NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

On the Exclusion of Women: Critique of the Present and Appeal to the Future in the Works of Flora Tristan (1803-1844)

Linda E. Russell

A Thesis

in

The Special Individual Programme

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

February, 1993

ISBN 0-315-87331-0

ABSTRACT

On the Exclusion of Women: Critique of the Present and Appeal to the Future in the Works of Flora Tristan (1803-1844)

Linda E. Russell

This thesis examines socialist-feminist Flora Tristan's analysis of the cultural exclusion of women in the Peru, England, and France of which she wrote in the 1830s and early 1840s.

The study adopts the concept of a geometrical relationship between Flora Tristan's life, her theoretical formulations and her activism. A triangle, the relationship is shaped by the inseparability of Flora Tristan's personal life experiences, her critique of society and her active commitment to social reform. The triad recognizes that one cannot speak of Flora Tristan's writings and of her activism without speaking about her life.

The first chapter of this study explores the historical context in which Flora Tristan was situated, while the second examines the events in her private life which led her to define herself as a social and legal pariah. This perspective would lead her to an understanding of the

theoretical implications of the feminist axiom that the personal is political and has an important bearing on her subsequent undertakings to analyse and capture the lives of women in her written portraits. These portraits are the focus of the third chapter which traces the development of the author's verdict that "woman is a pariah by birth" and "a serf by condition". Her subsequent radical designation of women as a unique social "class" prompted her to link the movement for women's emancipation to the working class struggle. The fourth chapter examines that link as Flora Tristan's most significant strategy to ensure women's future inclusion within the cultural framework.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Flora Tristan (1803-1844) was a labour reform activist, an investigative traveller, a romantic visionary and a social chronicler. By her insistence on the necessity to emancipate women before a successful emancipation of the working-class could proceed, she was a feminist almost a century before the word itself first came into popular use. By her appeal for the universal unionization of the proletariat, her demands for their right to work and her active commitment to these ideals, she was a socialist when in the early nineteenth century socialism was only just emerging as a revolutionary trend. In the hearts of the several thousand workers who attended her funeral in 1844, she was the worker's Saint. The inscription on a monument erected in her honour four years after her death reads: "a la mémoire de Mme. Flora Tristan, auteur de L'Union ouvrière, les travailleurs reconnaissants. Liberté - Egalité - Fraternité - Solidarité."

Monuments are meant to immortalize but a lone bouquet of flowers left by Flora's grave on the hundredth anniversary of her death indicates to what extent the worker's Saint had, nevertheless, all but passed into

obscurity. Flora would have explained this historical forgetfulness as an example of the way in which women, their actions, beliefs, and credibility, were marginalized to the periphery of the male world. (The flattery she would have felt knowing that in 1970, Charles Gattey found her worthy of a biographical study, would doubtlessly have been somewhat diminished upon learning that the title he chose announced the significance of her persona in relation to her famous grandson: Gauguin's Astonishing Grandmother.[3]) Flora had spent most of her adult life examining and recording the social processes which prescribed women a role of otherness and inferiority in society. Her analysis of how women were excluded from the social construct is the root of her feminism and the foundation of her socialism.

Flora's affirmation of the cultural exclusion of women was intensely personal for it had its roots in her own life history: a bastard whose aristocratic birthrights were never recognized because her parents' religious marriage had not been legally sanctioned; a wife who, despite the French Civil Code which demanded wifely obedience, had taken her children and fled the drunken excesses of her emotionally and physically abusive husband (he eventually failed in his attempt to murder her by shooting two bullets into her chest); and a single mother who struggled to support her children and herself by taking menial jobs in candy shops or

as a lady's maid in London, Flora had long defined herself as a pariah.

Having personally lived the kinds of experiences which provided the fodder of nineteenth-century feminist critique made Flora a particularly incisive social critic and a militant feminist. This thesis explores Flora's socialist-feminist critique of the French, English and Peruvian societies of which she wrote between 1832 and 1844, based upon her deeply personal and highly political analysis of the cultural exclusion of women.

Definitions and Concepts

The following pages will examine the terms feminism, exclusion, and class as I use them and interpret Flora's use of them in this study. As the next chapter discusses utopian socialism and its relationship to the woman question in the early 1800s, I will reserve a discussion of socialist concepts (including Romantic socialism and utopianism) for then and give only a cursory definition of socialism in these pages.

Just as today a multiplicity of feminisms challenges a single definition, a feminist of the early 1800s is best described or defined in general, rather than in specific terms. Where I have used the word feminist to describe

Flora and others of her period in this study, I have done so drawing upon Barbara Taylor's definition of the word in her 1983 Eve and the New Jerusalem:

> [. . .] its use is as an anachronism, justifiable on the grounds that for at least a century prior to the entry of the actual word into popular political discourse there existed the ideology which it described - a distinct and identifiable body of ideas and aspirations commonly known as the rights of women, the condition of women question, the emancipation of women and so on.[4]

This ideology, feminism, linked the difficulties, the prejudices, and the injustices that women were experiencing to the patriarchy. The issues which were the crux of feminist critique in the 1800s revolved largely around married life and particularly around the rights of the husband which virtually enforced his spouse's dependence upon him. These rights established the husband as family decision-maker, as administrator of his wife's property, and as sole parental authority. Other issues embraced by feminists concerned women's right to better education, legal and social prejudices against single mothers and their children, divorce, prostitution, suffrage, and the still familiar struggle over equal pay for equal work.[5]

These concerns which so polarized the cultural status of men and the cultural status of women, underlie feminist historian Marie Maclean's 1989 assertion that "social

structures are always founded upon relationships of exclusion." "Exclusion," she wrote,

> works by establishing sets, defined like all sets by relationships of difference, and displaying the shifting boundaries that characterize all paradigmatic sets. Thus the rules of birth will establish insider/outsider relationships different from those of education [. . .].[7]

Establishing and maintaining power was done by creating "closed insider circles" which refused entrance to those who did not conform to the insider norms. It was militant feminist Olympe de Gouges, Maclean observed, who had pointed out during the Revolution of 1789 that "the most general and deeply normative relationship of exclusion was that between men and women."[7]

A community dominated by male power and male perception, patriarchy was the "insider circle" surrounded by protective layers of cultural misogyny codified in law. Woman's "place" within that society existed only in terms of her subordination: the obedient wife and daughter, doting mother or prostitute. Resisters may have met as drastic a fate as de Gouges did on the guillotine, or found strategies for coping as Aurore Dupin did by adopting a male pseudonym (George Sand) and dressing in men's clothes, or survived, as Flora did, on the margins of society steadfastly chipping away at the fences with socialist-feminist rhetoric.

Flora believed that women existed ignominiously as a social "class" and that as long as society was structured around a master-slave dynamic, women would never be able to change their fate as slaves and pariahs. In The Making of the Working Class, (1963) E.P. Thompson noted that

> [. . .] class happens when some [persons], share as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as against other [persons] whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.[5]

There is an important distinction between what Flora meant by class and how Thompson defined it. Thompson stressed the existence of a class consciousness as "articulated" and "felt" by its members. In spite of the problems with fractious workers' guilds (discussed in Chapter Three), French workers, regardless of their particular association, did share solidarity with one another in that they unanimously sought better working and living conditions, better wages and the right to work. Furthermore, entrepreneurial and land-owning capitalists were clearly identifiable as the workers' class enemies. The parameters of a female class proclaimed by Flora however, were not as clearly defined, at least not by Thompson's model. Not every woman necessarily felt or articulated a belief that she shared a bond of sisterhood with women in other economic spheres. For one thing,

bourgeois feminists were not faced with the same sort of economic deprivation as their working class sisters. The proletarian women of the autonomous feminist journal, La Tribune des femmes (1832-1834), recognized bourgeois women's reluctance to accept solidarity and had a warning for them: "Your reign lasts but a short time; it ends with the ball. [Then] back home you become slaves again, finding there a master who makes you feel his power."[9] Yet, Flora defined the female class on her own terms and in spite of many women's refusal to identify beyond their economic sphere. To Flora, there was no choosing to be or not to be a member of this class. Patriarchy determined the bounds of the insider circle, one's sex determined whether one stood in or out of that circle. "Woman," wrote Flora, "is a pariah by birth, a serf by condition and must always choose between hypocrisy and being branded."[10]

Socialism, in its early stages, strove to rid society of inequality through universal emancipation. Cooperative communities and collectivized family life which promised shared domestic and childcare responsibilities, marriage reform, and improved education were common elements of the new socialist credo. The movement, in its various forms and under various leaders, was the ideal platform on which women could dare raise their issues and concerns to largely sympathetic, if not - as history has shown - totally

committed audiences. The nineteenth-century's most prominent feminists (among them, Robert Owen, Anna Wheeler, William Thompson, and Fanny Wright in England, Suzanne Voilquin, Reine Guindorf, Claire Démar, Pauline Roland, Prosper Enfantin and Charles Fourier in France) were socialists. They called for "a peaceful social transformation that would make possible, indeed inevitable, the full participation of women in the new world."[11] Flora's originality lay in her ability to define the common ground shared by women as cultural pariahs and the working class as economic pariahs, and in her attempt to harness the strength of the working class to establish gender equality.

I refer to Flora in this study as a socialist-feminist rather than as a feminist-socialist because it was her feminism which Flora first theorized in her pamphlet proposing the establishment of women's hostels Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères (1835)[12], and which was foundational to her portraits of women in Mémoires et pérégrinations d'une paria (1838)[13]. Chronologically, Flora's first contacts were with socialist groups but Nécessité and Pérégrinations clearly reflect how her personal life experiences had helped to shape her feminist consciousness even before her first meetings with the Saint-Simonians in 1827-1828. Furthermore, both these works preceded Promenades dans Londres ou l'aristocratie et les

prolétaires anglais (1839)[14] and L'Union ouvrière (1842)[15] where the synthesis of her feminism and socialism became most evident. It is my belief that L'Union was not simply a manifesto of her socialist ideology but that it was also a vehicle to promote her feminist concerns.

The Historical Record

That "there is properly no history, only biography"[16], as Ralph Waldo Emerson reminded us, helps to account for the historical amnesia which kept the theories and activities of Flora Tristan out of history books for most of the past 150 years. Feminist historians have shown that in the nineteenth century, as now, our culture was so dominated by androcentric biases and patriarchal values that these prejudices effectively obscured former interpretations of history, not to mention assessments of what and who were worthy of being historically recorded.[17] With the exception of a handful of studies long out of print (most notably Jules-L. Puech's 1925 La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan, 1803-1844, still considered today to be the most definitive study of Flora's life and works)[18], there had been little mention of Flora until the 1970s when burgeoning feminist scholarship resurrected her accomplishments. Since, feminist historians have reasserted Flora's 1918 biographer

Hélène Brion's claim that Flora was "la vraie fondatrice de l'Internationale"[19] and French feminists have assigned Flora the distinction of being the pioneer of French feminism[20] - even though other "feminists" certainly preceded Flora. Sociologist Mme. de Coicy's small book, Les Femmes comme il convient de les voir (1785) was contemptuous of those who would claim that women were revered in society while at the same time their work was devalued and they were not permitted access to public office.[21] Olympe de Gouges' activism during the Revolution of '89 and her pamphlet Déclarations des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne (1790), defiantly attacked the exclusionary practices of the male insider circles which marked even revolutionary organizations. Yet, Flora was the first "feminist" to fully analyze and theorize women's oppression, to devise strategies for women's emancipation, and to actively attempt to implement those strategies. Because of the time she spent in Peru and her Peruvian heritage, feminists there regard Flora as the source of inspiration of the Peruvian women's movement. Mercedes Gibson is a Peruvian feminist and founder of a woman's magazine she symbolically named "Flora" after, she explained, "a French-Peruvian woman who represents the best of our sexes ability: a true humanist with an unflagging social concern."[22]

Works like the autobiographical account of her stay in Peru, Pérégrinations; her analysis of the English working class and her indictment of the English aristocracy, Promenades; her notorious socialist manifesto, L'Union ; and her posthumously published journal in which she recorded her attempts to popularize the ideas of her manifesto, Tour de France,[23] effectively thrust Flora to the forefront of French socialist and feminist thought in the late 1830s and early 1840s. While Méphis,[24] her one novel, pushed Romantic-socialism (defined in the following chapter) to the extreme and met with little critical success, her articles on subjects as diverse as London architecture and renaissance art,[25] her pamphlet advocating the creation of safe hostels for women travellers, and her petitions for the reinstatement of divorce[26] and for the abolition of capital punishment,[27] testify not just to the diversity of her interests but also, to her tireless activism.

Flora Tristan's contribution to history is not simply as a woman who by chance wrote enough to offer some filler to a spotty record of women's socio-economic evolution. As a writer and social commentator, her observations of the values of French, Peruvian and English society were deliberate and incisive. The following passage from Flora's introduction to Promenades, is her personal assurance of her investigative tenacity:

> Je ne me suis pas laissé éblouir par l'apparence; je n'ai pas été séduite par les brillantes et riches décorations de la scène anglaise; j'ai pénétré dans les coulisses, j'ai vu le fard des acteurs, le cuivre de leurs galons, et entendu leur propre langage. En face de la réalité, j'ai apprécié les choses à leur juste valeur. Mon livre est un livre de faits, d'observations recueillies avec toute l'exactitude dont je suis capable.[28]

As a single-minded, impassioned and devoted crusader for social change, Flora Tristan's socialist-feminist ideas and theories as she formulated them in L'Union ouvrière, had a marked effect on those she most deeply wanted to reach. Her influence in workers' circles was illustrated by Maurice Agulhon in his 1971 labour history of the French city of Toulon between 1815 and 1851.[29] Agulhon described the atmosphere of this town in 1844 when the increased fervor of unrest amongst French workers marked the end of King Louis-Philippe's reign, and when Flora was on her "tour de France" to promulgate her ideas for the organization of the labour force under a single, unified, international banner:

> Dans ce milieu ouvrier toulonnais si divers, animé à la fois par une aspiration croissante au mieux être et par la concurrence des différentes organisations - sans parler des choses qui pouvaient parvenir de la politique, - l'impulsion en est venue de l'extérieur apportée par Flora Tristan.[30]

Agulhon affirmed that Flora's presence and outspokeness in cities like Toulon, already agitated by strikes caused by growing worker dissatisfaction with wages and working conditions, made her a powerful and obviously threatening

figure. Indeed, she was treated as such by many officials of the cities and towns she visited. Nevertheless, while she was furious at the police of Lyons who followed her to and from meetings, spied on her from a rented room next to her own, and broke into her room to steal her notes[31], Flora managed to be positive: "Cette persécution a fait bon effet sur les ouvriers, elle arrive à leur faire comprendre que ce que je prêche a de la valeur puisque M. le Procureur du roi s'y oppose."[32]

Agulhon's assessment of Flora's impact on Toulonnais workers; city officials' nervousness at her presence in their towns; workers' testimony of their fidelity and appreciation of her at her gravesite; and importantly, the homage paid her by feminists a century-and-a-half after her death, indicate that Flora was a phenomenally successful activist. Recognizing the social impact of Flora is important because she cannot, therefore, be historically discarded as a "minor star" or lesser figure of early French socialism. To do so, as historian George Lichtheim did in his 1969 study, The Origins of Socialism,[33] is to trivialize socialism's important relationship to feminism in one of the most significant periods of Western women's history. (This relationship is discussed further in the following chapter.)

Methodology

In her 1991 essay "As if Subjects Existed: Analyzing Social Discourses", feminist theoretician Mariana Valverde observed that there are "literary" and "social" ways of reading texts.

> [. . .] whereas literary critics are interested primarily in the internal organization of discourses, socio-historical analysis is in the end concerned with the processes of social subjectivity: how it is formed, how it furthers or undermines social domination, how it might be re-formed.[34]

In this study, I am concerned with making a socio-historical analysis of Flora's theoretical formulations regarding woman's cultural oppression.

I approach this study from a feminist perspective and draw heavily from the aspect of feminist theory which is concerned with the concept of "the personal is the political". I have devoted a good portion of this study to establishing Flora's biographical background because I believe that the theories Flora constructed regarding the oppression of women were based upon her life experiences and that these experiences, like the solutions she later sought to overturn male oppression, were determined by her socio-political and economic context. To borrow Carolyn Steedman's 1990 defense of biography as a means to present a historical analysis,

> [. . .] the life story [. . .] is understood to illuminate ideas, ideologies, class and gender relations, and the social practices of a particular period of [. . .] history. At the same time, a particular life is seen as being shaped by those ideas, relations and practices - a shaping that the biographical subject is cognizant of at some points in her life, quite unaware of at others.[35]

As a social chronicler, Flora was herself a biographer. It was through her portraits of other women that Flora unfolded her analysis of the cultural exclusion of women and devised her class analogy. Flora's own analyses were never separated from experience. Pérégrinations, Promenades and Le Tour de France are essentially autobiographical journals in which the reader is intimately aware of the autobiographer's constant preoccupation with her biographical subjects. Even in Nécessité and L'Union which are clear exposés of her feminist and socialist ideology, Flora relied on biographical portraiture to illustrate her theories. Flora demonstrated the universality of female oppression by treating each portrait as a microcosm of female experience. A study of these portraits elucidates Flora's growth as a feminist theoretician.

My approach, which when not specifically biography (as it is in Chapter Two) resembles biography, acknowledges a geometrical relationship between Flora's life, theory and actions. Structured like a triangle, this relationship is defined by the inseparability of Flora's life experiences,

her theoretical formulations (shaped by these experiences), and her activism (a product of her convictions). Just as one cannot draw a triangle by representing only two of its sides, one cannot discuss Flora's theories and activism without discussing her personal life. Jean-Paul Sartre acknowledged this connection between one's life, theory and action in his highly biographical, psycho-analytic study of Baudelaire's poetical works.[36] By focusing on the poet's sexual predilections, for example, Sartre brought new insight, understanding and meaning to Baudelaire's poem, "Une nuit que j'étais près d'une affreuse juive". "The psycho-analytic critic," wrote Martin Turnell (1950), the translator of Sartre's study, "claims that by examining the peculiarities of a writer's personality, he is in a better position to interpret his work, that he can show that particular words, phrases and images have a special significance for the poet."[37] While I do not intend to make a psycho-analysis of Flora, the psycho-analytic perspective is helpful in defending a biographical approach. Flora's analysis of the cultural exclusion of women is far more meaningful when placed in the context of the personal circumstances in her life which established her own self-image as a pariah. It demonstrates the awakening of her feminist consciousness as she made the transition in critical thinking from the personal to the political.

I am the first to make such a study of Flora's feminist perspective based primarily on her portraits of other women and I include an analysis of her pamphlet Nécessite rarely found in other studies. Nécessité, in which Flora first compared women to a social class, was her first work which cemented her feminist and socialist ideologies together. These elements of my approach are paramount to me because I believe that Flora's greatest legacy to history was her commitment to women as a fundamental aspect of social rehabilitation through socialism.

Objectives

My objectives are straightforward. The purpose of this thesis is to use the methodology described above to examine Flora's critique of the French, Peruvian and English societies of which she wrote between 1832 and 1844 and her vision of social transformation. I wish to show how her analysis of the cultural exclusion of women formed the basis of her feminism and indirectly, the basis of her socialism. Although my examination of Flora's theoretical formulations and applications rely almost entirely on her writings, my intention is not to make a literary critique of these works. I do not explore Flora's discussion of architecture and art in essays for the journals L'Artiste and Revue de Paris[8]

nor such fiction as her short story, Episode de la vie de Ribera dit l'Espagnolet[39], and her novel Méphis (although, I do make a brief summary of Méphis in Chapter Three in as much as it pertains to Flora's synthesis of feminist and socialist ideals). For the purposes of this study, I am interested only in presenting Flora as a feminist theoretician and activist.

In Chapter One, "The Cultural Exclusion of Women", my objectives are to place Flora within her historical context, essential to understanding the political processes and cultural influences which affected Flora's life, shaped her theories and spurred her activism. I believe, like feminist historian Claire Goldberg Moses (1984), that feminist ideology is shaped by its socio-political context.[40] Therefore, I begin by tracing the anti-feminist attitudes of the Revolution of 1789, especially as they related to the popularly held, Rousseau-inspired beliefs that woman is inherently inferior to man and should restrict her interests and activities to the private affairs of the family and household. As historian Barbara Corrado Pope demonstrated in her 1987 study, "The Influence of Rousseau's Theories of Domesticity"[41], these beliefs played a major role in maintaining the cultural oppression of women throughout the nineteenth century. This chapter also traces the growing feminist tradition in France and its links with leading

socialist utopians, Saint-Simon, Prosper Enfantin, Charles Fourier and Robert Owen.

The purpose of Chapter Two, "The Feminist and Socialist Indoctrination of a Pariah", is to use the biographical details of Flora's personal and public life as a basis for insight into Flora's feminist and socialist awakening. As emphasized above, these details are necessary to illuminate the circumstances in her life which had prompted her self-image as a pariah and which shaped her theoretical formulations.

Flora's portraits of other women's lives are the focus of Chapter Three, "Critique of the Present: Portraits of Exclusion and the Master-Slave Dynamic". My objectives are to draw from these portraits in order to illustrate Flora's maturing conviction that all women are pariahs marginalized from the cultural community by insider rules which establish one set of moral standards for men and another for women. I wish to show that these portraits are crucial to understanding Flora's development as a feminist theoretician. In them, Flora not only emphasized the universality of her personal experiences of exclusion, but she formulated her own interpretation of the scope and limitations of female-owned power in early nineteenth-century society. Flora's illustrations of the

double oppression of women via her portraits, illuminate her radical analogy of women as a class.

In Chapter Four, "Appeal to the Future: On the Inclusion of Women", my objectives are to demonstrate Flora's strategies to efface the barriers of the misogynist male insider circle. These strategies are most evident in Nécessité and L'Union where Flora extoled the importance and benefits of universal philanthropy and internationalism. While her plan to establish safe hostels for women travelling alone (Nécessité) was not going to transform society and edge women into the insider circle, Flora affirmed that in spite of theoreticians' attempts to separate the male and female world into public and private spheres, women led very public lives. Nécessité was also a sign that Flora's philanthropy was an aspect of her feminism and that by encouraging others to be "philanthropical", she first rationalized the inclusion of women into the cultural framework on a humanitarian basis. L'Union is generally regarded as a socialist manifesto but I believe, and intend to demonstrate, that Flora's plans to harness the strength of the working class in order to promulgate women's full emancipation and her portrayal of woman's inclusion in the cultural community as indispensable to human progress, characterize L'Union as an important feminist manifesto also.

