.1885)

PARIS CHARMANT Folio A.P.F. 1880's
Sept. 1878 - 1893
(Journal illustré des modes parisiennes)

Bimonthly
Price: 12fr.; 20 fr.
Publisher: Louise d'Alq, 4 rue Lord Byron.
Content: Fashion journal. Spanish edition had same title.
Circulation: 4000 (French ed.); 3000 (Span. ed.)(A.P.F. 1885)

PARIS COIFFEUR Folio A.P.F. 1895
Dec. 1892-1896
(Illustré, artistique, littéraire)

Monthly
Price: 4fr.
Publisher: 17 rue Croix des Petits Champs
Content: 1893 absorbed En Attendant (weekly).
1894 divides in 2: Paris-Coiffeur
L'Art dans la Coiffure
Absorbed by La Coiffure Francaise Illustrée.

PARIS ÉLÉGANT 8° - 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1885
Sept. 1837 - June 1881
(no issue Sept. 1870-March 1871)

Monthly
Price: 12fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Although listed until 1880's was most active in pre-1870 period.
Similiar/identical to Le Moniteur de la Mode and other Goubaud papers.
Absorbed by La France Élégante.

PARIS ÉLÉGANT Oct. 1882 A.P.F. 1882

Weekly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: 33 rue Pigalle.
Editor: G. du Mirecourt.
Content: "Journal de modes et de chroniques mondaines."

PARIS ÉLÉGANT A.P.F. 1891+

Monthly
Price: 60fr.
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue de Richelieu.
Content: "spécial pour l'Amérique" (A.P.F. 1895).

PARIS FASHION Folio
June 1873-May 1875

English edition of La Mode de Paris; L'Illustrateur des Dames, et L'Élégance Parisienne.
Same text as L'Arc de Triomphe.

PARIS FASHIONS Folio
Jan. 1892 - 1902 A.P.F. 1895
(then Latest Paris Fashions)

Monthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Henri Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
Content: Special journal for English and American ladies on the Continent.

PARIS FIGURINE 4° A.P.F. 1876-1895

Price: 19fr.; 24fr.; 42fr. 1fr.50 per copy (1890)
Publisher: A. Albert, 6 rue Favart.

PARIS-LONDON: LONDON-PARIS A.P.F. 1890

Monthly
Price: 18fr. 1fr. 75 per copy
Publisher: F. Ladevèze et P. Chiberre, 56 rue J.J. Rousseau
Content: Fashionable journal for tailors.

PARIS MODE A.P.F. 1882-1885

Bimonthly
Price: 18fr.
Publisher: G. Henry, 47 rue Vivienne.

PARIS MODE Folio
Dec. 1890- 1902 A.P.F. 1895
(later Arts et Modes)

Weekly
Price: 18fr. 40c per copy
Publisher: A.P.F. '95 lists A. Coffignon as managing editor and Droz as "gérant,", but it was probably a Goubaud subsidiary, as address is 4 bis rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar /identical to Le Messager des Modes; Le Moniteur de la Mode, etc.
Foreign editions in English, German, Hungarian, Polish and Czech.
Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Mode.

PARIS-MODÈLE 1884 A.P.F.1884-1895+

Monthly
Price: 60fr.
Publisher: 2(7)rue du 4 Septembre

*PARIS-TOILETTE Folio A.P.F.1881-95
Aug. 1881-1889

Monthly
Price: 55fr.; 60fr. (1895)
Publisher: 2(7)rue du 4 Septembre (i.e. probably connected with Goubaud).
Content: "Journal des maisons de nouveautés et de couture."
(i.e. trade)

LA PARISIENNE Folio 1868-1880
(Journal illustré des modes) La Publicité en France1880

Monthly
Price: 12fr. 1fr. per copy
Publisher: H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
Content: Similar/identical to Le Printemps; L'Avenir de la Mode; Le Salon de la Mode.
Absorbed by La Gazette des Dames.
"Journal de modes, travaux de dames et beaux-arts. Clientèlebourgeoise."
Circulation: 2,400 subscribers (La Publicité en France, 1880, Mermet ed.)

LA PARISIENNE Folio A.P.F. 1895-1897
March-May 1895
(8 issues)

Weekly
Price: 25c
1897: Title listed in A.P.F. as "published in English."
Publisher: Orsoni, 3 rue de la Sablière.