I conclude this thesis by reiterating the importance of biography in feminist historical analysis (as evidenced by the proliferation of feminist biography today) and by summarizing the main points of Flora's critique of society in the early 1800s as it pertained to the cultural exclusion of women. Flora's analysis of the oppression of women, her radical designation of women as a class unto themselves, and her attempt to establish women's emancipation through the collective effort of the working class rank her as one of the most radical and important feminists of the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER ONE

The Cultural Exclusion of Women

In order to understand the development of Flora's socialist-feminist consciousness it is necessary to understand the political climate which helped to shape it. I share Claire Goldberg Moses' belief that "the questions feminists asked were based on their life experiences and that the remedies they proposed for their grievances were constructed with the intellectual tools of analysis available to them."[1] The cultural exclusion of women was not a phenomenon unique to the nineteenth century yet, socio-economic and political changes (influenced by such factors as urbanization and the Napoleonic Code of 1803), established certain parameters of women's oppression specifically associated with that period. The "new legal codes" in particular, Moses observed, "helped shape feminist consciousness by making unmistakably visible the significance of sex as a status category."[2] It was the cultural oppression of their sex which turned many women, like Flora, into militant socialist-feminist activists. This chapter will place Flora within her socio-political

context by examining such factors as the Revolution of 1789, industrialization and the eventual link between feminism and socialism, forged by a mutual desire for a peaceful, just and egalitarian transformation of society.

The Anti-Feminist Tradition

Just as French socialism in the early 1800s attempted to resolve that generation's frustration and disappointment with the Revolution of 1789 and its increasing uneasiness with the growth of industrialization, so too did the feminism of many of the period's women. The French Revolution, fought in the name of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity was espoused by many women whose aspirations were rooted in the belief that they too would benefit from that free and equal society.

As enlightened thinkers began to openly question formerly unassailable truths, taboos and traditions such as the existence of God, the rights of man, the role of education in society, and the place of woman, it seemed that the hopes of many revolutionary women were well-founded. In Les Lettres persanes (1721), Montesquieu "espoused the belief that the two sexes were created equal, but men had usurped authority by exploiting women's weaknesses". In his Essai sur la Constitution et les fonctions des Assemblées

Provinciales (1788), the Marquis de Condorcet demanded not only civil reforms for women but political rights for them as well. If, as Voltaire had asserted, women appeared to lack genius, Condorcet attributed this to the stagnation of their unexercised faculties which he in turn attributed to their insufficient, if not total lack of, education.[3] The English writer Mary Wollstonecraft reasoned in her A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792) that the subordination of women is a stranglehold on the process of human knowledge. She stated that if women were given an equal and identical education to that of men, women would be better mothers and better company for their husbands, thus strengthening the family unit. Wollstonecraft also believed that to educate women in the manner advocated at the time by the then-popular philosopher and theoretician Jean-Jacques Rousseau, would not only perpetuate women's ignorance and submission to men, but have an adverse effect on all humanity.[4]

Significant to an understanding of the unprecedented growth of a women's movement in nineteenth-century France which openly challenged traditional, patriarchal views of women in the work force, in the home, in education and in the legal realm, is recognition that, at least for women, the theories of Jean-Jacques Rousseau tremendously influenced the course of western cultural history.[5] In his

novels La Nouvelle Héloise (1761) and Emile (1762), Rousseau illustrated his belief that woman must be educated in a manner relative to man - that she required only such instruction as could make her pleasing to him. Man, Rousseau argued, being of the rational and intellectual sex, must deal with the politics and pressures of the outside world, while woman, of the weaker, emotional but morally superior sex, must occupy herself with the domestic duties of home and hearth, creating an oasis for him to come home to. Rousseau's was a concept of "separate spheres": man in the public sphere and woman in the private sphere.[1]

While middle-class women of the French Revolution found their duties and accomplishments relegated to their own "woman's sphere", the inherent dissonance between feminine ideals such as Rousseau's and the reality of women's lives was never so marked as in the working class. In her 1976 essay "Women and Revolution, 1789-1796", Olwen Hufton suggested that in the family economy, the female worker was in a position of superiority in her household. Her role as mother and wife rarely exempted her from the need to work outside the family as well. In extreme hardship she begged and smuggled to supplement the family's needs. So integral was her role in the family economy that "her death or incapacity could cause a family to cross the narrow but extremely meaningful barrier between poverty and

destitution."[7] Spurred by economic need, it was working women who were at the heart of the bread riots in 1789 and who constituted the 6,000 women who marched on Versailles.

It was in the Cahiers de doléances or lists of grievances where women first demonstrated their aspirations for the revolution of '89.[8] Because women were neither represented nor seated in any of the governing bodies of France, these lists, however unofficial, were their only means of making their desires for reform known to the Estates General (an assembly of deputies representing the nobility [Second Estate], the clergy [First estate] and the common people [Third Estate])[9] and to the king. Inspired predominantly by the middle-class because the women of the working class were usually illiterate, many grievances focused on the lack of education for women. Many of these claims were influenced by Condorcet. In addition to wanting equal laws for men and women, Condorcet's followers also sought political representation for women. They demanded a share in control over family property and the future of their children, hitherto the domain of the husband. Many women compared wives to slaves and requested laws not just protecting them from their husbands' physical abuse (which to varying extents was generally socially acceptable, given that women were traditionally and legally subordinate to the authority of their husbands) but also providing for the

dissolubility of marriage. The concerns of the female working classes, often dictated to scribes, focused more on their immediate living and working conditions. They were worried about male penetration into female trades, over-crowding in city hospitals and tax collectors waiting in prey at the city gates.

The aspirations, deceptions and frustrations of revolutionary women were all uttered in one or the other of their many pamphlets, petitions and newspapers which proliferated during the Revolution. However, when the king took his oath to support the new constitution and the Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen it had already begun to sink in for most women that "Fraternity" did not include "Sorority". Nevertheless, when France became engaged in all out war in 1793, the "tricoteuses" diligently knitted warm clothing for French soldiers while other women were being rewarded by the Convention for their bravery in combat. Either by sheer pressure or recognition of women's participation in the war effort, women were finally granted some legal victories, among them, the right to divorce.

Meanwhile, however, the Jacobin leader Robespierre maintained Rousseauian conceptions of woman's proper place in society. He regarded women as inferior beings who belonged in the home - not in the political world which was

man's natural habitat. In October 1793, not long after he came to power, Robespierre prohibited all forms of women's protest. (It would be three years before another women's newspaper was published). In November of the same year, Olympe de Gouges, champion of the Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne in which she declared women shared natural rights equally with men, was guillotined. Even after Robespierre's downfall in July, 1794, women's fragile legal and political position continued to weaken. With the exception of divorce, the Napoleonic Code of 1804 effectively rescinded the few legal gains women of the Revolution had made in their struggles. (The right of divorce was lost soon after in 1816.) Indeed, Napoleon strengthened woman's inferior position in marriage with article 312 of the civil code: "la femme doit obéissance à son mari."[10]

Ultimately, few fruits were reaped for Frenchwomen during the Revolution of 1789. Barbara Mitchell observed in 1987 that the language of a pamphlet circulated at the time of the Revolution "enshrined" the "antifeminist tradition" of French society long after 1789. The pamphlet proclaimed:

> Civil and political liberty is of no use to women and should therefore be kept from them. Since they [. . .] are born to be dependent from the cradle to the grave, they have been endowed only with private virtues [. . .]. A woman is acceptable only in the context of her father's or husband's household. She needs to know nothing of

> what goes on outside beyond what they may see fit to tell her.[11]

In Olympe de Gouges' words, throughout the course of the revolution Frenchwomen developed "a more pronounced scorn" and "a more marked contempt"[12] for their male oppressors than ever before.

While the Revolution of '89 was a blatant disappointment for women, the Déclaration des droits de l'homme and the abolition of feudalism did little to appease even male workers in the ensuing years. Developing industrialization with its mechanization of production meant higher unemployment, increased poverty and mounting tensions between male and female workers. Competition for jobs was fierce. Mechanization helped work in factories to become much less physically demanding, as a result, drawing women and children into previously male-dominated trades: "The tenuous nature of their employment made women accept more readily than men the meanest tasks, the crudest conditions, and of course, the lowest wages."[13] Their labour also contributed to the wage depression that would spread to the entire labour force.[14] Resentment ran high among male workers against their female competitors.

The final blow for the workers finally came, however, with the July Ordinances of King Charles X in 1830. These dissolved the popular moderate-left chamber, further restricted the already narrow suffrage and completely

stifled freedom of the press. "Les Trois Glorieuses", as the subsequent revolution of 1830 was fondly called actually did very little in the end to change working conditions, wages and unemployment. By bringing only the bankers and factory owners to power, the revolution failed to give a voice to the labouring classes, although they themselves had helped to overthrow the Restoration.[15]

Nonetheless, and to their ultimate advantage, the workers' disillusionment became the impetus behind a "new potential force, that of the proletariat."[16] In the 1830s, the largest concentration of French skilled workers was in Paris and Lyon.[17] Hardly dissuaded by the fate of a loomworker in Rouen who was hanged in 1825 for having dared to strike, the reverberations of a general wage decrease finally erupted in rioting by some 15,000 Lyonnais workers in 1831. Hundreds of them suffered injuries from the National Guard before the workers finally dispersed. In 1834, events repeated themselves, testifying to the workers' unappeased dissatisfaction.[18]

The Feminist-Socialist Synthesis

It was this climate which incubated the utopian movements and their offshoots until their eventual prominence in the 1830's. In 1967 historian J.L. Talmon

pointed out that "Socialism became the common denominator for all those creeds and movements in the first half of the nineteenth century which purported to offer a social system based on justice and reason".[19] Commitment to the "rights of women" characterized the socialist activism of the time marking the first half of the nineteenth century as one of the most significant periods in Western women's history. The three most influential branches of socialism promoting women's emancipation were, in England, Owenism, and in France, Saint Simonism and Fourierism.

In 1983, French historian François Bédarida likened England's capital (still in the throes of its industrial revolution in the early nineteenth century), to a "laboratory" where many visitors, (particularly from France where industrialization developed more slowly), traveled either to learn more about the technical wonders and promise of industrialization, or to study the social disadvantages and pitfalls which it engendered.[20] The most common criticisms of industrialized London were that its capitalist foundations and the prosperity of the privileged, owning classes were built upon and maintained by the exploitation of men, women, and child workers. A plethora of studies like De la misère des classes labourieuses en Angleterre et en France (1840) by Eugène Buret (1810-1840), Promenades dans Londres (1840) by Flora, and The Condition of the

Working Class in England (1845) by Friedrich Engels (1820-1895), proliferated during the 30s and 40s, each one deploring the inadequate, often below subsistence wages, the typical twelve to sixteen hour workdays in factories commonly known as "sweat-houses", and the unsanitary and even inhumane living and work places of the working class. Many of these studies also focused on the particular way in which women were affected by industrialization. In her 1987 study "Women in the Industrialist Capitalist Economy", Laura Levine Frader demonstrated her belief that capitalism "probably could not have developed without women's "free" cheap labor."[21] Owenite, Saint-Simonian and Fourierist thought blamed capitalism for the appalling living and working conditions of the working class, as well. Importantly, these ideologies also acknowledged the cultural oppression of women and, in the new cooperative working communities they envisioned, proposed changes in women's roles and in male-female relations.

Robert Owen became one of Flora's major influences. At a huge cotton mill in New Lanark, he had experimented with labour management by implementing work incentive programmes, model housing, health facilities, and free schooling for all factory employees and their families. New Lanark became one of the most profitable enterprises in England and in so doing, convinced Owen that

> [. . .] if [the population of the world] were treated, trained, educated, employed, and placed, in accordance with the most plain dictates of common sense, crimes would terminate, the miseries of humanity would cease, wealth and wisdom would be universal[. . .].[32]

Owen placed a particular emphasis on the importance of providing quality, equal education to both boys and girls beginning at a very young age. By the 1820s, Owen had become an avowed enemy of capitalism and devoted his time to promoting a new social order based upon classless, cooperative communities where joint possession replaced individual ownership.

Fundamental to Owen's vision was the need to rid society of relationships based upon dominance and subordination. He named religion ("because it perpetuated ignorant superstitions about the innate imperfections of human character"), marriage ("because it converted women into male property and established single-family interests which eroded neighbourly feelings") and private property ("because it made individual wealth the basis of social power and transformed all human relationships into competitive contests for individual gain") as the three main causes of social disunity.[33]

Cooperative communities were the crux of Owenite reorganization which attracted feminists William Thompson and Anna Wheeler to Owenism. Thompson and Wheeler believed that Owenite communities organized around human needs rather

than the procurement of individual wealth comprised the only system which could offer women economic independence. These communities would assure support for women during pregnancy, communal responsibility for the upbringing of children and communal sharing of all other household tasks such as cleaning and cooking. Women as mothers, they insisted, would never need to revert to being dependent on men.

The question of female suffrage was also addressed by the Owenites. In Thompson and Wheeler's collaborative tract, Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain Them in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery (1825), Thompson responded to the famous Utilitarian James Mill, whose argument for universal enfranchisement rejected women's suffrage on the premise that the rights of men included the rights of women. Thompson queried how this could be so "when in every facet of social and economic life, particularly in domestic life, men have [. . .] invested themselves with despotic power" which they exercise with complete disregard for the needs of the women under their command.[24] Nevertheless, while the question of female suffrage to most Owenites was important, to many it was only secondary to the more urgent task of social reorganization. This was a point which manifested itself, to the disappointment of many Owenite women, in 1841 when the

movement chose to support the Chartists' initiative of male-only suffrage.[25] Describing the family as "a centre of absolute despotism"[26], Thompson and Wheeler, like other Owenites, sought changes to the institution of marriage. In his text on the marriage question, Lectures on the Marriages of the Priesthood in the Old Immoral World (1835), Owen argued for civil marriage and the availability of easy and inexpensive divorce in the "Old Immoral World". But within his proposed "New Moral World", he advocated the complete abolition of marriage. Owen believed that the love of two people and the desire for fidelity and chastity it inspired, could not be artificially imposed by contractual agreements prescribed by the Church. They were "feeling[s]" which could only be created naturally by the couple out of "sincere and genuine affection for each other".[27] "Naturally", these feelings of mutual love could be expected to fade and in such cases, Thompson argued, the couple should be free to break their union and to form another.

Civil marriage and divorce were already supported by liberal thinkers but the suggestion to completely do away with the institution of marriage caused a public reaction against Owen which feminist historian Barbara Taylor (1983) described as "not far short of hysterical".[28] But it was not only the conservative and Christian strands of society which frowned upon Owen's "natural marriages", support was

not necessarily whole-hearted on the part of many Owenite women. According to Wheeler, the intensity of women's love had a tendency to make them "sentimental slaves"[29] to their oppressors. For other women, the fear of pregnancy combined with the insecurity of their partnerships encouraged them to seek "safer relationships, rather than freer ones."[30]

A similar philosophical reaction challenging the cultural status quo was taking place in France. Saint-Simonism and Fourierism were the two most prominent French schools of thought with a feminist-socialist consciousness.

While Count Henri de Saint-Simon was more interested in the restructuring of society as a whole, he did outline in his Exposition de la doctrine (1824) that the emancipation of women would necessarily be a part of that transformation. According to Saint-Simon, human beings, although not equal in their material, moral and intellectual capacity, nevertheless functioned together as one harmonious organism.[31] His canon was, "à chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses oeuvres."[32] Saint-Simon proposed that the people choose their leaders for a new progressive society from among the best scientists, artists and industrialists who, equipped with the "eye of genius", would be the most capable promoters of the welfare of the larger and poorer classes.[33] In the last years before his death in

1825, Saint-Simon cast his doctrines as the religion of a "New Christianity".

It was Saint-Simon's followers led by the enigmatic Prosper Enfantin who developed the New Christianity based upon what historian Dominique Desanti described in 1983 as, the "cult of woman".[34] Their goal being to institute "a reign of justice, peace and love" in society, the Saint-Simonians adopted the cause of women and justified their stance by asking, "qui [. . .] à travers les âges grossiers, teints de sang et de larmes, a conquis l'homme à la paix et à l'amour, si ce n'est la femme?"[35] For the Saint-Simonians, human nature was both rational and emotional but feelings ultimately took preference over reason. Woman, they believed, was the more emotive of the sexes and so "nature determined her role as the moralizer of man, assuaging his bestial instincts and tempering his intellectual sterility."[36] Enfantin believed that man and woman were the complementary couple, each different but equal and dependent on the other as part of a harmonious whole. This idea of mutual cooperation provided for woman's equality but avoided the idea of competitiveness between the sexes. What remained to be done, according to Enfantin, was to establish the Supreme Couple whose mission it would be to guide humanity. Designating himself as the "Supreme

Father", all that remained was to find the "Supreme Mother" or "Woman Messiah".

In their effort to facilitate woman's emancipation for a harmonious society, the Saint-Simonians emphasized the importance of "rehabilitating the Flesh" by challenging the puritan traditions of Christianity. Much like the Owenites, they wished to absolve women of original sin and they rejected marriage based on the Christian principle of "exclusive love", because it established an indissoluble bond between the couple. The Saint-Simonians denied that "exclusive love" and the monogamy prescribed by its practice were a universal tendency shared by all of humankind and charged that it was unnatural to enforce it as such. Encouraging men and women to conduct their lives faithful to their passions, Enfantin condoned both legal and nonlegal unions of couples. But similar to the controversy sparked by the Owenites "natural marriages", Saint-Simonian "free love" attracted much negative publicity to the Saint-Simonians. Enfantin's new morality was regarded as promiscuous immorality by French officials and the Saint-Simonian leader was imprisoned in 1831, marking the demise of the movement. The Saint-Simonians turned increasingly to mysticism and after his release from prison in 1833, Enfantin led a group of his dwindling followers to Egypt in search of the Woman Messiah.[37]

The obvious emphasis on woman's social importance, drew many young women to the Saint-Simonian ranks, particularly working women attracted also by the promise of improved working conditions. Yet, many Saint-Simonian women rejected the "free love" of Enfantin's proposals. "'Love without marriage'," Rowbotham suggested,

> [. . .] posed far greater dangers to them than to the Saint-Simonian men, most of whom would find places as industrialists, scientists and managers in the new economic order, while they continued to labour as seamstresses for wages inadequate to maintain themselves let alone also children.[38]

Other Saint-Simonian women, like Claire Démar who in 1831 likened marriage to legal prostitution,[39] and a later convert, Pauline Roland who proudly bore children from two different partners out of wedlock, welcomed the moral shift.

While in theory Saint-Simonian ideology elevated the social position of woman and called for her equality with men, Moses pointed out how in fact the very organization of the movement contradicted Saint-Simonian intentions. In 1832, Enfantin had himself dismissed women from the Saint-Simonian hierarchy:

> Man and women, this is the social individual, but woman is still a slave, we must set her free. Before teaching a state of equality with man, she [first] must be set free. We must then create for Saint-Simonian women a condition of freedom by destroying the hierarchy [. . .] and have them participate in the law of equality among themselves. THERE ARE NO LONGER ANY WOMEN IN THE DEGREES OF THE HIERARCHY. Our apostelate which is *l'appel de la Femme* is an apostelate of men.[40]

Frustrated and disillusioned by Enfantin's paternalism, many women left the Saint-Simonian fold. These included a small group of "femmes prolétaires" (working women), Désirée Veret, Reine Guindorf and later, Suzanne Voilquin, who formed history's first completely autonomous women's journal out of the conviction that women's emancipation would only succeed if women themselves led the movement. After undergoing numerous name changes, La Tribune des femmes became a vehicle for radical female, largely former Saint-Simonian feminists to lash out against misogynist cultural practices and demand reforms in marriage, women's education, womens' wages, work opportunities and working conditions. As an affirmation of their independence from men, the journal's editors and contributors went only by their and their mothers' first name, thus, Désirée Veret became Jeanne-Désirée and Reine Guindorf became Marie-Reine.[41] In Women, Resistance and Revolution (1972), Sheila Rowbotham noted that if nothing else, Saint-Simonian women had emerged from the movement with greater confidence and self-esteem.[42]

As historian Joan Moon (1973) pointed out, the "femmes prolétaires'" newfound conviction that woman was better off to assert her economic independence as an individual rather than as part of a couple, indicates the strong ideological influence of Charles Fourier.[43] Indeed, many of the

Saint-Simonians who no longer felt comfortable under the guidance of Enfantin, did turn to Fourierism. To Fourier, human social progress was contingent upon and could be measured by the degree of women's emancipation. This extension of privileges was the "pivot mécanique" for the liberation of all humanity. Fourier believed both sexes ultimately suffered from the economic subjugation of women: man, because "he alone bore the responsi lity of supporting his family; and woman because her industrial servitude led her to prostitution".[44] Among the changes he proposed for women were universal education, the right to work at equal pay, and the freedom to choose their own spouse. The new social order proposed by Fourier was to be based on "phalansteries": cooperative, profit-sharing, communities based upon the complete equality of the sexes. Each phalanstery, with kitchen, library, and recreation rooms, would house "not less than 1,620 members, since, according to Fourier, humanity represents exactly 810 species of temperaments, male and female, and it seemed important to him to assemble the greatest possible variety of these".[45] Men and women would wear identical clothing, and receive identical education and employment opportunities. Fourier, like Enfantin, believed in the notion of "free love" but, conscious of many of his followers' unease with this stance, he made it clear in a

later edition of his Théories des Quatres Mouvements (1841) that the present structure of marriage should not be changed unless there were complete agreement on the part of all phalansterians.[46] Fourier did however, support the movement for divorce. In the same vein as Owenite philosophy, Fourierism was an exponent of the collective family in place of the individual family and communal responsibility for childcare and housework as a means to eliminate women's economic dependence on man. While work in Saint-Simon's social order was to be done "each to his own capacity", in the phalansteries work was to be done "each according to his liking". By constantly changing tasks and doing those things one liked best (for example, children who like to get dirty would be assigned "dirty" tasks) work would cease to be unpleasant.[47]

Like the Owenites, whose commitment to women's suffrage eventually gave in to the Chartist's appeal for male-only suffrage, and the Saint-Simonians, who abandoned women from its hierarchy and leadership, the Fourierists were also guilty of not carrying through their theoretical commitment to women. Flora, who was greatly influenced by Fourier's famous aphorism that "the degree of emancipation of women is the natural measure of general emancipation",[48] was outraged and disheartened in 1837, by the display of hypocrisy when she and all other women were kept from attending a

Fourierist memorial dinner for the recently deceased leader. She wrote an angry letter to Victor Considérant, editor of the Fourierist newspaper La Phalange, demanding an explanation.[49]

In her 1972 discussion of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, Sheila Rowbotham hypothesized why male-controlled revolutionary movements consistently excluded women from positions of real equality and leadership. She pointed out that while both Marx and Engels contributed greatly to the understanding of the nature of women's oppression in the nineteenth century, women's emancipation remains dependent on the emancipation of the working class in Marxist theory. Rowbotham suggested that revolutionary men, "not able to cast off a deep contempt for women," would not apply their ideas to women thus maintaining their subordination in revolutionary organizations.[50]

According to Marie Maclean in her 1989 essay, "Revolution and Opposition: Olympe de Gouges and the Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne" this practice is a feature of "institutionalized exclusion" which "[. . .] will sooner admit and even encourage oppositional practice than come to terms with the demands of the excluded to be included in the structures of power."[51] She referred to revolutionary and Jacobin supporter during the Revolution of 1789, Olympe de Gouges, because her

pamphlet Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne so annoyed the anti-feminist Jacobin leader, Robespierre, that he had her beheaded. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels criticized the socialism of the early 1800s for being "Utopian". They argued in The Communist Manifesto, noted Barbara Taylor, that "'the fantastic' dreams of the early socialists were foredoomed to failure, [. . .] because they were based merely on an optimism of the will rather than a 'scientific' assessment of the historical balance of class forces."[52] Although the Owenites, the Saint-Simonians, and the Fourierists did not necessarily share the same approach towards social reorganization or, for that matter, a like vision of what the resulting society should and would look like, they all agreed that the emancipation of women would benefit all of humanity. By placing an emphasis on improving women's education, on providing equal pay and opportunities in the workplace, on altering the structure of marriage such that unions - of any type - were no longer indissoluble, and on cooperative living where all of the traditionally female tasks would become communal responsibilities, they were arguing that most women were incapable of competing autonomously and independently of men in a capitalist system based on individualism and private property.

While Owenism, Saint-Simonism and Fourierism were not necessarily as faithful to women in reality as they professed to be in theory, they did provide women with an increased self- and collective-awareness. The example of the women of the Tribune des Femmes perhaps best illustrates how this simple "awareness" often helped to validate women's personal experiences of fear and oppression in patriarchal culture and challenged them to seek redress in a public, political forum.

In spite of its ideological infidelities towards women, utopian socialism soon became congruous with humanitarianism. Notions of justice, love of the people, sympathy for criminals and prostitutes, and the condemnation of a mute and "arriviste" society, wended their way into the period's literature.

Romanticism as it developed in the 1820s and 1830s, was contrasted with the traditional rule-entrenched structures of Classicism. The French Romantics had claimed "liberty" as their artistic credo out of a desire for the intellectual, emotional and creative latitude with which to explore their passions. The Romantics regarded the individual as part of a larger family of humanity and sought harmony between the two.[3] The search for deep personal "truths" was extended to a search for broader, political truths observed in history and in everyday life.[4]

Accordingly, the tone of French Romantic literature was dictated by the socio-historic context of the French people. At first, the Romantics were optimistic about what the new technology of industrialization had to offer the people. In "Voix intérieures" Victor Hugo lauded France's first steam locomotives: "le fer et le vapeur ardent; effacent de la terre, à l'heure où vous rêvez; l'antique pesanteur à tout objet pendante."[55] Alfred de Musset however, was representive of many Romantics who quickly assessed the social price of progress as being far too high: "Tout est bien balayé sur vos chemins de fer; tout est grand, tout est beau, mais on meurt dans votre air."[56] Increasingly, the Romantic poets and writers became defenders of the people. They blamed the self-interested and smug bourgeois industrialists for the appalling living and working conditions of the working class: "Le tout, pour enrichir quelque oisif fabricant; Qui, dans le fond du coeur, n'est souvent qu'un brigand!"[57] Historian Nancy Rogers (1976) described the 1839 version of George Sand's novel, Lélia (the original version appeared in 1833), as "a Bible of the poor, a new testament to humanitarianism.[58]

The language of the French Romantics was inspired by their desire for spiritual and universal liberty as well as by the need to raise social consciousness. Equality, harmony, justice, emancipation, love, all define the themes

addressed by them. The periods' emergent socialists shared and helped to create this Romantic language, characterizing their consciousness-raising as Romantic socialism.

There are two types of social novels according to Roger Picard in his 1944 study of Romantic socialism (Le Romantisme social): one is descriptive: the novelist is not only interested in the psychology of her/his characters, (s)he places them in their social milieu and describes the features of that milieu, including traditions and the collective sentiments found therein. The second type of social novel is ideological and provides moralizing opportunities for the characters and the milieus which are depicted, to either criticize institutions or to appeal for social reforms.[59] Flora's one novel, Méphis ou le prolétaire ("roman philosophique et social") falls into the latter category. The concerns for the oppression of women and workers Flora expressed in her social investigative journals are typical of Romantic socialism as regards their preoccupation with existing social injustices and the need for social reform. Flora's Pérégrinations d'une paria evokes the Romantic penchant for travel and self-discovery while her social investigative activities reflect the Romantic quest for the universal in the private and personal.

In response to social injustices, French Romantics demonstrated a return to Christian influences formerly devalued by eighteenth-century "enlightenment". Besides invoking a spiritual appreciation of "(la) sainte Nature"[60], the adulation and even quasi-divinization of woman in her social "role" as Mother and Muse[61], Romantic poets assumed the role of God's interpreter and the peoples' Spiritual Saviour. Hugo described this role in Les feuilles d'automne (1831): "La Terre me disait: Poète; Le Ciel me répondait: Prophète".[62] While utopian socialist movements tended to be anti-clerical, their leaders and followers adopted religious terminolgy to describe themselves in the same way the poets did, as the 'prophets' and 'disciples' of humanitarian ideals. Influenced by millenarianism, ("the belief in a second coming of Christ which would either inaugaurate or follow the thousand-year reign of God on Earth"[63]) "Owenite lecturers frequently referred to Socialism as the New Jerusalem or the Promised Land."[64] (In Eve and the New Jerusalem (1983), Barbara Taylor credited Joanna Southcott (1750-1814), a domestic servant whose housework was apparently interrupted by voices telling her that she had been "sent to redeem mankind from the Fall", with having the most impact on English Socialist millenarians.)[65] Also like the poets, many Romantic socialists believed they had a divine "mission" to guide the modern French society and, in

a broader sense, all of humanity as it evolved and struggled through growing pains aggravated by industrialization, social injustice and political corruptness. This was certainly the case of the Saint-Simonian quest for the Mère and even of Flora who, especially in the early 1840s, had begun to defir herself in messianic terms. (Flora's self-comparison to Christ is discussed further in Chapter Four.) Taylor attributed many socialists' belief in a female Messiah to an extreme form of the more commonly held notion of "women as moral missionaries".[66]

Flora is commonly acknowledged by her biographers as a typically Romantic figure, not only for her preoccupation with the living and working conditions of women and workers but, because her very life story contains all the popular elements of a romantic novel. "[. . .] parfaite héroïne du romanesque et du romantisme", recorded Jean Baelen (1972), Flora was "(une) Bovary avant la lettre".[67] The political climate of the early eighteen hundreds, marked by a generation still trying to disentangle itself from the aftermath of the Revolution of 1789, expanding industrialization, Rousseauian-inspired ideals versus developing feminist values, and socialist schemes for new societies founded upon egalitarian, communal working communities, all helped to shape Flora's internationalism, her interest in social investigation, and her inspiration

for social reform. Probably the most significant factor to shape her personal life was the Napoleonic Code of 1803. By enshrining women's cultural inferiority in the constitution and further encouraging misogynist social attitudes, the new legal code had established the parameters of women's cultural exclusion more clearly than ever before. The following chapter details Flora's personal life as a reflection of the socio-political climate of the early 1800s and traces her belief that she was a social pariah. This awareness of her personal status in the cultural community was her first step towards the development of her feminist values and subsequent activism.

CHAPTER TWO

The Feminist and Socialist Indoctrination of a Pariah

The previous chapter placed Flora within her socio-historic context and argued that while in the early nineteenth century there was a feminist reaction to the cultural exclusion of women, an anti-feminist tradition persisted even at the core of the new socialist organizations which preached justice and equality. In order to understand the development of Flora's feminist consciousness, and in particular that aspect of it which embodied her recognition that the personal is political (an axiom of feminist theory), it is crucial to identify the more intimate circumstances in Flora's life which shaped her perspective on herself and on others (particularly women). Before Flora reached her own conclusion that cultural practices and traditions excluded all women from holding a meaningful position within the social construct, she had to first come to terms with the fact that she was personally rejected from the cultural fold. This chapter seeks to establish the "personal" side of the "personal is political" equation as it relates to Flora's own proclamation that she was a social pariah.

The Genesis of a Pariah

Flora Tristan's father, Mariano de Tristan, the eldest son of one of the wealthiest and most respected families of Peru and a descendent of the famous Mexican ruler, Montezuma, was a colonel in the Spanish King's service. Flora's mother, Anne-Pierre Laisnay, was a French émigré who had fled the unrest of the French Revolution to Bilbao, Spain where she and her future husband first met. Married in Bilbao by a French emigré priest but without civil authorization, their union was not officially recognized, a technicality Mariano never sought to rectify.[1] The couple's home in Spain was frequented by Mariano's close friend, a young Simon Bolivar yet to embark on his political and military career for which he would be revered as the Great South American Liberator. In their company, Bolivar mourned the loss of his wife who had died only months after their marriage. Letters from Bolivar to Anne-Pierre attested to their close friendship and Flora, who herself would write an unflattering portrait of Napoleon in her book Promenades dans Londres[2], later proudly recalled that her parents had steadfastly supported Bolivar even as he gained notoriety in Paris as an anti-Bonapartiste and Jacobin.

The Tristans moved to Paris in 1802, and on April 7th, 1803, Flora Céléstine Thérèse Henriette y Moscoso was born. The Tristan family lived modestly but comfortably on a small sum of

money left to them by Mariano's uncle, the archbishop of Grenada. Mariano's younger brother and executor of the family fortune in his absence, Pio de Tristan, had also sent them money from Peru. According to Flora years later, most of this money never arrived.[3]

Flora described her father's relationship with his younger brother as quasi-paternal. Her father had been responsible for his younger brother's education and appeared to be utterly devoted to him. She described their correspondence as "un monument extraordinaire où l'amour fraternel se reproduisait dans toutes les formes".[4] When Mariano died of apoplexy in 1808, his last words to his 4 year-old daughter were: "My daughter, you still have Pio."[5]

Anne-Pierre did write to her brother-in-law in Aréquipa, Peru but never received a reply. Because Mariano had not left a will and his marriage to Anne-Pierre had not been legalized, their home in Vaugirard, still not completely paid for, was soon confiscated by the state as Spanish property on French territory. It does not appear that Anne-Pierre ever solicited Bolivar's help. He was in exile by the time Flora was nine, and engaged soon after in struggles to liberate South America from the Spaniards. When Anne-Pierre decided to leave Paris for the country several months after her husband's death, she was broke and now had an infant son to care for in addition to Flora. It

was not until her son died 10 years later that she and Flora returned to Paris.

By then, it was 1818 and Flora was 15 years old. They found lodging on the rue de Fouarre, a slum street near the notoriously seedy Place Maubert. In her article, "The City as a Catalyst for Flora Tristan's Vision of Social Change", Sandra Dijkstra referred to Tristan's literary contemporary, Balzac, and his description of the area:

> Today it is one of the dirtiest streets in the XIIth arrondissement, the poorest district in Paris, in which two-thirds of the inhabitants lack firewood in winter, the district which sends the most sick to the Hotel-Dieu, the beggars onto the streets, the most ragpickers to the garbage dumps at the corner, the most sick old men to lean against the walls in the sun, the most indictments to the police courts.[6]

Anne-Pierre supported Flora on a meagre allowance given to them by her brother, Commandant Laisnay. He also provided Flora with drawing lessons. At these lessons, she fell in love for the first time and as a result, also felt the reverberations of her parents marital status and her first significant slight from society. She was 'illegitimate' and her suitor's father forbade his son's marriage to a bastard.

At 17, Flora became a colourist in the atelier of a painter and lithographer, André Chazal. Chazal fell in love with her. She was not only a talented colorist but, as her portraits illustrate, a very beautiful woman. Her friend, writer Jules Janin, later described her as "admirablement jolie":

> D'une taille élégante et souple, d'un air de tête fier et vif, les yeux remplis des feux de l'Orient, une longue chevelure noire qui lui pouvait servir de manteau, ce beau teint olivâtre aux reflets eclatants, quand la jeunesse et l'esprit se mêlent sur cette joue ardente à tout brûler, les dents blanches, fines, agaçantes, régulières, beaucoup de grâce dans le maintien, de fermeté dans la démarche, d'austerite dans le costume [. . .]. Rien qu'à la voir, l'oeil brillant, repliée dans son fauteuil, comme une couleuvre à soleil, vous eussiez devine qu'elle appartenait aux lointaines origines, qu'elle etait la fille des rayons et des ombres, qu'elle était une enfant des pays chauds, enfant perdue dans les pays du Nord.[7]

Flora and Chazal married. However, she later claimed to have had neither love nor respect for Chazal, marrying him only at her mother's insistent urgings. Although passionate letters she wrote to him before their marriage[8] seem to contradict her claims of indifference, it is neither unlikely that a young, beautiful girl would welcome marriage as a way out from her pauper existence on the rue de Fouarre - nor that her mother would be relieved to see her safely married to a man with his own atelier.

Flora and Chazal remained together for four years. They had two sons whose care Flora often entrusted to her mother or a nursemaid in order to pursue her interest in reading and writing. That she was a notoriously bad speller is attributable to the fact that Flora had never received a formal education and was almost entirely self-taught. Among the works she read during this period were Mme. de Stael's Corinne (1807), the utopian socialist Saint-Simon's On the Industrial System (1820-1821), and

the English feminist Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman (1792).

Her first major and most authoritative biographer, Jules Puech, suggested in 1925 that the contrast between the literature she read and the banality of her own life must have appeared marked to Flora. Quite conceivably, she had aspirations tied to her aristocratic heritage which, even if lacking direction and articulation, may have contributed to a profound restlessness. A combination of growing indifference and divergent expectations and needs between Flora and Chazal resulted in inevitable disappointments for the couple. While Chazal complained that Flora was thoughtless towards him, sloppy in her domestic duties and foolhardy with their money, Flora countered that his heavy drinking and gambling prompted their financial troubles. Chazal was pursued by creditors and near the end of 1824, a process server and his men arrived at their home to put seals on "everything but the beds and the kitchen utensils".[9] Unable to raise money himself, Chazal attempted to coerce his wife into prostitution. Pregnant with a third child, Flora left Chazal in 1825.

The right of divorce in France having been revoked in 1816 and the prevailing nineteenth-century attitudes emblazoned in Napoleon's civil code with the words: "la femme doit obéissance à son mari", meant not only that Tristan's leaving was a reproachable social indiscretion but that it was, in fact,

illegal. Chazal himself later wrote in 1837 that from that moment on "(Flora) se disposait à son rôle de Paria".[10]

Conscious of how she would be treated as a runaway wife and unable to disguise her pregnancy, Flora lied that she was a widow in order to get a job as counter help in a confectioners shop.

When Aline was born, Flora appeared to feel a far greater affinity for her daughter than she had for her sons. Her youngest son died at an early age but no details have been uncovered describing the circumstances of his death or even his name. While the birth certificates of all three children had somehow been destroyed, Puech mentions that two of them were reconstructed (he does not indicate when). Ernest-Camille, the surviving son, was born on June 22, 1824 and Aline-Marie was born October 16, 1825. It is evident that Flora's relationship with Aline went beyond that of simply mother and child. Aline became a source of inspiration and resolve. Flora promised her:

> I swear that I will fight for you to make you a better world. You will be neither a slave nor a pariah. How? They say: drunkard's word, lover's word. Well, you have to keep your word to what you've just invented, to what comes out of you.[11]

Little time passed before Flora quit the confectioners, left Ernest and Aline in the care of her mother, and found a job as a lady's maid in England. It was 1826 and she was 23 years old. Later, she confessed that the position had humiliated her: "Je dois vous avouer que, depuis que j'ai changé de position, un sot amour propre m'a fait anéantir toutes les preuves d'une situation

qui m'avait paru fâcheuse."[12] Little is known of this period in Tristan's life because as she admitted, she destroyed all proof of her employment as a lady's maid out of humiliation. Puech quoted a source which stated that in her capacity as lady's maid, Flora had travelled to Switzerland and Italy but he did not name the source.[13] Given the nature of her position, the possibility of such travel opportunities occurring seem neither unlikely nor out of keeping with her early development of an internationalist outlook.

Flora was back in Paris in 1829 when by chance she met the captain of a ship which had just returned from Peru. Zacharie Chabrié recognized Flora's last name (since leaving Chazal, she had taken back her maiden name of Tristan) as belonging to one of the most powerful and revered families in Peru. Although she denied any connection, she pressed him for details of the man she became convinced was her uncle Pio.

After their meeting, Flora determined to write Pio. She explained honestly the circumstances of her birth, included her baptismal certificate and begged him to consult Bolivar (in Peru at the time) for further proof of her being, if not his brother's legitimate daughter, his brother's natural daughter. Afraid, however, to admit that she had been married and had left her husband, Flora also neglected to mention she was a mother of two. For the first time, Pio wrote back to Flora in October of 1830. He claimed that in all their years of correspondence, Mariano had

never mentioned his marriage yet, Bolivar did indeed attest that she was Mariano's natural daughter. Along with an invitation to come to Peru to meet her father's family, he sent Flora a gift of 2,500 francs and assured her that at his request her 99 year-old grandmother, although only just learning of Flora's existence, promised to make her a bequest of 3,000 silver piastres (15,000 francs). Pio assured Flora that this sum complied with the wishes of the entire family who, after been read Flora's letter, was very sympathetic. Much to Flora's disappointment, however, Pio stressed that the money he was sending her was a gift for there was nothing remaining of her father's fortune after his debts had been paid. Since, by her own admission she lacked the documents to show that she was Mariano's "legitimate" daughter, he forewarned her that she could make no other claim on the family fortune.

In 1828, a year before Flora had received her first correspondence from her uncle, she had obtained a legal "séparation de biens" from her husband. Although it ensured she was no longer responsible to Chazal's debtors and that he had lost jurisdiction over her belongings and entitlement to her wages, Chazal was still her husband and the legal custodian of their children. He retained the legal right to demand that she, Aline and Ernest return to live with him.[14] It was not the "séparation de corps" Flora had hoped for and a fierce custody battle over the two children ensued. When Flora resumed her post

as a lady's maid in England in 1831, she entrusted Ernest to a pension and Aline to the care of her mother, Anne-Pierre.

Throughout this period, Chazal threw violent scenes in his relentless badgering to force Flora to abide his custodial rights. Tristan's uncle, Commandant Laisnay, who had little use for defiant, independence-seeking young women like his niece, discontinued all contact with her out of sympathy for Chazal. Even Anne-Pierre appeared to have had a soft spot for her son-in-law whom she considered to be so hard done by.[15]

In 1832, Chazal offered a compromise. If Flora gave him Ernest, then 8 years old, he promised to leave her and Aline alone. Desperate for peace, Flora reluctantly agreed "en versant des larmes sur l'avenir de cet enfant".[16] Chazal, however, did not keep his word and soon forced Flora and Aline to escape his persecutions by taking an assumed name and fleeing to the French countryside. Angry with her mother's apparent sympathies for Chazal, Flora made no effort to inform her of her whereabouts.

Flora and Aline's flight ended when Flora fell ill in tne French town of Angoulême. Here she met Mme. de Bourzac, "ange de vertu"[17] who offered to care for Aline while Flora accepted Pio's invitation to visit Peru. In spite of Pio's warning that she had no legitimate claim to the family fortune, she continued to entertain the hope that out of sympathy for her acknowledged favorite son's daughter her grandmother would overlook the

technicalities of legal documentation to recognize Flora's claim as a rightful Tristan heiress.

Flora learned that the ship on which she had booked her passage with the 2,500 francs given to her by her uncle, was called the "Mexicain" and that the captain was the same Chabrie who unwittingly spoke of her uncle when they had met years earlier at a pension in Paris. Knowing that Chabrié knew she had a daughter, a secret she wished to keep from her Peruvian relations, she entreated Chabrié to also keep her secret. In an effort to put her marriage behind her she told Chabrié, as she had told others, that as a child she had been seduced and abandoned. Sympathetic and eager to help, Chabrié consented to Flora's wishes. The "Mexicain" departed from Bordeaux on Flora's 30th birthday, April 7th, 1833.

Flora was more than a little conscious of and sensitive to the circumstances which prompted her to embark on a dangerous ship's journey alone with an all-male crew, parted from her daughter and son, at odds with her mother who knew nothing of her plans, and in a position of total dependence on the good-will of relations she had never met and had good reason to believe would never give her more than a sympathetic ear. Waiting for the ship to lift anchor Flora compared herself to "a condemned man being taken to his death".[18] She wrote that she was tempted to change her mind and return to shore, "but the presence of so many people

[on shore] served as a grim reminder of the society that had banished [her] from its midst."

> Suddenly, indignation gave me strength, and darting to one of the ships windows I cried in a voice choked with emotion: You fools! I pity you, I cannot hate you. Your disdain hurts me, but my conscience is clear. I am the victim of the very laws and prejudices which make your own lives so bitter, but which you lack the courage to resist.[19]

In the town of Praia on the Cape Verde Islands, Tristan had her first experience with Black slavery. Horrified by her meeting with M. Tappe, a slave trader whom she dubbed a "cannibal in sheep's clothing",[20] she wrote of having witnessed the bloody beating of a slave by his master:

> I cannot describe what a painful impression this dreadful scene had upon me. I pictured the wretched Tappe among his slaves; my God, I thought, could M David be right? Could all men be wicked? These reflections completely overturned my notions of morality.[21]

Aside form periodic bouts of seasickness, Flora's time on the ship was busily employed:

> Such was the life we led aboard the "Mexicain". What saved it from boredom was the diversity of our characters and social position, as well as the efforts we made to relieve the tedium. We celebrated Sunday by eating pastries and preserved fruit at dinner and drinking champagne or claret. After the meal M. Chabrié would sing us ballads or selections from the opera. The gentlemen were always most attentive and would often read to me: if he were feeling well enough, M. Miota would come to my cabin and read aloud from the authors he favoured, such as Voltaire and Byron; M. David read The Voyage of Young Anacharsis, Chateaubriand or La Fontaine; M. Chabrié and I read Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Walter Scott, and above all Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.[22]

Isolation at sea away from immediate concerns helped to intensify a developing relationship between Chabrié and Flora. Unaware that Flora was already married, Chabrié proposed to her with the honourable intention of redeeming her otherwise disreputable position as an unwed mother. While Flora realized the magnitude of Chabrié's love, her inability to accept his proposal even had she wanted to, forced her to realize that her past, and the lies she had concocted in an effort to make it appear more socially acceptable, could not be escaped: "A pariah in my own country I had believed that in putting the vast ocean between myself and France I should be able to recover a vestige of freedom. Impossible! I was as much a pariah in the New World as I had been in the Old."[23]

Nevertheless, when unfortunate circumstances arose which put her friend Chabrié on the brink of financial ruin, it was Flora who made a magnanimous gesture. If she managed to get a portion of the family fortune by presenting her case to her grandmother, she promised Chabrié that she would share it with him and agree to be his wife. Silently she defended herself against her own conscience: "wherein lies the crime [of bigamy], if not in the absurd law which makes marriage indissoluble?"[24]

When the "Mexicain" reached the Chilean port of Valparaiso, Flora learned that her grandmother had died the very day of her departure from Bordeaux. Having come so far, she resolved to continue on. By boat and mule, she finally made her way to

Aréquipa where she learned that her uncle could not join her for another two months. She also learned that her uncle had deceived her by writing that he had read her letter to her grandmother and to the rest of the family because when she arrived, "hardly any of them knew of [her] existence."[25] Flora eventually became convinced that even her grandmother had never been told about her. Just before her grandmother died, her uncle had persuaded his mother to make a will in which his wife was left 20,000 piastres and Flora was included a bequest of 3,000 piastres. Flora later learned that she was designated by her first name only and not as the daughter of Don Mariano, "lest", she supposed, "anybody should discover why such a bequest should have been made".[26] When the grandmother's property was finally divided, Pio had difficulty explaining to the family why 3,000 piastres was been given to a "stranger". Flora assumed that her grandmother, trusting her son implicitly, had signed the will without knowing its contents.