LA PARISIENNE À BICYCLETTE A.P.F. 1894

(Supplement to Paris-Toilette)

Price: 2fr.50
Publisher: 7 rue 4 Septembre.
Editor: Oaydou

LA PARISIENNE ÉLÉGANTE Folio A.P.F. 1880's
Mar. 1882-Feb.1887
(Revue artistique des modes françaises)

Weekly
Price: 24fr.
Publisher: A. Picard, 42 rue d'Hauteville; 3 rue du 4 Septembre(1887+).
Content: Similar/identical to La Mode Actuelle; L'Écho du Moniteur de la Mode.
Absorbed by La France Élégante.

LA PARISIENNE ÉLÉGANTE (continued)

Basically a collection of drawings, acc. to A.P.F. 1883: "Journal de Modes composé d'une couverture renfermant des annonces et la description d'une gravure qui y est renfermée."

LE PETIT ÉCHO DE LA MODE Folio 1878- A.P.F. 1880's
(1878-79: L'Echo de la Mode)
(1879-80: Le Petit Journal de la Mode)

Weekly
Price: 6fr.
Publisher: 1878: L. Cretti, 53 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin.
1879: Take over by Emmanuel Ferré on behalf of Huon de Penanster family.
Editor: Baronne de Clessy
Content: "familial, pratique et populaire," Sullerot, La Presse Féminine, p. 11.
Circulation: 55,000 (A.P.F. 1885); 5,000 (1879); 100,000 (1885); 200,000 (1893); 300,000 (1900) (Sullerot).

LA PETITE GAZETTE ROSE 16° Nov. 1885-April 1886

LE PETIT MESSAGER DES MODES 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880's
1842 - 1889

Bimonthly
Price: 10fr.; 12fr.; 16fr.
Publisher: Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre.
Content: Similar/identical to other Goubaud papers.
Title varies according to mergers, e.g.
1882: Le Courrier de la Mode, Le Monde Élégant et le Petit Messager des Modes.
1888: La Mode Actuelle, L'Echo du Moniteur de la Mode et le Petit Messager des Modes.
English, Spanish and Italian editions.

LES PETITES MODES PARISIENNES Folio April-July 1880

Weekly
Content: Similar/identical to Les Modes Parisiennes, op. cit.
Absorbed by Les Modes Parisiennes after 13 issues.

*LE PETIT MONITEUR DE LA COUTURE Folio Oct.-Dec. 1898

"Organe spécial des couturières."

LE PETIT PARISIEN 1889-1903

Supplements for women readers

LA PETITE MODE Folio Feb. 1880-July 1881 A.P.F. 1880

Weekly
Price: 6fr.
Publisher: 53 rue de la Chaussée d'Antin. (same address as Le Petit Echo de la Mode).
Content: Children's fashions?

LES PREMIÈRES DE LA MODE A.P.F. 1895 (Lists 1882+)

Monthly
Price: 100fr.
Publisher: 7 rue du 4 Septembre (Goubaud?)
Content: Obviously extremely luxurious edition of latest fashions, probably for high-class couturières.

LE PRINTEMPS Folio March 1866-1910 (no issue Aug. 1870-June 1871) A.P.F. 1880-1900

Monthly ; Bimonthly (1885)
Price: 12fr. 1fr. per copy. (1885+) 20fr. (1890+) 15fr.; 20fr.; 30fr.
Publisher: H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
La Comtesse de Verissey (1890)
Content: Similar/identical to La Parisienne; L'Avenir de la Mode; La Gazette des Dames.
1881 Absorbed L'Avenir de la Mode.
English, American and German editions: La Mode de Paris (U.S.); Paris-Fashions (G.B.); Neuste Parisen (Germ.)
Circulation: 12,000 (La Publicité en France, 1880. Mermet ed.)

LE PROGRÈS A.P.F. 1885-1895

Monthly
Price: 7fr.;10fr.
Publisher: A. Picard, 42 rue d'Hauteville.
Editor: A. Dubois
Content: Tailoring journal.
Similar/identical to Les Modes Françaises; L'Élégant; Le Coupeur, all of which it absorbed.
Circulation: 6,000 (A.P.F. 1885).

PSYCHÉ 4° Feb.1835-1878 A.P.F. 1880
(Journal de Modes, littérature, théâtre, beaux-arts)

Monthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Victor Lender, 22 rue Coquillière.

LA REVUE DE LA COIFFURE (et des modes) 4° - Folio A.P.F. 1880's
Nov. 1874-March 1888

Monthly
Price: 12fr. 1fr.25 a copy
Publisher: de Bysterveld, 6 rue du Fb. St. Honoré.
Content: Hair fashions.
1875 Absorbs Le Journal des Coiffures, and takes its title.
Sometimes appears in several languages.
Absorbed by Le Moniteur de la Coiffure.

LA REVUE DE LA MODE Folio
(Gazette de la famille) 1872-Oct.1913 A.P.F.1880-1900

Bimonthly; Weekly (1890+)
Price: 13fr.; 15fr. (1890+): 14fr.; 26fr.
Publisher: M. Rey, 13-15 Quai Voltaire. Editor: Marie de Saverny.
Goubaud, 3 rue du 4 Septembre (1890+).
Content: Similar/identical to Goubaud papers esp. after 1890, when was identical to Le Moniteur de la Mode, although still published apart.
American and Spanish editions: Paris Mode.
Absorbed by La Mode Pratique.

LA REVUE MONDAINE ILLUSTRÉE A.P.F. 1892+

Monthly
Price: 8fr.
Publisher: J. Drapier, 227 rue St. Denis.
Editor: Louis Albin
Content: French fashions and hairstyles.

*LA REVUE PARISIENNE DE LA MODE Folio Dec. 1882-Mar. 1883

"Journal de coupe et de la couture."

LA SAISON Folio 1868-1902 A.P.F. 1880-1900

Bimonthly
Price: 6fr.; 12fr.; 15fr. 25c; 50c per copy.
Publisher: Cornelius Lebèque, 25 rue de Lille.
Editor: Louis d'Alq (1880); Blanche de Géry (1890).

LA SAISON (continued)

Content: 1883 absorbed La Boite à Ouvrage; Musée d'Ouvrages des Dames.
1885-86 absorbed La Mode Universelle; La Mode Parisienne; La Mode de Paris; Les Modes de la Saison.

LE SALON DE LA MODE Folio A.P.F. 1880-1900
1876-Aug. 1914
(Journal illustré des dames)

Weekly (probably bimonthly acc. to price.)
Price: 26fr. 2 fr. per copy. 16,26 and 40fr. (1890);
6 editions by 1895.
Publisher: H. Petit, 5 rue des Filles St. Thomas.
La Comtesse de Verissey (1890+).
Content: Similar/identical to Le Printemps; La Parisienne.
1890+ subtitled Le Moniteur Illustré de la Famille.
1890+ expands literary side, theatre and arts reports.

LE SALON DES MODES PARISIENNES Folio A.P.F. 1897
Dec. 1897-July 1914

Quarterly
Price: 50c a copy
Publisher: Lambert, 180 rue St. Honoré.
Content: Organ of "La Maison Bleue."

LA SYLPHIDE Folio 1840 - Feb. 1885

Content: Similar/identical to Goubaud papers.
Absorbed by Goubaud's La France Élégante.

TAILLEUR POUR DAMES A.P.F. 1890;1896
(supplement of L'Album des Tailleurs)

Price: 42-50fr. (1896)
Publisher: 25 rue de Verneuil (1890);
L. Mayer, 7 rue Rochechouart (1896).

LA TOILETTE DE PARIS 4° - Folio 1858 - Oct. 1879

Publisher: Thirion, 25 rue de Lille.
Content: Similar/identical to Les Modes Parisiennes; La Mode Universelle.
Absorbed by L'Illustration de la Mode.

LA TOILETTE DES ENFANTS A.P.F. 1896

Monthly
Price: 10fr. 60c a copy
Publisher: Thiery, 14 rue Drouot.

LA TOILETTE ILLUSTRÉE Folio A.P.F. 1880+
1879 - March 1886
(then Journal spécial de la couturière)

Bimonthly
Price: 15fr.
Publisher: Louis Poulet, 202 Ave. de Versailles. (more likely Léon Sault)
Content: Similar/identical to l'Aquarelle Mode; La Fantaisie; La Femme du Foyer, i.e. all Léon Sault publications.

LA TOILETTE MODERNE Folio B.N. 1879

Collection of coloured engravings of latest fashions.

LES TOILETTES MODÈLES Folio 1884-1905 A.P.F. 1889

Bimonthly
Price: 48fr.; 66fr.; 75fr.
Publisher: L. Michau, 84 rue de Richelieu .
Content: Professional journal for dressmakers.
Supplement of L'Élégance.