During this interim, Chabrié had come to Aréquipa to beg her hand in marriage once more. Flora finally ended her relationship with him definitively but amicably. Chabrié parted, making assurances that if anything were to happen to Flora, he would personally tend to Aline's welfare.

By the time Pio returned to the family home in Aréquipa, Flora had become accustomed to her aristocratic surroundings. Her cousins Carmen and Emmanuel had befriended her instantly.

They treated her to the sumptuous fanfare of the Tristan nobility and took her on excursions throughout the city. Finally meeting Pio, however, caused Flora to have mixed emotions. While she described him admiringly as a true leader of men, she was repulsed by his greed. He re-emphasized that in spite of his conviction that Flora was his brother's natural daughter, he was powerless to make any sort of financial settlement without legal documentation to prove her heritage. Flora consulted lawyers who merely reminded her that she herself had honestly admitted the circumstances of her birth to him in a letter.

A rift grew between Pio and Flora until the former, afraid of losing face in the public eye, sought to make amends with his niece by demonstrating that it was through his own supplications to her grandmother that she was left 15,000 francs and that out of his own generosity, she would receive a pension of 2,500 francs for a period of five years. Still resentful, Flora felt powerless to do anything but make peace with Pio. She stayed on with the family for close to a year.

The Theoretician

Her increasing sense of being a pariah even there where she felt she should have been most welcome, strongly contributed to the development of her close friendship with her cousin Carmen. Carmen confided to Flora that "marriage was the only

hell" she acknowledged.[27] Flora was also sympathetic towards her nun-cousin Dominga, trapped by a decision at sixteen to enter convent-life. Each in her own way, Flora believed, the cousins shared her own suffering under the yoke of a dominating patriarchal society.

Her ruminations on the plight of women in marriage and of their socio-economic options in general, became a sharp focus of the journal Flora kept during her stay in Peru and later published in 1838 under the title Pérégrinations d'une paria. Drawing comparisons from her own life in her native France, she involved herself in a continual exploration of Peruvian women's lives, from the war-camps of the "rabonas", to the convents of Lima and Aréquipa, to the privileged environs of the Peruvian capital where she claimed to have found "the freest women in the world". By the time Flora had arrived in the country in September, 1833, Peru had been independent for twelve years and had known during that time six different heads of state. During this period "the country's chief source of wealth, its gold and silver mines, fell into ruin, its upper classes lived in idleness and luxury, its prosperous citizens were stripped of their savings by the military, and its Indian and Negro populations were still slaves."[28] Flora's curiosity abounded during her stay. She visited convents, bull fights, religious celebrations, plantations run on slave labour, and lavish parties. Her privileged position as niece of one of the most influential men

in Peruvian politics moved her in the highest political and military circles. In January of 1834, when Peru became embroiled in yet another civil war, Flora's keen observations and socio-political analyses made her a much respected guest at political discussions among the powerful elite. She shared intimate conversations with the wife of President Gamarra. Her manipulative use of power would have a significant impact on Flora's designs for her own future. Indeed, Senora Gamarra's influence had been a factor in the outbreak of civil war, according to Flora:

> [. . .] the wife of President Gamarra, seeing that she could no longer keep her husband in power, had one of her creatures, Bermudez, nominated as candidate by her supporters, and he was elected President. Her opponents alleged that the nomination was null and void, and on their side they appointed Orbegozo. Then the trouble broke out.[29]

Flora had little use for either side. General San Roman was the commander of Bermudez's military forces while General Nieto, with his advisor Valdivia, commanded Orbegozo's forces. Flora regarded them both as greedy incompetents and began to pity the plight of the whole of Spanish America, which lacked stable and compassionate governments. Even the Church was in complicity with the ruling government to keep the people of Peru ignorant and gullible, according to Flora. She was appalled by the gaudiness and lack of spiritual conviction in the religious celebrations she had witnessed, but was even more troubled by the "coarseness, brutality and rags" of the people themselves. She

cynically described the many religious festivals as tools of the Peruvian Church which "exploits popular taste to increase its hold over the people [. . .]." "All [these festivals]", she added, "have one thing in common; the good monks always ask for money, and the people always give it."[30]

> I felt genuinely distressed at the degradation of the people here [. . .]. If [the ruling classes] had really wanted to organize a republic they would have sought to encourage the growth of the civic virtues at every level of society by means of education, but as power, not liberty is the goal of the bunch of adventurers who take it in turns to exercise authority, the work of despotism proceeds, and in order to keep the oppressed people in a state of submission, they join hands with the priests to perpetuate superstition and prejudice among them."[31]

Senora Gamarra's right-hand man and advisor, Colonel Escudero was the only person Flora believed truly had the best interests of the people at heart. Having fallen genuinely in love with him and convinced that he was equally smitten with her, Flora began to envision a partnership-marriage in which the two of them would seek power for the good of the people. As Senora Gamarra governed by manipulating her president husband, Flora intended to guide Escudero. In spite of her ambitious plans, however, she developed an inner conflict. Bigamy was only one of her worries: "I imagined all the victims who would have to be sacrificed in order for me to take power and retain it."[32] I feared to become hard, despotic - a criminal even - like those who were now in power."[33]

Anxious to be reunited with her daughter and firm in her resolve to abandon her fantasies of power and marriage to a man she loved, Flora made preparations for her return to France, leaving finally on July 15, 1834.

By January, 1835, Flora was back in Paris with her daughter. Fully aware of Chazal's ongoing hostility towards her and his relentless attempts to track down Aline, she kept her whereabouts a secret by renting her apartment under the name of her lawyer, M. Duclos. Far from wealthy but at least financially secure with Pio's promised allowance, Flora eased into her literary debut and her career as an activist with the publication of her 24-page pamphlet, Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères. The pamphlet's concerns were doubtlessly drawn from her two sojourns in London as a lady's maid and from her recent trip to Peru. However, the pamphlet goes far beyond an enumeration of the practical problems women faced travelling in foreign cities and Flora's suggested practical remedies. While she underlined the need to provide women with safe accommodation and advocated the creation of women's hostels, Flora also attacked on a deeper plane the problems faced by travelling women. Incisively, she tied the very existence of female gender-specific problems to the inherent misogyny of her culture and society which would jeer at or spread defamatory gossip about a woman visiting a monument or museum by herself, and yet not about a man. She emphasized the importance of education as a

route to woman's emancipation and independence and she praised travel as an ideal means for educating and becoming educated.

Flora's internationalism was a natural extension of these beliefs and she developed her concept of a universal philanthropy and humanitarianism in the pamphlet. For all the differences which divide religions, she wrote, "le musulman et le juif sentent ce qu'il y a de beau dans la vertu, comme le sent le chrétien."[34] Armed with her precept that there is a universal desire for goodness, Flora addressed her appeal for international unity to society in general on the premise that there is also a universal foundation of goodwill. She pleaded for the erasure of all barriers of race, religion, colour, nationality and sex, in order that all humanity be united as a single family. Henceforth, she wrote, "notre patrie doit être l'univers."[35] In a burgeoning spirit of social involvement Flora made her first contact with the social utopist Charles Fourier, also in 1835. The Saint-Simonians having disbanded to Egypt on their quest for the Female Messiah that same year, Fourier's theories were drawing more and more adherents. In a letter addressed to him on the 21st of August, Flora enclosed a copy of her new pamphlet and expressed her long-held desire to meet with him and to be of service to his cause.[36] In a second letter, she expressed her wish to meet Victor Considerant, editor of the Fourierist newspaper La Phalange and reiterated her devout desire to be 'useful': "Je n'ai qu'une aptitude, c'est le travail, le désir

ardent de me rendre utile, de servir la cause que nous aimons avec tant de pureté, employez-moi, ah! employez-moi!"[37] Impressed by her energy and her critical evaluation of La Phalange's analysis of Fourier's social plan,[38] Considerant described Flora as "une des femmes les plus douées pour la cause sociale, d'amour, d'intelligence et de zèle."[39]

Domestic problems caught up with Flora once more, however, and after another move she was finally tracked down by Chazal, who then managed to kidnap Aline. Temporarily resolving the matter before a judge, Flora and Chazal came to a compromise which saw Aline's placement in a pension where both parents had visiting rights. Likely out of a need to supplement her allowance from Pio to pay for Aline's pension, Flora made her third trip to London as a lady's maid.

Although the date of her return is uncertain, it does not appear that her stay abroad was a very long one. Within the first months of 1836, Flora had returned to Paris and settled into her new home on the rue du Bac. There she planned the creation of a new periodical with Eugénie Niboyet, a former Saint-Simonian and editor of a Lyonese feminist newspaper, Le Conseiller des Femmes.[40] Nothing ever became of this journal, but her collaboration with Niboyet introduced Flora into a whole new community of women. Shortly after its inception in July, Flora attended the regular Thursday meetings of the Gazette des Femmes, a journal spearheaded by the energetic and controversial

Marie-Madelaine de Pourtrat.[41] The journal's aim was to politicize its female readers by making them aware of their legislative rights and to show them how to use them. Women of the journal petitioned for divorce and the abolition of penalties against adultery. They threatened the government with a female revolution if the rights of women were not considered and recognized. Hortense Allart, one of the paper's most outspoken journalists, described the year 1836-37 as the best of her life, thanks to the Thursday meetings.[42]

It was an active and fruitful period for Flora also, her already nascent feminism intensified by these weekly get-togethers. That fall, she contributed to the Revue de Paris two articles (later, chapters of her book Pérégrinations) which she had drawn from her observations of Peruvian women: "Les femmes de Lima"; and "Les Couvents d'Aréquipa". These were followed that winter by two more articles, "Lettres à un architecte anglais (I & II)", critiques of physical London; its streets, its parks, its buildings. While contrasting the cleanliness and orderliness of London's city core with the filth and congestion of Paris roads, she disdained London architecture, which she found uninteresting, uninspired and palling in comparison to that of Paris.

It is during this time also that Flora is believed to have met the Irish feminist, Anna Wheeler. Wheeler moved between radical socialist groups in England, Ireland and France, becoming

closely associated with Saint-Simonian feminists.[43] She is believed to have introduced Flora in July, 1837, to Robert Owen, the philanthropic Welshman whose industrial success with the New Lanark cotton mill near Glasgow, earned him accolades as a humanitarian and turned him into "a fierce opponent of capitalism and full-time promoter of a new social order based on classless, cooperative communities."[44] According to Wheeler and her close friend William Thompson, this new social order would provide the "material preconditions for women's emancipation."[45] Judith Grégoire, a representative of a group of proletarians in attendance at an August 1837 Owenite gathering in Paris, wrote a letter describing an episode during the meeting in which a loyal Saint-Simonian, adhering to the belief that only a male-female couple could successfully lead a new socially responsible community, challenged Owen's ability to do so without a woman at his side. A woman, Grégoire recorded, stood up in the room and cried "Moi, j'y suis!" Flora was that woman.[46]

No doubt Flora had found a good deal of emotional support and sympathy each Thursday back in the fall of 1836, as her domestic life grew increasingly stressful. In the July the Gazette des Femmes was founded, Chazal had Aline kidnapped once again and placed her in a pension hidden from her mother. Although it was not long before Aline escaped, Chazal, backed by the ruling of a local magistrate, merely returned to claim her the next time in the company of a police commissioner. Helpless

before the law, it was not until April, 1837 that Flora was finally in a position to take legal action herself. Having received a letter from a distraught Aline who alluded to incestuous advances made by her father in a bed she was forced to share with him and her brother Ernest (apparently because of Chazal's own impoverished financial circumstances), Flora accused her husband of incest and took him to court. The case became an unqualified scandal when Ernest himself testified against his father. Chazal, however, mounted a counter-attack with the publication of a memoire he wrote while he was in prison awaiting his judgement. Called Mémoire ayant pour but d'éclairer la Chambre du Conseil adressé à Mes Juges pour être joint au dossier de l'affaire Chazal[47], it was a violent personal attack against Flora. It included an account of his relationship with his wife and accusations that she was a "kept" woman with a history of adulterous affairs.[48] He had about thirty copies of his memoire printed and distributed among his friends. Puech suggested that it may have been due to the pamphlet and the sympathy it created for himself that only a month after its publication, Chazal was acquitted of the incest charges.[49]

The Activist

It was late in the December of 1837 that Flora submitted her petition for the reinstatement of divorce, a manifest signal of

her resolve to fight actively for freedoms and rights she believed were crucial to end the victimization of women.[50] However, it was the publication of Flora's Peruvian memoire, Pérégrinations, in early 1838, which brought into the open many of Flora's bitter, personal frustrations with the entanglement of laws and traditional biases toward women which made it virtually impossible for her and her children to escape the persecutions of her husband. As well as recounting her experiences and observations of Peruvian society, Pérégrinations was also, in part, Flora's own response to Chazal's vindictive memoire. She poured her personal life into the political mainstream by writing openly of her unhappy marriage and of her unsuccessful attempt to secure from her father's family what she believed was her rightful inheritance. She claimed never to have loved her husband, and blamed her mother for having pushed her into marriage. Her scathing portrait of Pio as greedy and insensitive resulted in his cutting off the annual allowance she had fought so hard to win.

In the introduction to her 1986 translation of Pérégrinations, Jean Hawkes refers to the literary critic Sainte-Beuve's 1833 observation that "nowadays, women from all walks of life have taken to writing" and "each has her own secret grievance, her own love story, which she uses to support her pleas for emancipation".[51] It is evident how this scenario applies to Flora but Hawkes points out that, "it was one thing

for a woman to transmute her experience into fiction as George Sand had done in her novels Indiana and Lélia" and "quite another for her to write openly of her marital troubles, name the man responsible and exhort other women to do the same."[52]

Reviews of the book were for the most part favourable. L'Artiste lauded her "talent mûr (qui) fait pressentir des études philosophiques d'une haute portée.[53] Le Journal des Débats, however, defended marriage and queried why, if Flora thought women in Lima were so free, she did not just stay there.[54]

Ultimately, a reading of Pérégrinations reveals how Flora's journey to Peru became much more than a quest for inheritance rights from her paternal family. It soon evolved into a spiritual and philosophical odyssey of self-exploration. Her personal and social revelations are indelibly bound to her involvement with Peruvian society. The title hints at one of the most significant of these revelations - her sense of being a pariah in a male dominated society which thrived on an unjust division of riches. It was such a revelation which caused her to reflect on the nature of power in society, and urged her synthesis of socialist and feminist ideals.

In March, 1838, Flora finally won a "séparation de corps" from Chazal but was told that she had to entrust her son Ernest to his father and apprentice Aline to a trade of her parents' mutual choosing. When Chazal came to collect his son, however, he neglected to bring the court order. Chazal, unable to afford

the process servers, provided Flora and her mother (with whom Flora was reconciled since the previous court proceedings), a happy technicality. They refused to hand over Ernest.

A period of relative peace ensued for Flora and she continued to pursue her literary endeavours. Capitalizing on the success of an old friend of the family, Flora published the early letters between Simon Bolivar and her mother.[55] Shortly after, she published a two-part essay, "De l'Art et de l'artiste dans l'antiquité et à la Renaissance" and "De l'Art depuis la Renaissance" (1838), in L'Artiste.[56] In these essays, she commented on the significant role of art and the artist in society. She attached an almost mystical importance to them: "Les arts sont les communications des hommes avec Dieu; les arts sont la religion tout entière; - le prophète, le poète, le statuaire, le peintre, le musicien, en sont les prêtres! les chefs d'oeuvre la révélation![57] L'Artiste also published her short story entitled "Episode de la vie de Ribera dit l'Espagnolet",[58] a melodramatic love story of a young and penniless painter and a beautiful, wealthy, but unwed and pregnant young peasant.[59]

Further indulging her preoccupation with the arts and the artist, as well as exercising her maturing commitment to socialism and feminism, Tristan also wrote a highly politicized and not very successful novel, Méphis. It contains all the popular elements and themes of romantic novels: exoticism, innocent maidens, brave

heroes, cruel husbands, the underdog versus the elite, corruption of power and Church, murder and kidnappings. According to her 1925 biographer Jules Puech "il n'est pas un point de ce livre qui ne réflete les idées et aussi la vie de Flora Tristan."[60] In two volumes and 755 pages, the hero Méphis raises himself from humble proletarian to a "cultural Superman: scholar, poet, musician, artist, scientist, and politician, he is capable of working fifteen hours a day."[61] But seemingly, once a proletarian always a proletarian: Méphis is socially damned and remains a pariah. The heroine, Maréquita, is, like Flora, a well-travelled Andalusian beauty and illegitimate child of aristocratic heritage. Through a series of convoluted plots, hero and heroine are brought together to ponder humanity's social ills and the oppression of women and workers by Church and State. Together they have a child, a girl, who represents the Woman Messiah and the hope for the future. (The idea of a Woman Messiah was, as noted in Chapter One, popular in utopian socialist-feminist circles.)

While his wife was making a name for herself in the artistic and literary world, Chazal's own bitterness and desperation grew in proportion to her popularity. On May 20, he drew a tombstone with the following inscription engraved on its head:

> La Paria: Il est une justice que tu fuis, qui ne t'echappera pas. Dors en paix pour servir d'exemple a ceux qui s égarent assez pour suivre tes préceptes immoraux. Doit-on craindre la mort pour punir un méchant? ne sauve-t-on pas ses victimes?"[62]

On September 10, with a pistol in each hand, Chazal shot Flora outside her home. Flora's wounds were not fatal but a bullet remained lodged above her left breast for the remainder of her life.

The ensuing trial focused a great deal of attention both on Flora's private life, and on her increasing forays into public life as a social activist. Ironically, it was about this time that Flora addressed a petition to the Chamber of Deputies calling for the abolition of the death penalty - the punishment normally bestowed for her husband's crime. Pérégrinations went into a second printing and curious observers packed the courtroom to witness Chazal's trial. Chazal's lawyer employed a "with a wife like that how can you blame him" defense. Flora became enraged at being treated as though she were the perpetrator of the crime rather than the victim:

> Mon misérable assassin, souillant son crime en ordonnant à son défenseur, Jules Favre, autre lâche misérable, de me diffamer publiquement et de m'assassiner moralement après m'avoir mis une balle dans la poitrine! Ce chacal (c'est ainsi que les prisonniers le nomment) venant s'asseoir sur le banc des accusés cette fois, non pas comme protestant, mais bien comme le champion de la vieille société! Il est malheureux que cet homme n'ait pas plus de moyens - mais enfin on sentait bien qu'il se posait là non pas comme assassin de Flora Tristan, mais comme défenseur des maris attaqués par Flora Tristan - Je vous le répète, pour ceux qui ont su voir [. . .] c'était bien beau![63]

Chazal did not receive the death penalty; the 'extenuating' circumstances in his life had persuaded the jurors

to reduce his sentence to twenty years of hard labour. Physically and legally freed of her husband and the accompanying domestic strife, Flora took the final emotional and symbolic step for her and her children by having their names legally changed to Tristan. After apprenticing Ernest to an engraver and Aline to a milliner, Flora used her new freedom to further explore her preoccupation with social issues. In 1839, she made her final trip to London, not as a lady's maid but as an investigative traveller.

Flora stayed in London from May to August, publishing, in May 1840, the journal of observations and analyses she had kept during her sojourn. Much more than just a diary of personal insights, Promenades is an indictment of the social conditions of early 19th century England, and a valuable contribution to the period's flourishing literary trend of social introspection and analysis. Her 1972 biographer, Dominique Desanti, suggested that Friedrich Engels, in his 1844 The Condition of the Working-Class in England, made generous use of Flora's study without acknowledging her as his source.[64] Flora herself directed her readers to works of other social investigators like L'Irlande sociale, politique et religieuse, by Gustave de Beaumont (1839) and De la misère des classes laborieuses en Angleterre et en France (1840), by Eugène Buret. She believed that reading these works was an "obligation de conscience".[65]

Flora recounted her exploration of every facet of London and its inhabitants: from the tawdry and exploitive "finishes", the prisons, insane asylums, and slums, to the decadent displays of the wealthy at the Ascot Races, in their exclusive clubs, and in their private dining-rooms. She openly admired the Irish social reformer (and ironically anti-feminist) Feargus O'Connor as well as the Owenites, and she proudly described her first visit to a clandestine Chartist meeting. With her by then characteristic boldness, she disguised herself as a male Turk and penetrated the male-only House of Commons - consistent with her commitment in the introduction of her book to search for the facts well below the surface. Workers' newspapers and socialists were unanimous in their praise of Promenades. Excerpts appeared in Le Nouveau Monde, Le Voleur, and La Fraternité[66] while in La Ruche populaire, the Saint-Simonian worker Vincard encouraged his readers to "Lisez, lisez le journal des souffrances de toute sorte que subissent les infortunés ouvriers de la riche Angleterre."[67] Promenades was so popular that a revised, less expensive second edition was published in the same year as the first.

In June, 1843, Flora formally articulated her social theories in her manifesto L'Union ouvriere. In this manifesto, Flora entrusted her faith in a brighter future for both men and women to universal unionization. In contrast to other social strategists of her time, she never let it be forgotten that in

the term "workers" she meant both sexes. She devoted an entire chapter ("Le Pourquoi je mentionne les femmes") and almost one quarter of her book, to the crucial importance of the emancipation of women, emphasizing to her readers that as long as women were oppressed, men too would suffer the effects of their oppression. Women's emancipation, she reasoned, would benefit all of humanity. Unionization would help to maximize male and female worker's strength against the forces of their shared oppression. Because the exploitation of workers and women was not exclusive to France, she also stressed that the union should be internationalist in nature. In the tradition of Saint-Simon's Montélimont, Fourier's phalansteries, Cabet's Icaria and Owen's New Lanark, Flora shared the Utopists' desire for the ideal society, and envisioned the creation of community palaces where the aged would be cared for and children would be educated. The "Workers' International", as she conceived it, would demand the right to work and would not be divided by religion, race, nationality or sex.

Since the publication of Promenades, Flora's home on the rue du Bac had become a virtual salon frequented by her growing circle of artist friends such as Simon Ganneau, Jules Laure and Alphonse Constant. She became very close to journalist Jules Janin, Victor Considerant, and the in-vogue artist Charles Travies. She also entertained a number of leading German intellectuals, among them Arnold Ruge, a close friend of

philosopher Karl Marx. This has led many scholars to wonder why Marx apparently never sought a meeting with Flora. Marx was in Paris in 1843 when Tristan was actively promoting her manifesto and, given his interest and involvement in the workers' movement, there is little doubt that he would have passed up an opportunity to read L'Union ouvrière. Furthermore, in an 1843 letter to Marx, Ruge had the following advice for his friend: "[. . .] nous devrons nous passer des Français, en fin de compte. Ou nous devrions alerter les femmes, la (George) Sand et la Tristan. Elles sont plus radicales que Louis Blanc et Lamartine."[68] In his article, "Flora Tristan and Karl Marx" (1946), Maximilien Rubel suggested that the German philosopher purposely avoided Flora because he was envious of the "realism" and "originality" of her ideas.[69] Rubel noted that Flora's ideas and convictions certainly did not go unnoticed in 1850 by Lorenz von Stein who, in his The History of Socialism and Communism in France (1850) (a study well-known to Marx) had this to say of her:

> C'est, peut-être, chez elle que se manifeste avec plus de force que chez les autres réformateurs, la conscience que la classe ouvrière est un tout, et qu'elle doit se faire connaître comme un tout, agir solidairement, et avec une volonté et des forces communes, selon un but commun, si elle veut sortir de sa condition.[70]

Although George Sand was not one of them, the women who attended Flora's salon were never less than radical. Next to nothing is known about the development of their relationship, but feminist Pauline Roland had become close enough to Flora for

Flora to have made arrangements with her to look after her daughter Aline in the event of Flora's own death. Roland also introduced Flora to fellow Fourierist, feminist and journalist friend, Jeanne Deroin. Flora seems to have established herself in Polish intellectual circles as well. One of her most enigmatic relationships was with Olympe Chodzko, a Polish patriot and socialist. Flora's relationship with Olympe as revealed by their correspondance, emphasized a spiritual rapport which Tristan referred to as "soul to soul" love. In one letter to Olympe, she wrote that she believed this to be the ultimate love, possible only between people who shared the same ideals, drive and enthusiasm. The same letter revealed Flora's belief that she possessed "la seconde vue" which she described as "une âme qui a la puissance de lire ce qui se passe dans les autres âmes."[7] It is undoubtedly this belief which provided the emotional force of her portraits of women.

In order to publicize her ideas in L'Union ouvrière and to incite the workers to action, on April 12, 1844, Flora left Paris to take her manifesto on a "tour de France". Her tour was modeled on the tradition of the "tour de France" undertaken by new initiates, or companions, of the artisanal fraternities, called compagnonnages, who went from town to town visiting and learning from other fraternal workers' organizations. Her trip was an arduous one. Emotionally, she suffered the highs and lows of speaking to alternately sympathetic and hostile audiences.

Physically, the strain of travel and long days and nights giving speeches, writing and meeting with worker associations, weakened her health considerably. Flora kept a journal of her "tour de France."[72] She recorded sketches of the towns, cities and workers that she met, as well as the daily frustrations (like her run-ins with the police) and other less frequent tribulations of spreading her message. Tristan also recorded her developing contacts and relationships with the workers. One of the most important of these relationships was with Eléonore Blanc, a poor Lyonese laundress.

Flora and Eléonore Blanc developed the mutual and intensely spiritual "soul to soul" love Flora coveted. Blanc described their first meeting: "Dès ce moment je sentis naître en moi un vif et profond attachement pour cette noble et courageuse femme, et elle me donna à son tour des témoignages d'une affection qui m'était bien précieuse et bien chère."[73]

Referring to her as her "Saint-Jean", Flora clearly regarded Blanc as a disciple. Aware that her own health was steadily deteriorating, Flora groomed Blanc to take her place rallying the workers under a unified, international banner. As well as having Blanc accompany her to all her meetings in Lyons, Flora prepared for her reading lists of historical and socialist works for which she expected Blanc to make written resumés. Light reading like poetry, theatre and novels were not included in her lists. Blanc was so utterly devoted to Flora that Flora came to see her as her

spiritual daughter. Although she believed that Aline understood her "Idea" perhaps better than anyone, she was disappointed by her natural daughter's lack of commitment to realizing the "Idea": [. . .] elle ne sacrifiera ni elle, ni ses intérêts pour la faire réussir [. . .]. Le manque de foi, d'amour, met entre ma pauvre fille et moi un mur de fer [. . .]."[74] After Flora developed typhoid fever and died in Bordeaux in the home of Saint-Simonian friends Charles and Elise Lemonnier[75] on November 14, 1844, Eléonore Blanc wrote the first biography of her mentor ever published. Little is known about Blanc's later activities.

Before leaving Paris on her tour of France, Flora had spent some time writing a book on the emancipation of women. When she left the city, she entrusted her scribbled and disorganized notes to her friend Alphonse Constant that he might put them in legible order. Having done this, Constant packaged the notes and sent them to Flora in Lyon. He was still awaiting further instructions from her when she died. As her editor, Constant had the book published under the title L'Emancipation de la femme ou le Testament de la paria, ouvrage posthume de Mme. Flora Tristan complété d'après ses notes. According to Jules Puech (1925), however, Constant "over completed" Flora's work such that, although her basic principles were not likely betrayed, the composition and style were entirely his.[76]

Neither of Flora's children were at their mother's deathbed, nor did they attend her funeral in Bordeaux. It is doubtful this

would ever have bothered Flora for as much as she loved her children, it was not the ultimate love of the unison of souls. She had lived and died in the service of humanity, and the workers, both men and women, had become her true family. Puech described Flora's "family" gathering around her at the inaugauration ceremonies of the monument erected in her honour in October, 1848:

> Dès 11 heures du matin, convoqués par quelques affiches seulement, les ouvriers des diverses corporations se réunissaient sur l'esplanade des Quinconces, et de là, à midi, le cortège se dirigeait vers le cimetière de la Chartreuse. C'était un spectacle vraiment imposant: tous les assistants, au nombre de 12 à 1.500, marchaient en bon ordre dans le plus profond silence, tête nue, à la suite d'un drapeau tricolore, voilé d'un crêpe, couronné d'immortelles et sur lequel étaient écrits ces mots: "Association, droit au travail. Bientôt le cortège, traversant les plus beaux quartiers, se trouva grossi par la foule et par de nombreux adhérents. Au cimetière, autour de la tombe, il y avait sept à huit mille personnes réunies."

Flora's life story reads like a Romantic novel in that she personally suffered almost every imaginable hardship equated at the time with the oppression of women: illegitimacy, poverty, an unhappy marriage to an emotionally and eventually physically abusive husband, single motherhood, social prejudice, and the lack of a formal education. All of these circumstances entrenched Flora on the outside of the male insider circle. Laws and social prejudice enshrined by the legal codes denied her the power to penetrate the circle and forced her to take extraordinary measures to challenge the status quo. "All

children", wrote Carolyn Steedman in her book Landscape for a Good Woman: A Story of Two Lives (1986) "experience a first loss, a first exclusion; lives shape themselves around this sense of being cut off and denied."[78] Steedman added that "that specificity of place and politics has to be reckoned with in making an account of anybody's life, and their use of their own past." Steedman's statement acts to support the notion that Flora's life, theories and actions are an inseparable triad, each requiring the other for clarification, coherence and completion. It was certainly her personal experiences of exclusion which prompted Flora's proclamation that she was a social pariah and which in turn spurred her militancy and activism. Flora's recognition that the personal is the political came about gradually. It was first indicated publicly in her 1835 pamphlet Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères, but was really first signalled in her journal Pérégrinations d'une paria, (although Pérégrinations was not published until 1838, it was written before Nécessité, between 1833 and 1834). Flora's socio-analytical portraits of Peruvian women (most notably that of her cousin Carmen for whom "marriage was the only hell she acknowledged") comprise the earliest evidence of her preoccupation with the universality of women's experience. This preoccupation with women's lives is an enduring feature of Flora's subsequent writings and is the focus of the following chapter. Through her portraits of other women, Flora

demonstrated how the specificity of female oppression defined and maintained women's cultural exclusion. Not unlike other socialists and feminists, Flora equated the relationship between industrialists and workers, and between men and women, to that of master and slave.

CHAPTER THREE

Critique of the Present: Portraits of Exclusion and the Master-Slave Dynamic

Biography, wrote historian Barbara Tuchman (1979) is a "prism of history [. . .] useful because it encompasses the universal in the particular."[1] Flora is intensely aware of this in the portraits of other women's lives which dominate her writings. At the start of her Peruvian journey, pariahdom had represented a state of being with which Flora fully identified based upon her past personal experiences. It also represented a state of being which she had hoped to overcome by acquiring some sort of financial security and familial recognition from her paternal relatives. Flora's Peruvian journal is evidence that almost from the time she began to see herself as a pariah, she sought a sense of community with other women. Treating each portrait as a microcosm of female experience, Flora attempted to establish that sense of community by illuminating women's shared experiences of oppression. These portraits are the focus of this chapter because they reveal Flora's development as a

feminist theoretician. In addition to evincing her understanding that "the personal is political", my objectives are to illustrate that within Flora's portraits are her analyses of the cultural exclusion of women based upon a cultural master-slave dynamic. Flora's master-slave equation is a formula she used to both suggest and represent a material, moral and intellectual polarization of the powerful and the powerless. She used it to describe the relationship between the bourgeoisie and the working class, as she did to describe the relationship between men and women. In the case of women, Flora recognized that this dynamic represented a double oppression. She demonstrated that through law and custom, women's social subservience was maintained as part of the status quo. This observation led to Flora's radical assertion that above and beyond the privileges of wealth and birth, the fundamental class divisions of society were sex-based.

Flora's use of the master-slave formula was not original. It was echoed throughout the French Revolution by the peasants in defiance of their feudal seigneurs, and by revolutionary women in defiance of their husbands and the lawmakers of their country. In her novel Indiana (1831), Flora's Romantic contemporary George Sand had Mme. Delmare say to her husband: "je sais que je suis l'esclave et vous le seigneur. La loi de ce pays vous a fait mon maître".[2]

In Women in the Nineteenth Century (1843), American critic and journalist Margaret Fuller compared women to the black slave,[3] a frequent analogy in abolitionist circles. It was made famous also by English economist Harriet Martineau in 1873[4] and was the subject of Anna Wheeler's and William Thompson's tract of 1825, Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain Them in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery. Indeed, there is little reason to doubt that for as long as the analogy was there to make, it was made by numerous writers.

While Flora's use of the formula may not have been innovative, it is indicative of her own intellectual and moral aggressiveness. It is this aggressiveness which set her apart from the ranks of the powerless as a survivor and a fighter, and which was manifested not only by her insistence upon the emancipation of women and the proletariat, but by her active endeavours to achieve that emancipation.

Portraits of Peruvian women like her cousins Carmen and Dominga, the nuns of Aréquipa and Lima, the native "rabonas", the Peruvian president's wife, Senora Gamarra, and the elegant Liman "tapadas", are taken from Flora's book Pérégrinations d'une paria. Her explorations of the lives of these women prompted her to examine the nature of

female-owned power in masculine society. In her journal entries and observations recorded in her pamphlet Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères, Promenades dans Londres and Le Tour de France, Flora illustrated the point that because of the exclusionary practices of the patriarchy, the hostility of the industrializing cities of the early 1800s affected men and women differently. In her view, the female prostitute was the ultimate symbol of the degradation of humanity, while the literate but inadequately educated Englishwoman represented the epitome of wasted potential.

Carmen and Dominga

The first of Flora's portraits is of her cousin, Dona Carmen Pierola de Florez. Carmen was 38 years old and a widow of 10 years when she welcomed Flora to her uncle Pio's household in Aréquipa, Peru. Flora noted that her "ugliness amounted almost to deformity" and, as Carmen explained, that she was raised by an "unloving" aunt in an "unhappy" household. Given her relatively high social status as a member of a powerful and well-connected Peruvian family, Carmen assessed her only reasonable and respectable means of escape to be marriage or the cloister; thus, she agreed in the end to marry one of her cousins. Flora described him

as "exceptionally good-looking and very agreeable, but [. . .] a gambler and a rake who squandered his fortune and that of his wife on every kind of debauchery."[5] That the society Carmen kept could overlook the emotional abuse her husband directed towards her by his indifference and irresponsibility reflected, in Flora's view, the shallowness and the power of a society which condemned women for being ugly:

> People found in the ugliness of the wife and the beauty of the husband sufficient justification for the plundering of her fortune and the constant indignities to which she was subjected. Such is the morality which proceeds from the indissolubility of marriage.[6]

Flora openly admired Carmen's intelligence and persistent efforts to educate herself despite attitudes which discouraged the education of women. Self-taught herself, Flora could relate to the enormity of the task. But when Carmen's husband fell sick, Flora admired her cousin all the more for her ability to show "superiority in the exercise of a noble vengeance": publicly shaming his own infidelity, Carmen faithfully remained by her husband's sickbed for sixteen months until he finally died. Flora noted, however, that her cousin gained little by her vengeance. Her husband having spent her fortune, Carmen and her child were left penniless and were forced to return to live with Carmen's aunt. Carmen explained to Flora that she

came to "loathe" her country "because of the harshest of all laws, necessity! If you have no money you are dependent, a slave, you have to live where your master puts you." Carmen's testimony that "marriage was the only hell" she acknowledged confirmed in Flora's mind that unhappily married women, whether in Peru or in France, shared the oppression of their vows.[7]

Dominga was also a relation of Flora's and her story as tragic as Carmen's. Unlike Carmen, however, Dominga was very beautiful. At fourteen her beauty and her wealth attracted a Spanish doctor with whom she fell in love. Their engagement was announced but, fearing her daughter still too young, Dominga's mother asked that the marriage be deferred at least one year. Only a few months later, the doctor left Dominga for a widow Flora described as, "without qualities of any kind but of course far richer than Dominga".[8] Dominga could not be dissuaded from her resolve to take refuge from her despair and humiliation in Santa-Rosa, the strictest Carmelite convent of Peru. It took two years in the cloister before Dominga began to admit she regretted her decision. In relating Dominga's story, however, Flora's cousin, Manuela, solemnly pointed out to her listeners that "regret is futile; once a person has entered one of (these) retreats, she does not come out again."[9]

Nevertheless, one day eight years after first entering the convent, Dominga decided to realize an idea inspired by a holy passage from Saint Theresa. It described how a nun of Salamanca escaped from her own religious community by placing the body of a dead woman in her sleeping cell. When the other sisters discovered the body, and, thinking it was she caused a great commotion, the nun of Salamanca was able to slip out. Resolved to carry out a similar plan, Dominga gained the complicity of her negress slave, the convent's porter, and of an admiring young surgeon on the outside who, out of sympathy for Dominga's plight, provided the dead body of an Indian woman for the exchange. Late one night, the negress slave showed up at the convent with the body and passed it on to the porter who, leaving the gates unlocked, went to pass the body on to Dominga. Dominga dressed the body in her habit and lay it on her bed which she then set on fire. The body was burned beyond recognition and in the confusion, Dominga made her escape through the unlocked door in civilian clothing. While on the outside the true identity of the burned body was known, the sisters of the convent were not convinced of the real story until Dominga herself wrote the Mother Superior to demand the return of her dowry of 10,000 piastres.

Despite all her efforts and subsequent wealth, however, Dominga explained to Flora that she was unable to obtain her

freedom because of the religious prejudice of the people who condemned her for breaking her vows to God: "in what country can a frail creature oppressed by a wicked prejudice be called free?" she asked Flora.

> Here, Florita, in this room, in her pretty silk dress, Dominga is still the nun of Santa-Rosa! Through courage and perseverance I managed to escape from my tomb but the woollen veil I took is still here on my head. It separates me forever from the world, in vain did I fly from the cloister, the indignation of the people is driving me back [. . .].[10]

In Flora's mind, the examples of Carmen and Dominga confirmed that there were few socio-economic choices for Peruvian women of their social standing in the 1830s. Manual labour was for peasants and so precluded from being a viable consideration for the Peruvian cousins. Neither Carmen nor Dominga needed to marry for financial security, yet the institution of marriage and, where that failed, the cloister, were clearly regarded as their only respectable life options. Their rejection of spinsterhood in its secular state suggested the social humiliation which accompanied it. Flora clearly depicted the choice between marriage and the convent as less the choosing of happy promising destinies, than the hard luck fate of choosing the lesser of two evils. Neither choice was liberating nor self-actualizing and neither provided women with a forum for independence. In Flora's analysis, to choose either was to

opt for some form of euphemistic slavery. An exchange Flora recorded between her and Dominga illustrates her resentment that a woman who dares to step out of the assigned sphere not only fails to achieve the freedom she seeks, but becomes even more of a prisoner. Lamented Dominga:

> If people see me in the street, they point me out and curse me; if I want to share in the happiness of some special occasion, people repulse me and say: "This is no place for a bride of Christ; go back to your cloister!" When I apply for a passport, I am told: "You are a nun; you must stay at Santa-Rosa!" If I want to marry the man I love, they say: "you are a nun, the bride of Christ; you must live at Santa-Rosa!" Oh! damnation! damnation! I shall always be a nun!

"And I", wrote Flora, "I muttered under my breath, I shall always be married!"[11]

Nevertheless, at the heart of Flora's cynicism remained a surprisingly persistent optimism: she would one day encourage Carmen to believe that "freedom is a matter of will".[12] This is ironic when one considers that it was precisely the self-fabricated lies Flora was forced to produce in order to make her presence in Peru socially acceptable, which beleaguered each of her relationships with all of the people to whom she felt closest. Depending on the situation she had found herself in, she presented herself as either a single mother (as with Chabrié) or single and childless (as with her Peruvian family). It was ignorance of Flora's true circumstances which provoked

Chabrié's obsessive concern for her and which precluded the possibility of a relationship with Escudero. This same ignorance distanced her in her female relationships: Dominga accused her French cousin of "blasphemy" for suggesting that she was more unfortunate than herself[13], and Carmen, with a mixture of pity and indignation, was incredulous that her French cousin could deem to presume an understanding of young, married women "all oppressed to some extent by their masters".[14] Flora recorded Carmen's reaction to her analogy of freedom and will:

> [. . .] you dare to advance such a paradox! Ah! Florita, it is plain to see that you have not been oppressed by a tyrannical husband, dominated by an arrogant family or exposed to the wickedness of men. You are not married, you have no family, you have been mistress of yourself; you have had no obligations towards society, so you have never been affected by its calumnies.[15]

When Flora first came to Peru, she carried with her a sense of pariahdom based upon the laws which prohibited her from gaining a legal separation from an abusive husband and which used the technicalities of a marriage contract to supersede her rightful claims to a family inheritance. Because of her lies, Flora's feelings of alienation and personal pariahdom intensified.

The Daughters of Christ

No doubt out of an increasing desire to establish a sense of community with other women, Flora's interest in and exploration of women's lives became more overt and purposeful. Inspired by the story of her cousin Dominga and her brief stay with the sisters of Santa-Rosa during one of the sporadic and violent outbreaks of civil war, Flora turned her attention to convent life in general. She admitted that before even setting foot in an Arequipan convent she had regarded the sisters who lived there as "[. . .] unfortunate victims buried alive under a mass of stone" who had merely swapped one form of oppression for another.[16]

Flora wrote of three convents in Pérégrinations: Santa-Catalina in Aréquipa; Dominga's former convent, Santa-Rosa, also in Aréquipa; and the Convent of Incarnation in Lima. Each was a source of profound disillusionment for her. "The exaltation which a life of obligation and devotion ought always to inspire" and which Flora expected to find, turned out to be "only feverish agitation [. . .] captive but not stifled, seething like the lava concealed inside the volcano."[17]

Santa-Rosa and Santa-Catalina were both of the Carmelite order but the austere oppression of the first and

the cheerful frivolities of the second were contradictions which made a strong impression upon Flora. She was appalled by the morose and depressed atmosphere of Santa-Rosa where when two nuns met each other one had to say, "Sister we must die", and the other had to respond "Sister, death is our deliverance." The sisters' day was filled with a strict regimen of religious observances and left them little free time. But far from the exalted spirits Flora expected to find as a result, she discovered that: "in all their conversations, evil-speaking, lying and slandering predominate." Some of the nuns had as many as four slaves and maintained the hierarchical aristocratic structures of the outside world: she was "surprised at the arrogance of the titled woman in her relations with the women of plebeian origin, the disdainful tone the white adopts towards the coloured and the rich towards the poor."[18]

Vows of poverty were also dispensed with at Santa-Catalina where "the aristocracy of wealth" was equally evident. But Flora described the sisters there as "loveable", industrious, free to do "almost" as they pleased. The sisters were not required to observe the numerous religious practices which took up so much of the nuns' time at Santa-Rosa. On the contrary, Flora observed, when they had finished their conventional duties they had plenty of leisure time which they devoted to looking after

their households, their clothes, their charitable works and their diversions.[19]

It was when she visited the Convent of the Incarnation in Lima that Flora was most thoroughly disillusioned by an evident decline of faith and decay of religious life:

> [. . .] there is nothing religious about it as nobody observes any rules. It is just a house like any other: there are twenty-nine nuns, each with her own lodging where she cooks, works, looks after children, talks, sings and behaves just as she likes. We even saw some who were not wearing the habit of their order. They take in lodgers who come and go and the door of the convent is always open.[20]

In his 1983 book, Daughters of the Conquistadores, Luis Martin likened the colonial nunneries to "islands of women" inhabited by "divine amazons". He explained that,

> By entering the convent where the ideals of marianism were institutionalized, women cut themselves off from the constant influence of men and could move towards a degree of personal freedom and autonomy that was not easily attainable in the male dominated secular society. The colonial nunnery became a fortress of feminism.[21]

At that time perhaps, Flora would not have described the cloister as a bastion of feminism but she was slowly drawing a connection between autonomous female communities, freedom, and independence. Of the Convent of the Incarnation, she wrote:

> "It is hard to see the point of this way of life, one is almost tempted to think that the women here have only taken refuge within these walls in order to be more independent than they could be outside."[22]

The nuns of Santa-Rosa, conceivably out of a desire for male privilege, developed their own power structures based on the male hierarchical structures outside the cloister. In Santa-Catalina, religious obligations were left to a bare minimum allowing more time for the nun's personal indulgences. The Convent of the Incarnation discarded religious pretenses altogether and offered the most striking proof that female autonomy, above all else, was for many sisters the ultimate and most cherished aspect of convent life.

At the same time former Saint-Simonians Reine Guindorf and Désirée Veret were founding France's first completely autonomous and feminist women's journal in Paris in 1833, Flora's interest in female oppression and freedom was intensifying in Peru. In her analyses of the diverse classes of Peruvian women, she went so far as to ascertain female intellectual, moral, and physical superiority over men.