LES VARIÉTÉS DE LA MODE A.P.F. 1879+(1885)

Quarterly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Léon Sault, 169 rue Montmartre.
Content: "Quatre planches de modes sans texte." (i.e. purely designs)

LA VIE ÉLÉGANTE 4° 1882 (12 issues)

Archives Nationales F.^{18}348. lists same title 1877, 1880 (+1863;1872)

At this time the proprietor was a M. Genay who had a long police record for defamation.

LA VIE HEUREUSE 4° - Folio
Oct. 1902 - 1914 A.P.F. 1902+

This publication is mistakenly listed in Histoire générale de la presse francaise III, 388, Godechot et al eds., as starting a new trend in women's publications in 1892.

Monthly
Price: 7fr. 50c per copy
Publisher: Hachette, 79 Bd. St. Germain.
Content: Resembles Femina, in that it is representative of a new trend:

LA VIE HEUREUSE (continued)

a glossy illustrated journal, where fashion is not the primary interest, nor society gossip. Lots of photos; interesting articles.
(N.B. A.P.F. even classifies it under "feminist" publications!)

II. Domestic, Educational and Child-Care Journals

(This section excludes "family" journals, but includes non-illustrated ladies' journals.)

L'ART DE LA COUTURE A.P.F. 1897

Monthly
Publisher: Laroche, 84 rue de Richelieu.

LA BOÎTE À OUVRAGE 1863-1883 A.P.F. 1878-83

Bimonthly
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Edith Boulanger, 83 rue de Rennes.
Content: Fancy needlework, etc.
Absorbed Le Musée des Ouvrages de Dames.
1883: Absorbed by La Saison.

LES CAUSERIES FAMILIÈRES Folio - 8° A.P.F. 1880-1900
Mar. 1880-1900
("Dédiées aux jeunes filles et aux mères de famille.")

Weekly
Price: 25c per copy
Editor: Mme Louise D'Alq, 4 rue Lord Byron.
Content: 8 pages of writings on education, etiquette, domestic affairs etc. interspersed with poems, social news and literature.

LE CHRONIQUEUR DU FOYER 4° 1883

Formerly L'Économie Domestique.

Bimonthly
Content: Illustrated journal, specializing in household matters.

LE CONSEILLER DES FAMILLES 8° A.P.F. 1855+(1890)

Monthly
Price: 6fr.; 12 fr.
Publisher: Mme la Comtesse de Travanet, 38 rue St. Sulpice.
Content: Literature, etiquette, "morale", etc.

LE CONSEILLER DES FEMMES 4° 1896 A.P.F. 1896-98

Bimonthly
Price: 3fr. 15c a copy
Editor: Germaine d'Auteuil
Journal de la maîtresse de maison. (i.e. presumably domestic orientation). Listed in "feminist publications" of A.P.F. as "pro-disarmament."

LE CONSEILLER DES MÈRES ET DES JEUNES FILLES A.P.F.1881-1895+

Bimonthly
Price: 12fr. 50c per copy
Publisher: Ch. Mainard, 36 rue de la Verrerie; then 6 rue Chaussée d'Antin.
Editor: Mme Jeanne de Montanoy.
Content: "Journal d'hygiène, de morale, de littérature, etc." i.e. usual fare of non-illustrated women's journals.

LA CORBEILLE À OUVRAGE Folio 1900 - Nov. 1910 A.P.F. 1900

Weekly
Price: 6fr.; 9fr. 10c; 15c a copy
Publisher: Hachette, Bd. St. Germain.
Editor: Emmeline Raymond
Content: Spin off from needlework section of La Mode Pratique. Arts & Crafts, etc.

LE COSTUME DE L'ENFANT

Monthly
Price: 36fr.; 40fr.
Publisher: 7 rue du 4 Septembre (Goubaud?).
Content: Children's clothes.

LA CUISINE)
LA CUISINE FRANÇAISE) Short lived titles, A.P.F. 1890
LA CUISINIER) from 12 rue l'Abbaye
LA CUISINIÈRE) Price: 5 fr. 25c a copy

L'ÉCOLE DES FEMMES A.P.F. 1879(1880)

Weekly
Price: 24fr.; 3fr.50 (petite ed.)
Editor: Mme de Saverny. (later edits Revue de la Mode, and Moniteur de la Mode)
11 Ave de l'Opéra (Agence publicitaire)
Content: 12 pages "littérature, arts, sciences, modes." Illustrated.