The "Rabonas"

It is for their physical superiority that Flora admired the "rabonas", the Indian "camp-followers of South America". She described them thus:

> In Peru each soldier takes with him as many women as he likes: some have as many as four. They form a considerable troop, preceding the army by

> several hours so that they have time to set up camp, obtain food and cook it [. . .]. The "rabonas" are armed; they load on to mules their cooking pots, tents and all the rest of the baggage, they drag after them a horde of children of all ages, they whip their mules into a gallop and run along beside them, they climb high mountains, they swim across rivers, carrying one or even two children on their backs, when they arrive at their destination, they choose the best site for the camp, then they unload the mules, erect the tents, feed the children and put them to bed, light the fires and start cooking. If they chance to be near an inhabited place, they go off in a detachment to get supplies; they descend on the village like famished beasts and demand food for the army. When it is given with a good grace they do no harm, but when they are refused they fight like lionesses and their fierce courage overcomes all resistance. Then they sack the village, carry their loot back to the camp and divide it among themselves. These women, who provide for all the needs of the soldier, who wash and mend his clothes, receive no pay and their only reward is the freedom to rob with impunity. They are of Indian race, speak the native language and do not know a single word of Spanish. The "rabonas" are not married, they belong to nobody and are there for anybody who wants them. They are creatures outside society [. . .].[23]

Despite living and devoting their lives entirely to the service of the soldiers, Tristan admires the "rabonas" for their self-reliance and their ability to look after themselves without the aid of men. In fact, it was men who were dependent upon them:

> Several able generals have sought to find a substitute for the services the "rabonas" provide, and to prevent them from following the army, but the soldiers have always revolted against any such attempt [. . .]. They are not at all sure that the military administration would be able to provide for their needs, and that is why they refuse to give the "rabonas" up.[24]

It is tempting to link Flora's description of the "rabonas" with those of early explorers of South America who told of having seen women warriors both fighting with and leading men into battle. One explorer, Francisco de Orellana, thought he had seen the legendary Amazons fighting in the rainforest. To this day that forest and its river retain the name given them in honour of the Greek women warriors.[25]

The "rabonas" were a symbol of strength for Flora. She emphasized their incredible physical endurance and capacities which allowed them to approach life "voluntarily bearing its fatigues and confronting its dangers with a courage of which the men of their race are incapable." Admiringly, she noted how on top of all the toil and dangers these superwomen faced, "they still have the duties of motherhood to fulfil". She added: I do not believe it is possible to adduce a more striking proof of the superiority of women in primitive societies; would not the same be true of peoples at a more advanced stage of civilization if both sexes received a similar education?"[26] Here, Flora quite clearly suggested that inadequate education, an issue she explored more fully in later works, was a significant factor holding women back from realizing their full potential. She was unequivocal in her belief that full potential would translate into female superiority.

Senora Gamarra

The "rabonas"' physical strength and endurance demonstrated only one aspect of women's superiority. It was from her contact with women like Senora Gamarra and the "tapadas" of Lima that Flora also became convinced of women's intellectual superiority. Her contact with these women had a crucial impact on her perception of the dynamics of power in a patriarchal society.

Although her husband had officially been the president of Peru for three years prior to Flora's arrival in 1833, Flora observed that it was his wife, Pencha Gamarra, who "dictated policy and commanded the troops." She described Senora Gamarra as a woman with "Napoleonic ambition"' whose solicitation, penchant for intrigue, and exploitation, raised her husband to the presidency where he continued to be no more than his wife's puppet. When Gamarra could no longer keep her husband in power, she used her influence to get one of her supporters, Bermudez, elected in the ensuing election. In January of 1834, opposition forces in Lima revolted and installed Orbegoso as Bermudez' successor, propelling Peru into yet another civil war.

Although she acknowledged Senora Gamarra was the brains and the power behind her husband, Flora understood that being "merely" a woman, Senora Gamarra needed her husband,

nonetheless, as a middleman. Since Peru's independence from Spain in 1821, there had been six different governments by the time Flora arrived in 1833. The political and economic instability of the country was evidence enough that the capabilities and motives of any potential leader were at all times under the closest scrutiny. Citing the life of Senora Gamarra as an example, Flora highlighted how for a woman the task of leadership was doubly difficult because she first had to reckon with inherited cultural biases which regarded woman as the weaker sex. She recounted Senora Gamarra's experience with the apathy and cowardice of the troops under her command. Their attitude so angered her that she would "foam with rage" in the throes of an epileptic attack:

> [. . .] my enemies used my illness to discredit me with the army; they gave out that fear, the noise of the cannon and the smell of gunpowder were attacking my nerves and making me faint away like some little lady of fashion! I confess it is slanders like these that have made me hard. I wanted to make them see that I was not afraid of blood or death. Each reversal makes me more cruel [. . .].[28]

In a society steeped in patriarchal values, Flora deduced that a woman could not assume overt power for herself, she could only be a manipulator.

It was as a manipulator that Flora resolved to enter the political foray herself, noting that: "From that moment hell entered my heart". This marked the beginning of an inner conflict for Flora.

> I had always aspired to a life animated by tender affections, to a condition of modest comfort; but both were denied me. Enslaved to a man [. . .] in an age when all resistance was vain; born to parents whose union was not legally recognized, I was forced when still very young to renounce forever any hope of love or a life free of poverty. Isolation was my lot: I could not take my place openly in society, my father's fortune went to an uncle who was already a millionaire. My cup of bitterness overflowed and I rose in open revolt against a social order which sanctioned the enslavement of the weaker sex, the spoliation of the orphan; and I resolved to join the other ambitious intriguers, to rival the monk Valdivia in boldness and cunning, to be as single- minded and ruthless as he was." [29]

> When I was alone I was assailed with ominous reflections. I imagined all the victims who would have to be sacrificed in order for me to seize power and retain it. In vain did I foster the illusion of all the good I planned to do [. . .].[30]

> Whenever [Carmen] mentioned the misfortunes of her country, my sufferings redoubled. It was obvious to me that if a person gifted with a strong and generous soul were to succeed in gaining power, the troubles would cease and a prosperous future would open up for this unfortunate country. I thought again of all the good I could do if I were in the place of Senora Gamarra, and I became all the more determined to try to attain it.[31]

Flora wavered for days before finally deciding that it was her duty to come to the aid of the Peruvian people. All that was left for Flora to do was to find a suitable man:

> I would have to find a soldier whose character and influence were strong enough to be of service to me, then inspire him with love, fire him with ambition and use him to risk the final throw. I began to make a serious study of the officers who came each evening to visit my uncle [. . .].[32]

Eventually, Flora would find her man in Colonel Escudero, the respected and faithful confidant of Pencha Gamarra. He was ambitious, concerned for the people, and seemingly frustrated by the power-mongering of his mistress. But, no sooner had she determined how easy it would be to inspire him with love in order to gain influence over him, than her inner conflict resumed:

> I feared the moral depravity which invariably accompanies the enjoyment of power. I feared to become hard, despotic - a criminal, even - like those who were now in power [. . .] and I can say here, before God, that I sacrificed the position I knew I could easily make for myself to the fear of having to treat my uncle as an enemy. The sacrifice was all the greater for the fact that Escudero pleased me [. . .]. I had the deep-seated conviction that had I become his wife I would have been very happy [. . .]. Once again it took me all my moral strength not to succumb to the tempting prospect [. . .]. I was afraid of myself, and I judged it prudent to escape this new danger by flight, so I resolved to leave immediately for Lima.[33]

Flora's view of power changed radically as a result of her Peruvian sojourn. Her abundant cynicism surrounding the political motivations of the ruling parties of Peru nurtured her growing conviction that making any headway against the forces of oppression could not be done merely by exchanging one political leader for another. Political leaders were easy prey to corruption and despotism, while the interests of the people were too soon forgotten:

> If the [ruling classes] had really wanted to organize a republic, they would have sought to encourage the growth of the civic virtues at every

> level of society by means of education; but as power not liberty is the goal of the bunch of adventurers who take it in turns to exercise their authority, the work of despotism proceeds.[34]

Flora's conviction regarding the potential of and need for popular education is an early indication of her leaning towards social reconstruction at a grass-roots level. Her apparent neglect of and disinterest in suffrage issues during the peak of her activism in later years, are undoubtedly an expression of her disillusionment with electoral politics in favour of this more fundamental approach. Pencha Gamarra, although an inspiring example at the start of her personal inquiry into the attainment of power, also became a symbol of Flora's political disillusionment. This can be seen in her reflection upon the fate of the president's wife, and marks the resolution of her own inner conflict:

> Now my poverty and obscurity seemed infinitely preferable, nobler, even, for I still had my freedom. I felt ashamed to have believed even for a moment that ambition could bring happiness and that anything could compensate for the loss of independence.[35]

Liman Women

Power, however, remained an important concept for Flora. Primarily, she made a distinction between what she viewed as "male-owned power" and "female-owned power". Male-owned power needed no pretext, for it was a concept

firmly and historically entrenched in socio-cultural tradition. Consequently, it was exercised not only by male individuals, but by the attitudes, expectations and laws of society. This patriarchal heritage was, as Flora had discovered early on in her life, a misogynist one. In contrast, female-owned power, as the life of Senora Gamarra illustrated, very much needed a pretext. The president's wife may have "commanded the troops" but only because of her great influence over the man who had the real and recognized power. Woman's power, Flora reasoned, could only equal the force of her influence and thus, her adeptness at manipulation. When Flora left Aréquipa for Lima, the departure point for her return to France, it was this force which would become the focus of her intrigue with Liman women.

> There is no place on earth where women are so free and exercise so much power as in Lima. [. . .] They have a marked inclination for politics and intrigue; it is they who find posts for their husbands, sons and all the men who take their fancy, and there is no obstacle they cannot overcome to achieve their ends." [36]

Flora attributed the unique power and freedom of Liman women to their national costume, the significant components of which were the "saya" and "manto" (indigenous she claimed, to the Peruvian capital). The "saya" was a long finely pleated satin skirt. Black "sayas" were worn in good society; colourful ones were worn by fashionable women; and

light shades were favoured by prostitutes. The "manto", worn with the "saya", was always black, completely covered the bust and all but one eye of the head so that "unless the woman is very tall or very short, lame, hunchbaked, or otherwise conspicuous, it is impossible to recognize her."[37]

Because their costume made them so difficult to recognize, Liman women had the freedom to come and go wherever and with whomever they pleased. Worn by all women regardless of rank, Flora equated the cultural value of the Liman woman's costume to the Muslim woman's veil in the Orient. Should anyone have dared to expose the identity of such a woman: "public indignation would be aroused and that person would be severely punished. It is accepted that every woman may go out alone."[38]

Especially endowed with respect was the "disfrazada" whose disguise was the "disfrazar". The "disfrazada" dressed in an old "manto" and old "saya" but accessorized with her best shoes, stockings and handerkerchiefs to indicate that she was from good society. It would have been "dishonourable" to follow or question any woman disguised in a "disfrazar" for, "if she has disguised herself it is because she has important reasons for doing so, and consequently nobody should claim the right to investigate her."[39]

Collectively, these women were known as "tapadas" meaning in the popular language of the time, "a woman who covers herself with a shawl or veil in order not to be recognized."[40] Flora probably did not know this, but the Liman women who wore the "sayas" and "mantos" and whose freedom and independence she so admired in 1834, were such a threat to their husbands, priests, and viceroys, that for three centuries these men had been trying to get them to abandon their practice of wearing shawls and going about incognito. In Daughters of the Conquistadores, Luis Martin pointed out in 1985 that "a 'tapada' was not merely a mischievous and flirtatious woman. Her shawl was not a fad but a flag of her revolt against the stereotyped image of women as religious madonnas."[41] Martin described the women of colonial Peru wearing shawls

> with such flirtatious style that it had a devastating effect in arousing the erotic interest of males. [. . .] She could reveal her sensuous mouth by lifting the edges of her shawl, or she could let a shoulder slip free from the shawl to show the rising curve of her breasts and the plunging neckline of her gown.[42]

Certainly, Flora was not blind to the empowerment of Liman women afforded by the costume. She wrote that the costume made them irresistible:

> A number of foreigners have told me what a magical effect the sight of these women produced on their imagination. They fancied they had landed in Paradise, and that it was to compensate them for the hardship of a long voyage that God had set them down in this enchanted land. These flights

> of fancy are not implausible when one sees the follies and extravagances that these beautiful women lead foreigners to commit.[40]

Flora did not bemoan the fact that the Liman woman's power was manipulative, nor even that she used her "feminine wiles" to manipulate and influence more effectively. She was confident that ultimately it was the women's superior intelligence and will-power, as well as their beauty, which contributed to their domination of Liman men. However, Flora did stress that their advantage should neither be taken lightly nor misused for it was a gift of divine origin:

> For God has endowed woman with a heart more loving and devoted than that of man; and if as there can be no doubt it is through love and devotion that we honour the Creator, then woman has an incontestable superiority over man, but she must cultivate her intelligence and exercise her self-control in order to retain it. Only on those conditions can she acquire the influence which comes from the power God has given her.[41]

Like the colonial viceroys, Flora believed that the "tapada's" morals left something to be desired. To Flora, it was an indication that Liman women "[failed] to recognize their mission" - a mission to which Flora alluded for the first time: "[. . .] instead of being the inspiration of man and improving his character, [the Liman woman] seeks only to seduce him, [and] her authority disappears together with the [sexual] desire she has aroused."[42] By misdirecting their power in this way, Flora felt that the women of Lima were

abusing their gift and neglecting their higher purpose to guide humanity.

Interestingly, Flora does not appear to contest man's self-proclaimed right to lead; she truly felt that woman had a divine purpose to guide him. Therein lay her power and her superiority. This notion helps to explain why later in her life when she wrote L'Union ouvrière, she addressed to men the importance of educating and emancipating women. Flora reasoned that it would be men already positioned in the political framework, who would be doing the emancipating and so it was up to women to inspire the men's desire to do so.

To many of today's feminists, Flora no doubt loses ground on the radical front for her seeming acceptance of women as behind the scenes manipulators. Flora, however, was not as simplistically Romantic as the day's poets, like de Vigny or de Musset whose works reflected the cultural fantasy of women as Muse, Mother and irreproachable Madonna (see pages 129-131 of this study).[46] Nor did she accept the Rousseauian notion that women's usefulness was restricted to the family domain as nurturing mothers and wives. And Flora was certainly not comfortable with men as the cultural leaders of society. She regarded her own life and actions as products of the victimization by men who governed and by men's values which oppressed. Flora recognized the

"intellectual sterility and inertia" endemic to the female sex which arose from patriarchal oppression. Her vignettes of Carmen, Dominga, Senora Gamarra, the "rabonas" and Liman women, affirmed her belief not only in women's inherent intellectual, physical and moral equality with men, but in women's superiority. Furthermore, Flora believed women could be capable rulers and leaders but, as the fate of Senora Gamarra testified, society in the 1830s was not ready to accept them. Indeed, Flora was frustrated by the social obstacles which prevented women from leading outright. "It vexed me exceedingly", wrote Flora of her intention to find a puppet-husband in order to assume political power for herself, "to have to rely on another when I felt capable of action myself [. . .]."[47] It is fairer, therefore, to suggest that Flora, rather than having blindly accepted women's fate as manipulators, chose a viable strategy for the times. By acting as manipulator, woman could lull man into believing that he was the leader while she did the leading.

Flora's observations of Liman women did a great deal to clarify her notions of female-owned power, but it was not for their power that she admired them. Her envy was for their freedom: she compared them with European women,

> who from their earliest childhood are the slaves of laws, morals, customs prejudices, fashions and everything else whereas beneath their sayas the women of Lima are free enjoying their independence

> and confident in genuine strength which all people feel within them when they are able to act in accordance with their needs. In every situation the woman of Lima is always herself; never does she submit to any constraint. When she is young she escapes the domination of her parents through the freedom her costume allows her; when she marries she does not take her husband's name but keeps her own; when she is tired of staying in, she puts on her "saya" and goes out, in the same way as a man does when he takes his hat. Freedom of action characterizes everything she does.[48]

What the Liman women had which made them so enviably free and which Flora inferred but did not directly articulate, was autonomy. Carmen was a victim of law, Dominga of social and religious prejudice, the "rabonas" lived outside society, and Senora Gamarra became an exile from Peruvian society for her political involvement, but Flora never referred to the women of Lima as pariahs. The anonymity provided by their costume enabled Liman women, married or single, rich or poor, to defy certain traditional constraints of law and social dictum as they applied to their European sisters:

> [. .] these ladies go out alone to the theatre, to bullfights, to public gatherings, to balls, to churches and to pay visits; and they are accepted everywhere they go. If they wish to speak to anybody they do so, then take their leave, so that they remain free and independent in the midst of the crowd, far more so than the men.[49]

Flora was not the first woman to recognize and envy women who found autonomy through dress. In 1716, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu enviously described Turkish women as being "freer than any ladies in the universe" because they wore

culturally condoned veils which they used to the same advantage as the women of Lima. Montagu surmised that "the number of faithful wives is very small." A half century later, Eliza Craven arrived in Constantinople and made the similar observation that she had never before seen a country where women enjoyed so much liberty.[50] In her book, Amazons and Military Maids, Julie Wheelwright described people like Sarah Emma Edmonds, a soldier nurse and spy; Valerie Arkell-Smith, alias Colonel Baker; and a Serbian officer, Flora Sandes, as "women who dressed as men in the pursuit of life, liberty and happiness". She described most of the women in her study as women who "could only conceive of themselves as active and powerful in male disguise". They are united by their female "desire for male privilege and a longing for escape from domestic confines and powerlessness."[51] Flora's contemporary, George Sand, described the liberating transformation a man's outer coat, a gray hat, a large woolen cravat and boots with iron-shod heels made in her life:

> I was no longer a lady, but I wasn't a gentleman either [. . .]. No one knew me, no one looked at me, no one found fault with me; I was an atom lost in that immense crowd. No one said to me, as they did in La Chatre: "There's Madame Aurore going by; she's got that same hat and dress on"; nor, as they did in Nohant: "Take a look at our ladyship riding on her big horse; she's got to be crazy to sit a horse that way." In Paris, nobody thought anything of me [. . .]. I could make up a whole novel as I walked from one side of town to another

> without running into someone who would say: "What the devil are you thinking about?"[52]

Although Flora herself would later dress as a male Turk in order to gain entry into the all-male bastion of British Parliament in 1839, and in Paris would don a makeshift manto and "saya" at an opera in order to avoid the embarrassment of being unescorted, she, nonetheless, refused to accept disguise as an answer to the anonymity and freedom women sought. The "tapadas'" resistance to the viceroy's pressure to give up their disguise-like dress indicates the extent to which they recognized the tenuous nature of their freedom. Flora recognized this also, noting: "If they should ever abandon [their style of dress] they would have to adopt an entirely different set of values."[53]

The envy that Flora, Lady Montagu, and Eliza Craven felt, as well as the radical actions of the amazons and military maids of Julie Wheelwright's study, testify to the Western European woman's situation of fundamental political non-existence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Working Woman and the Prostitute

As Flora had already noted, and would again, the spectrum of socio-economic options for women in the 1830s was not any broader in the more economically developed countries such as her native France. Although gradual

industrialization had provided more and more women with jobs, Flora understood that this in no way necessarily improved the quality of their lives. Her description of the French washerwomen of Nîmes is one of her finest, most eloquent portraits:

> Figurez-vous un trou, décoré du nom de bassin, creusé au milieu d'une place (je ne sais son nom), ce trou peut avoir 60 pieds de large sur 100 pieds de long et 40 pieds de profondeur. On y descend par un escalier à deux planches - là sont deux lavoirs tenant toute la longueur, mais qui n'ont pas un pied de large - maintenant, devinez comment sont faits ces lavoirs! Mais comme tous les lavoirs. - Ah! voilà le beau! - Justement c'est qu'ils sont faits précisément à l'inverse de tous les lavoirs. [. . .] à Nîmes, les choses se passent à rebours. - Ce n'est pas le linge qui est dans l'eau, non, c'est la femme qui lave qui est dans l'eau jusqu'à mi-corps - et le linge est hors de l'eau - la laveuse lave sur une pierre dont la pointe incline en dehors de l'eau - 300 a 400 laveuses au moins sont donc condamnées à Nîmes à passer leur vie le corps dans l'eau jusqu'à la ceinture, et dans une eau qui est un poison puisqu'elle est chargée de savon, de potasse, de soude, d'eau de javel, de graisse et enfin de toutes sortes de teintures comme indigo, garance, safran, etc. etc. - Voilà de nombreuses femmes condamnées, pour gagner du pain, à des maladies de matrice, à des rhumatismes aigus, à des grossesses pénibles, à des avortements, enfin à tous les maux imaginables! - Je le demande: s'est-il jamais connu dans le pays le plus barbare! une atrocité plus révoltante qui se commet envers ces pauvres blanchisseuses de Nîmes! - Si on condamnait un forçat à souffrir seulement pendant 8 jours le supplice que ces malheureuses souffrent, [. . .]. Les philanthropes n'auraient pas assez de voix pour réclamer contre cette atrocité! la presse jetterait un anathème terrible contre le gouvernement qui ose ainsi tuer les hommes jour par jour, heure par heure! [. . .] - Mais quant a ces misérables blanchisseuses, elles qui n'ont commis aucun crime, [. . .] - elles qui sont femmes, qui sont mères [. . .] - eh bien! elles ne

> trouvent pas un philanthrope, pas un journaliste qui réclame en leur faveur![54]

What was worse, Flora recognized, was that in spite of the jobs and their proficiency at them, women were far from earning enough to support their own independence, let alone the meagerest of existences. A newspaper article from Troyes, France, written in 1834, the year of Flora's stay in Peru, describes the average factory workers' income:

> L'ouvrier bonnetier gagne 1,60 F par jour; s'il travaille 7 jours, il touchera 11,20 F. Dans la même bonneterie, une couseuse gagne 0,60 F, soit 4,20 F la semaine. Les dépenses de nourriture hebdomadaires s'élèvent à 4,50 F; ce qui autorise la consommation journalière de 600 g de pain, 120 g de viande, 0,5 l de vin et un oeuf; et, par semaine, un fromage et demi, 800 g de légumes verts ainsi que des légumes secs. A cela s'ajoute un loyer de 1 F. Ainsi, il faut compter 5,50 F de frais fixes par semaine, si on ne tient pas compte des vêtements et du chauffage. Un ouvrier célibataire peut s'en sortir mais pas une ouvrière. Aussi est-elle obligée de se marier pour vivre, ou bien rester dans le giron familial. Mais, qui dit mariage dit enfants, et à nouveau le budget bascule: même si les enfants travaillent, ils ne rapportent pas assez.[55]

In much the same way as Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels did years later, Flora believed that prostitution was the result of just such an unequal distribution of riches in a capitalist society.[56] The female worker, whether single or married, could not escape her economic dependence on man. Where there was no father, brother or husband to turn to, she often had little choice but to look to strangers. For many women, prostitution and theft became a necessary way to

supplement their wages.[57] As industrialization expanded the urban areas, the numbers of women who necessarily resorted to stealing and selling themselves also grew. Adopting contemporary social chroniclers Talbot's and Ryan's estimates, Flora put the number of London prostitutes at 80,000 in the late 1830s and early 1840s. But in 1973, E.M. Siggworth and T.J. Wyke pointed out in their "Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease" that a true figure was almost impossible to ascertain because of clandestine prostitution, seasonal variations in prostitution and fluctuations in numbers according to the state of trade and employment.[58]

Not unlike a plethora of other French visitors - economists, political scientists, reformers, philanthropists and, even hygienists - who regarded London as the ultimate "laboratory"[59] for carrying out analyses of the pros and cons of industrialization, Flora looked to London, "la ville monstre"[60] for her most thorough and deliberate cultural investigation of a people.