L'ÉCONOMIE DOMESTIQUE 4° 1881-1883

Bimonthly

Became Le Chroniqueur du Foyer (revue illustrée) 1883.

L'ENFANCE A.P.F. 1898

Bimonthly
Price: 3fr. 25c a copy
Publisher: Basset, 80 rue de Bardy.

L'ENFANT A.P.F. 1890

Bimonthly
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: 1 rue de Lille.
Editor: Mme Claverie
Content: Organe des sociétés protectrices de l'enfance.

LA FEMME AU FOYER Folio
3 Nov. 1902 - Feb. 1906

Weekly
Price: 5fr. 10c a copy
Publisher: Mme Georges Bréville, 35 rue de St. Petersbourg.
Content: "Journal populaire de la famille." Mostly contains help and advice for working class housewives.

LA FEMME CHEZ ELLE 8° A.P.F. 1894
April 1894 - May 1895

Bimonthly
Price: 15fr.; 17fr. 70c; 90c per copy
Publisher: M.L. Babet, 14 rue Royale.
Content: Aimed at practical education of young girl and wife.

LA FEMME CHEZ ELLE 4° 1899-1938 A.P.F. 1900+

Monthly
Price: 2fr.75; 3fr.75; 4fr.75
Publisher: 34 Ave. de l'Observatoire.

LA FEMME ET LA FAMILLE, ET LE JOURNAL DES JEUNES PERSONNES 4° A.P.F. 1880-1900
(Journal de la vie domestique) 1867-April 1905

Bimonthly. 1871-1884 Weekly, then bimonthly.
Price: 7fr.; 14fr.; 22fr.
Publisher: Société Générale de Librairie Catholique (1876+), 75 rue St. Pères.
Editor: Mme Julie Gouraud (until 1890), Azilie de Benque d'Agut.
Content: Catholic-oriented journal with moral literature, advice, etc.

LA GAZETTE D'HYGIÈNE ET D'ÉCONOMIE DOMESTIQUE
Folio Dec. 1891-1902

Monthly
Replaced by L'Économie Domestique 1902.

LA JEUNE FILLE A.P.F. 1887-1890

Weekly
Price: 10fr.; 8fr. 15fr. (1890)
Publisher: Kahn, 5 rue de l'École (1890)
Editor: Mme de Noce 34 rue de Verneuil (1887).
Content: Literature, leisure activities, etc.

LA JOIE DE LA MAISON Folio 1891-1905

Weekly
Content: Illustrated journal.

LE JOURNAL DE LA JEUNE FILLE 8° 1893-1921

Monthly
Published at Le Vigan; Privas; St. Etienne
Content: Organ of Les Unions Chrétiennes des Jeunes Filles. (Protestant)
Became: Revue de la Jeunesse Féminine Protestante.

LE JOURNAL DE LA MAISON Folio A.P.F. 1898
1898-1899

Bimonthly; Weekly.
Price: 6fr. 10c a copy
Publisher: Jean Buson, 14 rue de Beaune
Content: Guide to practical life in town and country.
Original title Le Journal des Domestiques, "organe professionnel des gens de conditions."

LE JOURNAL DE LA PREMIÈRE ENFANCE A.P.F. 1891
Oct. 1891-April 1896
Monthly; Bimonthly.
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: 15 rue Cassette. (Catholic press; published "La Couronne de Marie" etc.)
Content: "Manuel d'éducation à l'usage des mères de famille chrétiennes et des maîtresses de classes enfantines et écoles maternelles."

LE JOURNAL DE MADAME A.P.F. 1898
(et La Salle à Manger)

Monthly
Price: 5fr. 40c a copy
Publisher: 4 place St. Michel.

LE JOURNAL DES BÉBÉS June 1887 A.P.F. 1887

Weekly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: 21 rue le Peletier.

JOURNAL DES INSTITUTRICES ET DES MÈRES DE FAMILLES 8° 1872-1873+

Monthly
Content: Pedagogical and literary magazine.

JOURNAL DES JEUNES MÈRES 4°-Folio A.P.F. 1880's
Oct. 1873-1889
(later "et Journal des mères réunis")

Monthly; Bimonthly (1881?)
Price: 7fr.; 1881+:12 fr. 50c per copy
Publisher: Henri Bellaire. Mme Anna Eyre (1881+).
Content: Health and child-care advice etc.
1887 - merged with La Vie Domestique, and took title.