At first Flora claimed not to understand the prostitute, "un impénétrable mystère" who can subject herself to "physical torture" and "mental death",[61] but her subsequent analysis indicated that she understood her better than she had claimed. As she had done years earlier in defense of Carmen and Dominga, Flora attacked the

patriarchal value system whose double standards prescribed two rules of conduct: one for man, which ensured his liberty; and one for woman, which ensured her submission.

> Oui, si vous n'aviez imposé à la femme la chasteté pour vertu sans que l'homme y fut astreint, elle ne serait pas repoussée de la société pour avoir cédé aux sentiments de son coeur, et la fille séduite, trompée, abandonnée, ne serait pas réduite à se prostituer; oui, si vous l'admettiez à recevoir la même éducation, à exercer les mêmes emplois et professions que l'homme, elle ne serait point plus fréquemment que lui atteinte par la misère; oui, si vous ne l'exposiez pas à tous les abus du pouvoir paternel et l'indissolubilité du mariage, elle ne serait jamais placée dans l'alternative de subir l'oppression ou l'infamie![62]

Clearly, Flora faulted only society for the fall of women. Hunger led women to desperate measures and often these women were mothers trying to feed their children.[61] Indeed, given that they were raised in the "art to please", Flora reasoned, wasn't, prostitution inevitable once these women were faced with their inability to support themselves?[63] Flora believed that women were neither thieves nor prostitutes by choice. Regardless of their actions, they could not be considered criminals because that would be to assume they had the luxury of options in the first place: "la vertu suppose la liberté de bien ou mal faire".[64] In her 1976 book Women, Resistance and Revolution, Sheila Rowbotham recalled Karl Marx's reference to Eugene Sue's 1842 Mysteries of Paris in which

> the fall of a particular woman is seen as the result of individual misfortune - an historical accident. Rudolph assumes women possess an abstracted moral choice, quite removed from their actual situation. Thus he teases Fleur de Marie with the need to become "honest". She replies literally and with realism: "Honest! My God, what do you want me to become honest with?"[65]

Through her striking evocation of London finishes, Flora illuminated how the particular master-slave relationship between man and prostitute, far from simply representing the subjugation and exploitation of woman to and by masculine caprice, reflected woman's ultimate dehumanization: "Le chien rencontre en mourant le regard de son maître tandis que la prostituée finit au coin d'une borne sans que personne jette sur elle un regard de pitié."[66] "Finishes" were the "ignoble" cabarets or "vast and sumptuous taverns" where one went to finish off the evening. Many of these were late-night meeting places for the "honourable society":

> Dans les finishes, il y a toutes sortes d'amusements [. . .]. Un des plus goûtés est de soûler une fille jusqu'à ce qu'elle tombe morte ivre; alors on lui fait avaler du vinaigre dans lequel de la moutarde et du poivre ont été délayés; ce breuvage lui donne presque toujours d'horribles convulsions, et les soubresauts, les contorsions de cette malheureuse provoquent les rires et amusent infiniment l'honorable société. Un divertissement fort apprécié aussi dans ces fashionables réunions, c'est de jeter sur les filles qui gisent mortes ivres sur le plancher une verre de n'importe quoi. J'ai vu des robes de satin qui n'avaient plus aucune couleur; c'était un mélange confus de souillures; le vin, l'eau-de-vie, la bière, le thé, le café, la creme, etc. y dessinaient mille formes fantasques -

> écriture diaprée de l'orgie: oh! la créature humaine ne saurait descendre plus bas![67]

Economics were only part of the problem Flora believed faced the prostitute and, indeed, all women in the first half of the nineteenth century. The stubborn reluctance of Victorian and Romantic thinking to reconcile the manner in which woman's nature and raison d'être were idealized in contrast to the reality of her existence, constituted a much larger hurdle because it was rooted in centuries of tradition. The works of the period's best-loved poets both reflected and promoted the popularly held images of woman but only in as much as these images of woman conformed to the idea of a "lady". Philosophical and poetical discourse which qualified woman as Mother and Muse did not encompass the washerwomen of Nîmes, or the prostitute. Alfred de Musset's exaltation of woman in "La nuit de mai" is typical Romantic literary fare: in a few lines she is everything from flower, muse, mistress to sister.[68] In "La nuit d'octobre", she is "consolatrice: (38) and "mère vigilante" (49)[69] Alfred de Vigny's "La Maison du berger", offers an even more classical image. Woman's existence is relative to man's - strains of Rousseau but with a twist: she is also man's divine link to God. She is there to provide man with his own reflection so that he might know himself better, to soothe the ills of his heart and mind, and to supply him with the energy and inspiration necessary for life

> Mais si Dieu près de lui t'a voulu mettre, ô femme!
> Compagne délicate! Eva! sais-tu pourquoi?
> C'est pour qu'il se regarde à un miroir d'une autre âme,
> Qu'il entende ce chant qui ne vient que de toi: -
> L'enthousiasme pur dans une voix suave.
> C'est afin que tu sois son juge et son esclave
> Et règnes sur sa vie en vivant sous sa loi.'

Although both Vigny and Flora refer to women as possessors of some sort of divine gift to inspire man, the similarities end there. Vigny saw woman in egotistical terms relative only to man, necessarily subordinate in order to fulfill her role. In contrast, Flora acknowledged woman had a mission (not a role) because of her superiority. Her service is to humanity, not to man alone. Recognized equality was essential for her to accomplish her task, in the same way her ability to influence and inspire are tools (thus her warning to Liman women not to abuse their feminine wiles) and not ends.

Flora recognized that the portrayals of woman as Muse and Madonna (and sorceress where she failed to live up to the latter two standards[72]), perpetuated all the more by 19th century fidelity to Rousseauian precepts, were not only evident in the language and fantasies of French romantic poets, but, in the very hypocrisy of the "honourable [male] society" which condemned prostitution in public but thrived on the pleasures it afforded it in private. This irony indicated to Flora how society used prostitutes as

scapegoats in order to perpetuate false myths of womanhood. She cited a verse from Auguste Barbier's Lazare (1837) which sardonically called on prostitutes to fulfill their destiny and "garder le ménage et les femmes honnêtes".[72]

In 1869, historian W.E.H. Lecky described the prostitute as society's "ultimate example of vice" and "most efficient guardian of virtue." He noted that the guardians of culture had assigned the prostitute a role in the social fabric and it was invaluable:

> Sans elle, la pureté sans tâche d'innombrables foyers heureux serait ternie, et beaucoup de ceux et celles qui, dans la fierté de leur chasteté à qui a été épargnée la tentation, la considèrent avec un frisson d'horreur indignée auraient connu l'angoisse du remords et du désespoir. Sur cet être dégradé et avili se concentrent des passions qui, autrement, pourraient couvrir le monde de honte. Elle demeure [. . .] l'éternelle prêtresse de l'humanité, sacrifiée pour les péchés du peuple."[73]

Sheila Rowbotham acknowledged this hypocrisy from the stand point of the twentieth century.

> Nymphomania was actually used in the 1840s to describe any woman who felt sexual desire, and such women were seen as necessarily abandoned, women of the streets, women of the lower classes. Just as the white slave-owner suckled by black women sought them for orgasm rather than his wife, the nineteenth-century urban bourgeois continually pursued his wet nurse. He retained of course the noblest, most filial devotion to his own mother, as a being apart and above physical sensation.[74]

In L'Union ouvrière, Flora highlighted the process of socialization which taught women to believe they were

inferior beings as a process which had been going on for thousands of years under the dictates of the lawmakers, the Church and philosophers:

> Up to now, woman has counted for nothing in human society. What has been the result of this? That the priest, the lawmaker, and the philosopher have treated her as a true pariah. Woman (one half of humanity) has been cast out of the Church, out of the law, out of society. For her, there are no functions in the Church, no representation before the law, no functions in the State. The priest told her, "Woman, you are temptation, sin, and evil; you represent flesh, that is, corruption and rottenness. Weep for your condition, throw ashes on your head, seek refuge in a cloister, and mortify your heart and body, offer them all bloody and dried up to your God for remission from the original sin committed by your mother Eve." Then the lawmaker tells her, "Woman, by yourself you are nothing; you have no active role in human affairs; you cannot expect to find a seat at the social banquet. If you want to live, you must serve as an appendage to your lord and master, man. So, young girl, you will obey your father; when married you shall obey your husband; widowed and old, you will be left alone." Then, the learned philosopher tells her, "Woman, it has been scientifically observed that, according to your constitution, you are inferior to man. Now, you have no intelligence, no comprehension for lofty questions, no logic in ideas, no ability for the so-called exact sciences, no aptitude for serious endeavours. Finally, you are a feeble-minded, and weak-bodied being, cowardly, superstitious; in a word, you are nothing but a capricious child, spontaneous, frivolous, for ten or fifteen years of your life you are a nice little doll, but full of faults and vices. That is why, woman, man must be your master and have complete authority over you.[75]

By defining woman as slave and pariah Flora was clearly pointing to woman's exclusion from a society which was a cultural community controlled by the influence of male power

and male perception. Flora's Romantic contemporaries were not indifferent to the laws and prejudices which enslaved women. In fact, the radicalism of many of the utopist movements did much to foment feminist perspective by raising social awareness of unjust marriage laws and practices, and the inadequacy of female education. However, acknowledgment of woman's slave-like relationship to man did not necessarily translate to a challenge of the ethics of that reality; too many believed, as de Vigny suggested, that woman was there for man and so the law was properly constructed. Rather than aim to change the male-female relationship by making a commitment to equalize their social positions, de Vigny and de Musset are representative of the period's leading writers' and thinkers' preferred response which was to merely dignify woman's subordination. This was done by first assigning her a social role and then glorifying it.

The "romantic woman cult" as Rowbotham described it, urged women to believe that their subordination was "natural" (in the Rousseauian sense[76]) in a period when everyone else was demanding their natural rights. "Women were so perfectly colonized", wrote Rowbotham "they policed one another. The privileged women had material stakes in the world as it was."[77]

The "Lady"

Some of Flora's strongest critics were women. Even feminist Hortense Allart, who would later be a colleague of Flora's on the Gazette des Femmes, criticized Flora's investigations, like those of the London "finishes", for being in flagrant bad taste.[8] Flora, however, believed truth was not something for which she needed to make apologies:

> If you don't feel all this, Women, abstain from making a judgement on the works of a woman who feels with all her heart the chains which lie so heavily on half the human race. Stay comfortably curled on your sofa praying and making Gods, and allow her to fight for you".[9]

Partly what bothered Flora so much about bourgeois and aristocratic Englishwomen was their very silence in face of the cultural practices which perpetuated their submissiveness and pariahdom. She believed that they, unlike their working-class sisters, were in a far better financial and social position to be effective proponents of women's emancipation in circles of male-power which typically governed cultural and political institutions. Once again, Flora faulted the quality of these women's education which she criticized for teaching them "a little bit of something and nothing useful and nothing well." She questioned the logic and practicality of English girls' instruction which required them to learn three to four

languages they would likely never use, and to study music and dance even when they had neither the desire nor the aptitude. Flora believed that, raised to their full potential, the Englishwoman was of far superior intelligence to the Englishman but that rather than stimulating their minds, the system merely numbed them. She was appalled by the English girls' upbringing which assured a family hierarchy in the home that merely prepared and accustomed them to their subservient position in society. Raised by nannies, wrote Flora, a young girl's relationship with her mother was a ceremonious one; with her father "respect [was] mixed with fear", and towards her brother she was encouraged to show "deference".[80]

By marriage then, most women were appropriately socialized to accept their legal subordination to their husbands. The eighteenth-century English jurist Sir William Blackstone depicted the married Englishwoman's status thus: "the very being or legal existence of a woman is suspended, or at least it is incorporated or consolidated into that of the husband, under whose wing, protection, and cover she performs everything, and she is therefore called in our law a feme covert [sic]."[81] At the time Flora wrote, this meant that under English common law a married woman could not own property, even that which she may have owned before or inherited after she wed. (Under equity law [a branch

sometimes used by the rich] however, family estates could be protected by giving women property rights.)[82] She had no legal rights to the guardianship of her children and "the right of a man to imprison his wife in his own house was not questioned till 1891."[83] The fate of Englishwomen upon marrying was often coined "civil death" and it is to this which Flora alluded in Promenades when she pointed out that the married woman could not even take stepping out of the house for granted - her husband's permission having become a deciding factor. She described the husband as "master" and his wife a mere "thing", a piece of "furniture" to be used as he saw fit.[84] Citing a passage from Fourier's 1808 Théorie des quatre mouvements, "La jeune fille n'est elle pas une marchandise exposée en vente à qui en veut négocier l'acquisition et la propriété exclusive?",[85] Flora clearly aligned herself with popular feminist thought as expressed by contemporary Claire Démar's statement that marriage was "une prostitution par la loi."[86] Flora acknowledged, nevertheless, that for the most part Englishwomen of these classes had compelling reasons to marry:

> [. . .] le désir de se soustraire à la puissance paternelle; d'alléger le joug des préjugés qui pèsent si lourdement sur les jeunes filles; et l'espoir de jouir dans le monde de plus d'importance; car pour les âmes élevées c'est un besoin de prendre part au mouvement de la société."[87]

Anna Wheeler and William Thompson (1827) put it another way:

> The alternatives were simply marriage, the wretched life of a spinster, or the social disgrace of sexual indiscretion. Marriage was obviously the most attractive: better to be a slave and be kissed than to be a slave without kissing.[88]

Once again it was the double standard governing the sexual conduct of men and women which became the focus of what Flora found most intolerable about their legal union:

> Le lien de mariage, qui est si pesant pour les femmes, ne leur (les hommes) impose aucune obligation [. . .]. La plupart entretiennent somptueusement une maîtresse dans une jolie petite maison des faubourgs [. . .]. Que devient la femme à contrat? [. . .] elle est réduite à l'état de machine à fabriquer des enfants, et les vingt-cinq plus belles années de sa vie se passent à faire des petits."[89]

It was because bourgeois Englishwomen had so little to occupy themselves with and were so isolated from public life, that Flora concluded, that there were so many more female writers in England than in France. She listed Lady Mary Montagu, Lady Morgan, Lady Blessington (Marguérite Power), her friend Anna Wheeler's daughter, Rosina Lytton-Bulwer,[90] Harriet Martineau, Frances Trollope; and Catherine Gore.[91] But Flora lamented that none of these women had embraced the cause of women's emancipation, stating that in this respect, French women were well ahead of their English sisters.[92]

Flora identified one exception to the apparent apathy of Englishwomen. "[. . .] voix qui n'a pas craint d'attaquer un à un tous les préjugés et d'en démontrer le

mensonge et l'iniquité", was how she described Mary Wollstonecraft. She had nothing but praise for the author of A Vindication of the Rights of Woman:

> Sa critique est admirable; elle fait ressortir dans toutes leurs vérités les maux provenant de l'organisation actuelle de la famille; et la force de sa logique laisse les contradicteurs sans réplique. Elle sape hardiment cette foule de préjugés dont le monde est enveloppé; elle veut, pour les deux sexes, l'égalité des droits civils et politiques, leur égale admission aux emplois, l'éducation professionnelle pour tous, et le divorce à la volonté des parties. "Hors de ces bases, dit-elle, toute organisation sociale qui promettra le bonheur public mentira à ses promesses." Le livre de Mary Wollstonecraft est une oeuvre impérissable![93]

Flora staunchly agreed with Wollstonecraft's observation that "religion is [. . .] separated from morality".[94] She had been angered by the Church which helped to keep the Peruvian people ignorant in order to maintain clerical power,[95] she was enraged by the Church's accusations that woman was "temptation, sin and evil",[96] and she was horrified by England's scriptural education:

> (La Bible) renferme de bonnes choses [. . .] mais que d'impuretés [. . .] d'histoires indécentes [. . .] d'images obscènes [. . .]. Exiger qu'une jeune fille soit pure, chaste, innocente et lui prescrire la lecture d'un livre ou se trouvent les histoires de Loth, de David, d'Absalon, de Ruth, le Cantique des cantiques, etc. [. . .] sa mémoire sera ornée des scènes de viol, d'amour adultérin, de prostitution et d'orgie que représente la Bible.[97]

Given the difficulty of obtaining any literature by women which dared to confront traditional views, it is

hardly surprising that Flora regarded Wollstonecraft as the first Englishwoman to claim civil and political rights for women. Only thirty years after A Vindication was written, Flora vented the frustration which is still echoed by feminists today:

> Ce livre fut étouffé dès son apparition, ce qui n'épargne pas à son auteur le supplice de la calomnie. Il n'y eût que le premier volume de publié, et il est devenu extrêmement rare. Je ne peux trouver à l'acheter, et, sans un ami qui voulait bien me le prêter il m'eût été impossible de me le procurer.[98]

The Traveling Woman

In 1835, even before she published Pérégrinations, Flora had published the pamphlet entitled Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères. On the first page of this pamphlet, in what is possibly her most radical assertion, Flora defined women as a "class" - one half of humanity condemned by civilization to live in suffering.[99] Unlike the working class linked by economic and lifestyle factors, Tristan believed that women comprised a class based upon their shared experiences of cultural misogyny and a system of law and social attitudes that were unfair and oppressive. Her description of women who travelled to the city is one of her clearest exposés of the more subtle, culturally ingrained acts and practices of masculine society which worked to sustain women's subordination.

For the sake of example, Flora chose Paris - "[qui] fournira plus de matière qu'il ne faudrait pour glacer le sang dans les veines [. . .]."[100] - in which to illustrate the "horror" of being a foreign woman travelling alone. Although the exhausted travelling woman had endured "mille dégoûts, mille manques d'hospitalité et même de politesse" on her way to Paris, she still had to face the noise and confusion of the new city in order to find lodging.[101] Inevitably, she would be taken advantage of: because she was a woman and travelling alone, she would be given the worst room in the hotel but charged 10 francs more for it than a man would be. And inevitably, she would be the subject of gossip and rumour-mongering.[102]

> Si cette Etrangère reçoit chez elle un parent, un compatriote, un homme d'affaires, on jugera tout de suite [. . .] que cette Etrangère vient à Paris avec de mauvaises intentions. La maîtresse la craindra, les personnes qui habitent chez elle n'en douteront pas, et enfin les domestiques s'en rendront garants.[103]

Flora used the word "foreign" to describe any woman for whom Paris was not a familiar milieu. She may have been visiting from another country or have been from as nearby as the French countryside. Her reasons for being in Paris could have been equally diverse. Recognizing that women travelled for different reasons, Flora divided them into three main categories: women who travelled for instruction and self-improvement (wealthy, she implied, for no other

class would have the leisure to travel simply for the sake of bettering their minds); women who travelled for business or for legal reasons; and women who were abandoned in marriage, single mothers, or victims of family violence (almost always poor, for who, Flora reasoned, would abandon a rich woman?).[104]

For the first group of women who travelled out of a desire to better educate themselves, Flora likened the city to an art object to be appreciated and a science to be researched and learned. The problem these distinguished, intelligent and sophisticated women encountered, was that aside from balls, dinners and fancy teas, they had nowhere to go. They could not penetrate "real" society because they had no point of access and no one to whom they could go for information or advice. A traveller could get a city guide listing the visiting hours for public monuments but, knowing that on her own the foreign woman would be the subject of often hostile scrutiny, Flora wondered:

> [. . .] une femme timide aura-t-elle le courage de visiter des lieux où il n'y a que des hommes, qui ne sont point habitués à y voir des femmes seules, et qui par cela même la regarderont d'un air singulier? Et si elle en a eu le courage [. . .] elle sera tout intimidée et n'osera pas adresser une seule question à qui que ce soit [. . .].[105]

The thought that a woman should need to hire a domestic as a companion in such circumstances was offensive to Flora. She felt that as well as making the insensitive assumption that

any woman could afford to hire company, the very suggestion was yet another reminder of woman's forced dependence upon others.

The second group of women described by Flora, were the business women and those obliged to come to the city in order to settle legal issues. Flora seized the opportunity to emphasize the inadequacy of female education which, evidently unwilling to acknowledge the need, neglected to train women in business and commercial matters. These women most often fell prey to swindlers only too willing to exploit their ignorance and vulnerability. Flora pointed out that, ultimately, the isolation these women endured could cost them the complete ruination of their family, on whose behalf they had most likely come to the city in the first place.

According to Flora, the third group of women were the most numerous and the most interesting. She characterized them either as young innocents from the country who after being, "seduced", "dishonoured" and "abandoned", sought the "abysses" of the city as a refuge in which to hide their shame; or, as unhappily married women whose inability to obtain a legal divorce caused them also to regard the city's alleys as a refuge; or finally, as women who were victims of misfortune in their own country and who came to Paris "y cherchant la liberté de pleurer inaperçues dans l'ombre, et

d'y cacher leur douleur et leur misère."[106] It is here that Flora pointed to the contrast between the idealized Paris of youth's imagination, and the Paris that more accurately represented the reality of the majority of women's lives. Jobs with below subsistence wages, prostitution, prison and disease, were likely all that awaited these women.

Cultural Pariahs

Where "feminist ideology is based on the recognition that women constitute a group that is wrongfully oppressed by male-defined values and male-controlled institutions of social, political, cultural, and familial power",[107] Flora's portraits and analyses of woman's subordination which validate female experience, are concrete evidence of her feminism. Flora's Peruvian journey failed in the sense that her illegitimate status prevented her from gaining the familial recognition and inheritance rights she had sought: she felt no more a part of the cultural community than when she had left France. Yet, after her journey to Peru, Flora ceased to view her pariahdom in a strictly self-referential manner and acknowledged the universality of female experience, including her own. Although the specifics of various women's misfortunes differed, Flora's portraits illustrate that the overall causes were shared as a function

of a master-slave dynamic perpetuated in society by double standards and culturally, legally and economically entrenched sexual bias. By appropriating political, economic, and cultural power for themselves, men maintained control of the insider circle. Having recognized this, Flora reinterpreted class divisions along gender-based lines. The following chapter explores Flora's strategies to unify the male and female "classes" and efface the political, economic and cultural barriers of the male insider circle.