LE JOURNAL DES MÉNAGÈRES A.P.F. Sept.'84

Weekly
Price: 6fr.
Publisher: L. Laurent, 21 rue St. Paul.
Content: Fashion, domestic hints, etc.

JOURNAL DES MÈRES A.P.F. 1898

Monthly
Price: 1fr.
Editor: Dr. Louis Dumart, 4 Place Dancourt

LE JOURNAL DES OUVRAGES DE DAMES 4°-Folio
1888-1933 A.P.F. 1880's

Monthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: 2 Ave. de la Bourdonnais.
Content: Luxury edition of La Femme chez elle, 24 pages of text, patterns and models, with samples, etc. for execution.

LE MAGAZIN DES DEMOISELLES 4° A.P.F. 1880-95
Oct. 1844-1896

Bimonthly
Price: 7fr.; 10fr.; 15fr.
Publisher: Joséphine Desrez, 51 rue Laffitte (1885); A. Hennuyt (1895).
Content: Ancient and modern history. Science. "morale".

LA MAISON ILLUSTRÉE 8° June 1889-1891

Monthly
Content: Domestic matters.

LA MÉNAGÈRE A.P.F. 1891(Aug.)

Monthly
Price: 10c a copy
Publisher: 48 rue St. Anne

LA MÈRE ET L'ENFANT 4°
May 1885-1906 A.P.F. 1885+

Monthly; Bimonthly (1890)
Price: 6fr.; 7fr. 10c;15c per copy.
Publisher: E. Marchal, 15 rue Soufflot ('85).
Editor: Dr. Caradec, 14 rue Froissart (1895).
Content: Illustrated journal devoted to infancy and problems of early childhood.

LE NOUVEAU-NÉ 4° 1881-1886 A.P.F. 1882+

(Le conseiller intime de la mère)

Monthly
Price: 5fr.
Publisher: Oscar Comettant, (gérant) 97, rue de Richelieu.
Content: Health and baby care, (16 pages).

LA REVUE DE L'HYGIÈNE DU FOYER 8° - 4° 1896-98

Monthly
Content: Home health advice.

REVUE DE L'HYGIÈNE ET DE LA BEAUTÉ A.P.F. 1898

Monthly
Price: 2fr.50
Publisher: Delachare, 53, rue de la Seine.

LA REVUE POUR LES JEUNES FILLES 4° June 1895-1900

Bi monthly

LA SANTÉ DES ENFANTS ET DES JEUNES MÈRES A.P.F. 1887

Monthly
Price: 5fr. 40c a copy
Publisher: 13 rue du Bouloi.
Editor: Dr. Gautier.

LA SCIENCE DE LA BEAUTÉ Folio 1896-1900

Monthly
Content: Compendium of useful and practical advice for the family.

LA SCIENCE ILLUSTRÉE 4° Dec. 1887-Nov. 1905
(Journal de la maison)

Weekly
Content: Domestic matters. Numerous supplements with identical text: e.g. Les Arts de la Femme; L'Ouvrière; La Vie chez Soi; Lectures de la Jeunesse.

LA VIE DOMESTIQUE 4° - 8°-Folio
April 1875-1894

(Revue de la famille) Arch. Nat. F.^{18}425 (52) 1875-80

Monthly; Bimonthly
Price: 10fr.; 8fr. (1890).
Publisher: Henry Bellaire, 71 rue des St. Pères.
Co-owner Théophile Lieutier (Arch. Nat.)
Marc de Rossieny (1879-1890).
Editor: Nelly Lieutier (1875-1879).
Content: Advice on family and domestic matters.
1887: Fused with Le Journal des Jeunes Mères.
1890's Completely changes tone and orientation under new owner.
Aimed at whole family. Humorous illustrated weekly.

III. Feminist Publications

**= post 1900 papers

L'AVANT-COURRIÈRE A.P.F. 1893
Intermittent

Free
Editor: Mme Schmahl.
Content: Christian feminist.

LES BAS-BLEUS

Former name of Les Gauloises, 1874-77.
Content: News of women's achievements in the artistic and literary world.

BULLETIN DE L'UNION UNIVERSELLE DES FEMMES A.P.F. 1888
15 Dec. 1888

Monthly
Price: 8fr.
Publisher: 9 rue Gagé-Gabillot.
Editor: Maria Cheliga-Loèvy.
Content: Improvement of women's condition, (illustrated).

LA CITOYENNE Gr. Folio 1881-1891
Published at Meudon

Weekly; Monthly (1882+).
Price: 6fr. 10c per copy
Publisher: Hubertine Auclert, (founder/editor).
Maria Martin (1888+).
Content: Feminist. Pro-suffrage.
1891: Becomes Le Journal des Femmes (still under Maria Martin), but emphasis changes: becomes an official bulletin of the Feminist movement.
"(La Citoyenne) a une allure bien déterminée de revendication des droits de la femme par la discussion." A.P.F.

**LE CONSEIL DES FEMMES 1902+

Price: 30c per copy
Publisher: Hachette et Cie. Bd. St. Germain.
Content: Feminist spin-off of La Vie Heureuse, which advertised it regularly. Contained news of professional and educational opportunities for women, and accounts of legislation for women at home and abroad.

**LES DROITS DE LA FEMME Gr. Folio B.N. 1900-05

Published Paris, Bordeaux

Weekly; Bimonthly
Content: Political, artistic, and literary articles, together with scientific and legal information.

LE DROIT DES FEMMES 4° 1869-1891

Weekly; Monthly (1872+); Bimonthly (1885+)
Price: 15c per copy(1869); 10fr. p.a.(1872); 40c per copy (1885)
Publisher: Léon Richer (owner/editor).
Content: Campaigns for improvement of women's educational, legal and professional opportunities. (16 pages)
Some more general social/political articles.
1871-9 known as L'Avenir des Femmes.

L'ESPRIT DE LA FEMME 1889-90 (Dzeh-Djen)

Weekly; Monthly (Jan. 1890)
Editor: René Marcel.
Content: Literature, politics and satire.
Motto: "Verité, Unité, Humanité."

LE FÉMINISME CHRÉTIEN Feb. 1896-1899 A.P.F. 1896

Bimonthly
Price: 15fr.
Publisher: Marie Maugeret.
Editor: Marie Duclos.
Content: Conservative support of women's rights. Anti-suffrage, pro-catholic.
1899: Absorbs L'Echo Littéraire de la France and takes its name.

LA FEMME 4° 1879-Sept. 1937 A.P.F. 1880

Bimonthly
Price: 4fr. 15c a copy
Publisher: Jules Bonhoure, St. Hippolyte du Gard. (Arch. Nat. F^{18}348)
Sarah Monod (founder/editor) (Dzeh-Djen).
Editor: C. Delpech until 1882; Mlle Sabatier thru 1900 (La Femme).
Content: Protestant-oriented paper in support of women's rights, social reform, etc.

LA FEMME Folio 1879

Weekly
Publisher: Louis Emile Roy (Arch. Nat. F^{18}348)
(edits Louise Michel's Mémoires)
Content: Short stories and literary articles. Freemason background.
Later became La Femme Libre.

**LA FEMME CONTEMPORAINE 8° Oct. 1903-July 1914
(later La Femme Catholique contemporaine)

Monthly
Price: 1fr. per copy 10fr.
Publisher: Charles Arnaut, Libraire. 11, rue Cassette, Besançon.
Editor: M. l'Abbé Lagardère.
Content: Serious Catholic review devoted to women's interests.

LA FEMME DANS LA FAMILLE ET DANS LA SOCIÉTÉ Folio - 4°
(From 1882 known as La Femme et l'Enfant)
April 1880-1896

Weekly; Bimonthly (1886).
Price: 6fr. 50c a copy
Publisher: Louise Koppe (Founder/editor) + committee of supporters.
Content: Republican journal concerned with social, educational and legal problems of women.
Succeeded La Femme de France (1879)
Became La Femme et l'Enfant (1882)

LA FEMME DE FRANCE Folio August - Oct. 1879
La Publicité en France 1879

Monthly
Price: 10c per copy
Publisher: Louise Koppe (Editor) but backed by a committee inc. Léon Richer, Maria Deraismes, etc.
Content: Literary and scientific journal, sympathetic to women's interests.
Succeeded by La Femme dans la Famille et dans la Société, 1880.

LA FEMME DE FRANCE 18 July 1893 A.P.F. 1893

Bimonthly
Price: 20fr.
Publisher: Madeleine Herlès, 15 rue de la Tour d'Auvergne.
Content: "redigé par des dames."

LA FEMME DE L'AVENIR Folio 1896-1901

Bimonthly
Publisher: Astié de Valsayre (Editor) (Formerly of La Citoyenne).
Content: Independent journal on scientific and literary matters, aimed at defence of women's interests, and in particular, at the suppression of the govt. regulation of prostitution. (Dzch Djen)

LA FRANÇAISE 11 Aug. 1893 A.P.F.1893

Weekly
Price: 5fr. 10c a copy
Publisher: Edmond St. Martin, 51 rue du Four, St. Germain.

LA FRONDE Gr. Folio Dec. 9 1897-Mar. 1905

Daily;(Monthly 1903+)
Price: 5c a copy
Publisher: Marguerite Durand (Owner/editor) .
Content: Pro-feminist radical Republican paper.
Staffed entirely by women. (Became co=op 1902)
Circulation: 1st issue: 200,000 (Dec. 10 1897)

LES GAULOISES Folio May 1874-Oct. 1877

(Formerly Les Bas-Bleus)

Content: Review of artistic and literary accomplishments of women.
1878+ becomes La Gazette des Femmes Artistiques et des Femmes Lettrées.

LA GAZETTE DES FEMMES Folio Nov. 1877-94

Successor to Bas-Bleus and Les Gauloises. (op. cit.)

Content: Review of women's artistic and literary progress.

L'HARMONIE SOCIALE Gr. Folio Oct. 1892-July 1893 Dzeh Djen

Weekly
Publisher: Founded by Aline Valette. (Disciple of Jules Guesde).
Content: Feminist/socialist orientation.

L'IDEAL SOCIAL FEMINISTE A.P.F.1896

Price: 10c a copy
Publisher: Marie Michel, 35, rue de l'Arbalète.
Editor: Jane-Adrien Farge.

LE JOURNAL DES FEMMES Folio 1891-1911 A.P.F. 1891
Dzeh Djen

Monthly. Weekly (A.P.F.)
Price: 4fr. 5c a copy
Publisher: Maria Martin (editor), 107 rue du Mont-Cenis.
Content: Replaces La Citoyenne, but retains same staff. Less militant than the later. Motto: "Justice et solidarité."
Organ of feminist movement, uniting work of various groups.
Strongly opposes protective legislation for women (i.e. opposes Socialists).

LE JOURNAL DES FEMMES ARTISTES Folio Dec. 1890-1901

Official organ of "L'Union des Femmes peintres, sculpteurs et graveurs."

LA REVUE DES FEMMES FRANÇAISES 4° 1898

(original title Revue des Femmes de France)

LE PROGRÈS DES FEMMES A.P.F. 1890

Monthly
Price: 5fr. 40c a copy
Editor: Jean Alesson.

LA REVUE DES FEMMES RUSSES 8° 1896-97
(et des Femmes Francaises) Dzeh Djen

Bimonthly
Publisher: Mme O.de Bézobrazow (Editor) - also edited La Tribune des Femmes, 1898
Content: Claimed to be organ of international feminist movement. Feb.-May 1896 appeared jointly with Le Féminisme Chrétien.

LA REVUE FÉMINISTE 8° Oct. 1895-April 1897 A.P.F. 1895
Dzeh Djen

Bimonthly. Monthly (A.P.F.)
Price: 10fr.
Publisher: Clotilde Dissard (founder/editor).
Content: Attempt at high calibre intellectual feminist journal, unattached to faction.

LA REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE DES FEMMES 8° May 1888-1889 Dzeh Djen

Monthly
Publisher: Mme Céline Renooz (Editor).
Content: Articles on physical and natural sciences; philosophy and sociology.

LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ETUDES FÉMINISTES 10 mai 1898 A.P.F. 1898

Monthly
Price: 6fr. 60c a copy
Editor: Emile Devald. 29 rue de Richelieu.

LA TRIBUNE DES FEMMES A.P.F. 1898
Dzeh Djen:1898

(not to be confused with La Tribune des Femmes of 1830's)
Editor: Mme O. de Bézobragow (see also La Revue des Femmes Russes).

LA TRIBUNE DES FEMMES 4° A.P.F. 1882

Weekly
Price: 6fr.
Publisher: 22 rue de Richelieu
Editor: Mlle Eugènie Chéminat
Content: "Justice aux Femmes."