CHAPTER FOUR

Appeal to the Future: On the Inclusion of Women

Paradoxically to her sense of being a pariah and ironically because of it, Flora had discovered a sense of community with other women. To her, the slave and master were clearly identifiable: the daughter was subordinate to her father, the sister to her brother, the wife to her husband. As women, their perceptions were learned from the dominant male culture which by way of education, employment, laws, and controlled political access, raised women as beings whose expectations, attitudes and "role" in society were entirely different from men's. Through her analysis of women's cultural exclusion using the master-slave dynamic, Flora established that the community of women to which she belonged was based on three factors: its oppression by misogynist culture, its desire to be free of it, and its capacity for love. Flora envisaged emancipating this community of women from "slavery" within the cultural hierarchy by establishing herself and her "sisters" in the social construct as autonomous and equal individuals. She believed that a "1789" for women was inevitable[1] but that

women must first be brought together as a unified force "car, divisées, (les masses) sont faibles, incapables [. . .]."[2] Collectively, women would have the strength and power to support each other's claims for personal autonomy, education, and employment.

Flora determined that women must have a framework in which to organize and work. Constructing such a framework was the objective of her pamphlet Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères and her manifesto, L'Union ouvrière. Using these two works, this chapter will examine Flora's proposals to organize women and society for the purpose of women's emancipation.

Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères

Nécessité is Flora's first attempt as an activist to identify tangible structure in what she previously believed was an unstructured community of women. Surprisingly, Nécessité is one of the least recognized of her works even though it was in this pamphlet that she made her radical designation of women as a class, and where she first discussed the cultural importance of an internationalist philosophy which cuts across racial, religious, and gender barriers.

In the first page of the pamphlet, Flora took for granted that she and her contemporaries were living in a period of transition out of which a new society, founded upon unity and the common desire for an end to suffering and oppression, would be built. The problem, she felt, was that proposals for social reconstruction offered by many reformers were too general: by dreaming of utopias, advocates for change lost sight of the methods for achieving their goals. She claimed that her own pamphlet and proposals were different: "Notre but ici n'est pas de faire aussi une brillante utopie, en décrivant le monde comme il devrait être, sans indiquer la route qui pourra nous conduire à réaliser le beau rève d'un Eden universel."[3]

Flora believed that successful and fruitful change must take place progressively rather than all at once.[4] Thus, she explained her decision to concentrate on only one aspect of the female class in Nécessité - "foreign" women and female strangers or travellers to the city - while inviting others to take up different "aspects": "[. . .] en travaillant aux diverses améliorations, selon un aspect spécial, bientôt on verrait poindre le soleil de redemption et de bonheur."[5]

As described in the previous chapter, Flora demonstrated how the city as a resource for artistic and scientific learning was virtually unattainable for women who travelled alone. Even for women of financial means,

intimidation and harassment (rumour-mongering, cat-calling and other gender-biased public censuring of their actions), ensured that few women ever ventured far from their hotel room alone. Stressing the nature and impact of this cultural misogyny, Flora deliberately drew parallels between the experiences of wealthy and poor women who travelled alone, in order to demonstrate that this misogyny transcended class barriers. Consequently, she reasoned, sisterhood should also transcend class barriers.

In this way, Flora attached both a philosophical and practical importance to travel by women. Metaphorically, a woman's space is her geography, an intimate realm of experience. Travel provided women with the opportunity to explore beyond their personal "private" space (as traditionally defined by Rousseauian ideology) into the "public" space - an expanded realm of experience, knowledge and perception. It had been as a result of her own travels as a lady's maid and her journey to Peru, that Flora had developed her spiritual and political awakening to women as a universal community excluded from the social construct by cultural practices. Flora maintained that travel provided additional geo-political and cultural contexts for women to recognize and be unified by the commonality of female experience. She believed that the process of female "bonding" afforded by travel was necessary to empower women

with the spiritual strength and conviction to fight collectively and effectively for their emancipation. Flora lauded the advantages and benefits of travel for all individuals. Travelers, because they bring with them new ideas, insight, knowledge and experience, set progress in motion.

> Voyez quels avantages en ont retiré le commerce, les sciences, les arts, l'industrie; la vérité n'est plus le patrimoine exclusif du peuple qui la découvre, mais elle est publiée, propagée. Les nations rivalisent dans un noble but, et des chemins de fer, des canaux, des ponts suspendus se construisent partout. Nos voisins d'outremer ont fait des progrès immenses dans la construction des machines, mais nous les suivons du même pas, car des relations intimes sont établies entre les deux nations. On étudie les langues étrangères, et les ouvrages sont immédiatemen' traduits de nation à nation, pour répandre les lumières du génie sur tous les pays.[6]

More than just a question of promoting human progress, however, Flora believed that travel promoted humanitarianism: "[. . .] ces voyages, cette hospitalité réciproque, rapprocheraient de beaucoup le jour tant désiré où nous serons tous hommes, frères, sans nous distinguer par les noms d'Anglais, d'Allemands, Français etc."[7]

Nécessité is a vital document to trace Flora's philosophical evolution, for it is here that she first elaborated her vision of a world without frontiers ("désormais, notre patrie doit être l'univers"[8]), and where she presented her first argument calling for the need for

people to unite in order to successfully influence social change.

> Suivons d'abord l'histoire, et nous verrons qu'à chaque époque où une partie de la societe souffrait et sentait le besoin d'un changement, des associations ont devancé les reformes. Ces associations avaient pour but de s'entraider mutuellement, de secourir les frères affliges et persécutés; car faibles comme nous le sommes, considérés individuellement, ce n'est que dans l'union que nous pouvons puiser la force, la puissance et la possibilité de faire du bien."

"Love" and "vertu", she wrote, can unite the masses[10] and that union will be the fullest realization of humanity's strength and power. The person who loves is not only an equal of God's, but can accomplish more than God. Flora believed that God's influence was ethereal, while an individual had the actual physical capacity to rally and unite "sous une seule croyance, sous un seul espoir, cet univers si vaste, si beau, qui est son héritage, mais qui est déchiré par les divisions et les haines."[11] The most sacred religion, wrote Flora, is the love of humanity: "La, point de système incompréhensible, point de superstition, point de but indéterminé."[12] Guided by one belief, "celle de faire le bien" it did not divide people who worshipped different gods: "Le musulman et le juif sentent ce qu'il y a de beau dans la vertu comme le sent le chrétien."[13]

Flora quoted the Bible to support her appeals for "brotherly" love and, especially in later works, often claimed that she was divinely inspired in her commitment to

bring workers together and to improve the lives of women.[14] Yet, Flora remained as distrustful of the Church, its clergy and its doctrines which designated women as an inferiour and weaker sex, as she had been in Peru of the power-corrupt priests. Her reverence for the Christian God lay only in this god's symbolic representation of a pure ideal of love and compassion: "Le bien des masses est aussi celui de l'individu et l'étendard de cette religion peut réunir à elle toutes les autres car c'est l'esprit du Christ."[15]

In her novel, Méphis, Flora wrote "God" in the plural form. "Dieux" symbolized humanity itself, a Holy trinity of the Father, the Mother, and the Child. Rejecting the Supreme Couple of the Saint-Simonians, she believed women alone were the divine light, the intermediary between God and humankind. Indeed, Flora had come to recognize herself as the "Mother" - the Female Messiah who represented the potential of all women to effect social change by sheer force of their gift to love humanity.[16] She even went so far as to compare herself to Christ, as a Saviour and martyr of the people: "Le peuple juif était mort dans l'abaissement, et Jésus l'a relevé. Le peuple chrétien est mort aujourd'hui dans l'abaissement et Flora Tristan, la première femme forte, le relèvera."[17]

Flora's own mysticism in this regard, does not, as one might suppose, set her aside as a "freak" among her

reformist peers. Although decidedly and uncommonly strong-willed and self-possessed, Flora merely shared a stream of mysticism which coursed through much of the period's Romantic socialism.[18] From the divinization of women in Romantic poetry[19] to the Saint-Simonians' search for the Mother, to the prophesying of less known social visionaries like Charles Ganneau, the Mapah of Evadam,[20] there was a fountain of metaphysical and religious influences in many of the greater and lesser utopists' doctrines.[21] Flora's attempt to promulgate the love of humanity as the most sacred religion, was her most fundamental initiative towards rehabilitating the status of women. This is not merely because she argued the obligation of society to address the "woman question", but because she was committed to creating a forum which she believed would inherently establish women as the most powerful social beings. Woman's greatest gift, she had insisted in Pérégrinations, was her unparalleled capacity for love. This made it indispensable to include women in the process to create a new more equitable society.

Unlike Pérégrinations, in which Flora stressed women's potential superiority given the means, Nécessité was written with a specific intent to gain male approval for a project to support women. She appealed to the social "conscience",

believing that a new internationalist world order would be a product of universal philanthropy:

> C'est un devoir qui doit retentir au fond de votre coeur, c'est un devoir sacré que de venir au secours de tant de milliers de créatures souffrantes qui vous implorent, et qui succombent sous le poids de leur douleur. Songez, dans votre conscience, à cette maxime du Christ, qui doit être la base de toute morale: "Faites aux autres ce que vous voudriez qu'on vous fît." Ah! pénétrez-vous bien de cette sublime doctrine, et vous ne laisseriez plus languir dans un océan de misères tant de femmes qui pourraient être sauvées par vos mains?[22]

Flora also went to great lengths in Nécessité to illustrate the interconnectedness of the group and the individual in society. Like Fourier, she believed it is in an individual's or a group's best interest to help another individual or group, because the progress of any part of humanity benefits all of humanity. For reasons both practical and spiritual, Flora reasoned, men should want to help improve the lot of women and in this particular case, the lot of women who travelled alone.

Peru, however, had taught Flora many lessons, not the least of which was that the power of logic was not nearly as strong as the power of greed and egocentrism. She herself had demonstrated that the social and political power structures were male and, as the cultural "masters", men had an interest in keeping it that way. Appealing to their conscience would not be enough. In order to harness male support, Flora strove to establish a rationale in the male

social psyche for wanting to admit women into the social construct.

Her proposal to help women who travelled alone, was to create a YWCA-type association, "La societe pour les femmes étrangères". Members would be responsible for ensuring the welfare and comfort of foreign women during their stay in Paris, and for providing any assistance or information women might require to make their visit, be it for business, pleasure, or refuge, as successful and positive as possible. One of the ways Flora tried to convince her readership of the need and merits of such a society, was to appeal to Parisian vanity by suggesting that the wealthy, educated women travellers visiting Paris enhanced the city with their refinement and sophistication. Their willingness to impart their knowledge and experiences of other places could only benefit the French capital, just as their willingness to return to their homes with new insights gleaned from their stay, would give Paris an opportunity to make a positive impression upon the world. The better travelling women were treated, the better that impression would be.

Women, Flora emphasized, play an active part in the exchange of ideas through travel; if not most notably in the development of science, then through their skills as keen observers and purveyors of the mores and customs of other countries. It was true, Flora noted, that a common

short-coming of wealthy women was their tendency to be frivolous, lazy and wanting in morals, but she attributed this to their sheltered upbringing and the inadequacies of their education. In contrast, hard-working provincial women more than compensated for their short-coming (a lack of sophistication) with an admirable grounding in moral values. By encouraging women to travel and by making the means for their exchange more amenable, city and provincial women would mutually benefit one another and society as a whole would share in those benefits:

> Les villages donneraient la pureté de leurs moeurs aux grandes villes, et celles-ci donneraient, en échange, leur civilisation; enfin, il résulterait de ces voyages multipliés un avantage immense, un progrès sensible, qui se feraient sentir également dans toutes les classes de la société.[23]

"La société pour les femmes étrangères" was to be a non-profit philanthropic organization. It was to be directed by an elected male or female president, admit both a male and female membership, and be governed by nineteen statutes (which Flora admitted may not have been sufficient). Out of recognition of women's economic inequality, Flora sought to implement a concept of affirmative action still controversial now on the eve of the twenty-first century: female members were to pay thirty francs a year for membership while male members were to pay sixty francs. The Society was to be centrally located in a part of the city which received the greatest influx of

foreigners. Aside from a main office, the building would house a library carrying local and foreign newspapers, a reception area for socializing, and a large meeting room. This meeting room would also double as a stage for concerts and parties, to which members would be admitted without charge. The only exception to this last rule, Flora stipulated, was to be for fund-raising events on behalf of poor women visiting the city.

In addition to a vice-president and three secretaries, there was also to be an External Committee of six "guardian angel"-type members. These members would be responsible for receiving the foreign women, presenting them to the Society, listening to their needs, and introducing them into the Parisian community. For those women who came to the city in order to do scientific research, any information they required was to be furnished. The artists were to be put in touch with other artists and women from other countries were to be given the opportunity to meet with other compatriots. If a woman needed work, assistance was to be given to help her find a job. The committee members were also expected to make and maintain good contacts with hoteliers to ensure that women they directed to their establishments would be properly cared for. In short, whatever the problem or situation, the External Committee was to help.

The Society's motto was to be: "Vertu, Prudence, Publicité":

> Vertu signifiera, pour nous, amour entier et complet de l'humanité, indulgence raisonnée, pardon pour toutes les fautes qui, n'ayant pas atteint le coeur, ne seront pas des maladies sans remède. Le mot prudence servira à nous rappeler que, dans notre siècle, les hommes ne sont que trop inclinés à tromper leurs semblables, et qu'il faut se tenir à l'abri de tous les pièges; il servira aussi à nous rappeler la prudence et la discrétion qu'on doit aux Étrangères timides qui viendront réclamer nos secours. Et enfin publicité nous imposera le devoir impérieux de dénoncer au public le vice, l'intrigue et la méchanceté. Oui, notre Société offrira aux Étrangères un lieu de refuge, de consolation, de douces joies; [. . .].[24]

At formal meetings, every member of the Society was expected to wear, "Legion style", a silver medallion etched with the Society's motto on one side and the name of the Society on the other. The medallion was to be suspended from a wide green ribbon bordered with red. In their everyday activities, male members were to identify themselves with a smaller version of the ribbon worn like a boutonnière while female members were to wear the ribbon like a corsage above their chest. Much as Block Parents of present-day North American society identify their homes as "safehouses" to children in trouble, Flora's idea was that members of the Society would be identifiable to foreign women in need of immediate assistance on the street.

> Enfin, elles ne seraient plus seules dans cet immense Paris, où nous voulons établir le centre de notre première association; elles pourraient parler de leurs douleurs à des êtres bons et compatissants, qui les accueilleraient avec

> douceur et intérêt, et qui chercheraient, par tous les moyens possibles, à faire renaître, dans leurs âmes abattues, l'espérance et le calme.[25]

The foreign woman had obligations also. If planning to appeal to the Society for shelter or help she would have to reveal her true name, the reasons she left her home, her address, and her means of subsistence. Yet, out of her own sensitivity to the reality of women's lives within a patriarchal society, and as a reflection of her own past experiences trying to escape the persecution of her husband, Flora stipulated that these women would have every right to demand and expect the Society's secrecy and discretion.

Flora anticipated that there would be objections to her call for open-arms, unconditional support of foreign women. What if, she asked her readers hypothetically, some of the women who approached the society were not "comme il faut" - women whom it would be socially out of the question to introduce into good society?[26] She called on her readers to examine the problem from a philosophical standpoint:

> [. . .] la cause qui produit le mal est dans la société elle-même, plutôt que dans l'individu qui le commet. La société qui rejette de son sein, sans nulle pitié et sans jamais pardonner, l'individu qui a commis la moindre faute, le met infailliblement dans la cruelle <u>nécessité</u> de continuer dans le sentier du vice.[27]

However, if a woman truly should come to the Society under false pretenses just to take advantage of its services - "une intrigante", wrote Flora, - with complete disregard for the "moral laws" enshrined in the society's motto of "Vertu,

Prudence and Publicité", Flora assured her prospective supporters that "un tribunal fatal" would seal the woman's very public expulsion from the Society.[28]

Apparently, Flora's idea for a society for foreign women never made it beyond the pages of her pamphlet, although her biographer, Jules Puech, suggested in 1925 that her proposals did have some influence. "Le Citateur féminin", a magazine published between January and July of 1835 (the same year as Nécessité) founded its own association with a goal to welcome foreign women in an honest and honourable way.[29] Unsuccessful as her attempt to organize a tangible community of women may have been, Flora did identify and attempt to fill an important gap in the evolution of French feminism - one which feminist Hubertine Auclert still lamented almost fifty years later. In her envious description of London's Somerville-Club, a meeting place where Englishwomen came together and read, wrote, exchanged ideas and dined, Auclert judged the lack of a similar institution in her native country to be the cause of Frenchwomen's isolation and powerlessness in the face of patriarchal "tyranny": "En France, où la société est, moralement et matériellement, organisée contre elles, il n'y a pour les femmes aucune occasion de s'entendre et de se solidariser."[30]

The apparent lack of interest in Flora's pamphlet could perhaps be attributed to the fact that she was an unknown when she wrote it. It was not until after her personal revelations in Pérégrinations and the almost simultaneous publicity about her husband's trial for his attempted murder of her, that she gained public notoriety. Another possible factor may have been Flora's reliance upon the benevolence of the bourgeoisie to be the impetus behind her project. Her faith in universal philanthropy had caused her to underestimate the extent of social apathy towards the status of women.

Raising the Social Conscience

It is not surprising then that after Nécessité, Flora took a decidedly different approach to the task of establishing women's inclusion in society. Méphis and Promenades were less attempts to develop a specific plan for social reconstruction, than they were attempts to raise public awareness of the master-slave dynamic and of the double oppression which it imposed upon women.

In her introduction to Pérégrinations, Flora inadvertently initiated a "cold war" with novelist George Sand, née Aurore Dupin, by suggesting that Sand, otherwise a writer "qui s'est illustrée, dés son debut, par l'élévation

de sa pensée, la dignité et la pureté de son style, [. . .]" and whose novels so poignantly portrayed the misery of female experience in society, ultimately betrayed her solidarity with women by signing her novels with a male pseudonym. Flora believed that the "veil" of fiction behind which Sand diguised her life was in itself a betrayal: "Quels retentissements peuvent avoir des plaintes que des fictions enveloppent? Quelle influence pourraient-elles exercer lorsque les faits qui les motivent se dépouillent de leur réalité?" In spite of this earlier criticism, however, Flora could not ignore the popularity of the novel form at the time she was seeking to rouse the social conscience.[31]

Although Jules Peuch claimed in 1925 that Méphis would have an "honourable" place in French literature today were it known,[32] many other of Flora's biographers have disagreed. According to Beverly Livingston in 1983, Méphis,

> [. . .] while generally solidly structured, was not felicitiously written. Excessive tangential developments and typically Romantic conventions of exaggerated coincidences and melodramatic dialogue merely exacerbate a heavy didacticism which today's reader terds to find offensive.[33]

Jean Baelen's criticisms in 1970 are similar:

> Il est assez difficile de recommander la lecture des sept cent cinquante et quelque pages de Méphis [. . .] C'est une oeuvre très romantique qui offre, pour l'abondance des épisodes, et le rebondissement des intrigues, la matière d'une bonne vingtaine de romans [. . .] ou mieux de films cinématographiques, avec une incroyable quantité de pauvres vertueux, de lords malfaisants, de duchesses qui eussent fait plaisir à Stendhal, de Jésuites cauteleux ourdissant des

> trames, de bagnards, etc. [. . .] avec, bien entendu, une héroïne sublime et brune qui ressemble comme une soeur à Flora Tristan. Si bien que dans le genre essentiellement faux du roman démonstratif, Méphis peut passer pour assez amusant, l'abondance et la richesse de la sauce romanesque faisant passer le poison idéologique.[4]

The lives of the novels's protagonists, Flora's alter-egos Méphis and Maréquita, transparently symbolized the struggle of the proletariat and women as the underdogs of society. "Le poison idéologique" is, of course, "the utopian socialist dream of woman as the moralizer of humanity"[5] and Flora's pet credo that in unity there is strength.

Aesthetics aside, the significance of the novel (and perhaps what Peuch was referring to) was that Flora consciously linked and secured the woman question to the workers' cause. She did this by intertwining the lives of the two tragic lovers who had each suffered the neglect of rights and the biases of a corrupt capitalist society. She emphasized the emancipation of women and unity as prerequisites to worker emancipation. Her synthesis of the "woman question" and the "worker question" marked a new transition in Flora's development as a socialist-feminist.

Flora believed that like women, the working class was a collective cultural victim to an existing societal master-slave dynamic which thrived on the privileges and abuses of a few over the rights and the misery of many:

> Ah! que ces capitalistes, que ces propriétaires du sol, que les prolétaires rendent si riches par l'échange de quatorze heures de travail contre un morceau de pain, sont loin de balancer, par

> l'usage qu'ils font de leur fortune, les maux et désordres de tous genres qui résultent de l'accumulation des richesses dans leurs mains.[36]

With obvious exaggeration in order to make her point, Flora suggested that in some ways, even the black slave was better off than the proletariat:

> [. . .] l'esclave est sûr de son pain pour toute sa vie et de soins quand il tombe malade; tandis qu'il n'existe aucun lien entre l'ouvrier et le maître anglais. Si celui-çi n'a pas d'ouvrage à donner, l'ouvrier meurt de faim; est-il malade, il succombe sur la paille de son grabat, à moins que, près de mourir, il ne soit reçu dans un hôpital. Car c'est une faveur que d'y être admis."[37]

Promenades, like Méphis, was an attempt to raise the collective consciousness vis à vis the master-slave dynamic. The fact that England was the most industrialized nation in the world made London, "la ville monstre", the ideal place for her to conduct a study contrasting the lives of the proletariat with the privileged, "owning" classes. She dedicated the book to the workers:

> [. . .] ce n'est point le moment de s'amuser à lire des romans, des poèmes, des fables ou des drames [. . .] ce qui est urgent, c'est que les ouvriers s'instruisent des causes de leurs souffrances et des moyens d'y remédier; il faut qu'ils connaissent la marche des événements et des actes des privilégiés."[38]

She fervently believed that once they understood the nature and mechanics of their oppression, the workers would need no further prompting to unite in defiance of their oppressors - just as, she proudly pointed out, the workers of Lyons had done in 1831.[39]

Citing examples as diverse as the strength of London's Jewish community[40] and the success of the Irish workers' movement led by Daniel O'Connell,[41] Flora stressed that the spiritual, economic and political salvation of the working class lay in faith and unity. She devoted a chapter each to England's first large-scale reform movement, the Chartists ("l'association la plus formidable qui soit encore formee dans les trois royaumes [. . .]."),[42] and to the work of philanthropist Robert Owen. She was particularly taken with the latter who shared her own philosophy of universal philanthropy and love:

> Jamais la philanthropie n'a paru sous une forme plus unitaire, plus pleine de charité que dans l'organisation sociale d'Owen: sectateurs de Brahama, de Confucius, juifs, chrétiens et musulmans, enfants, jeunes gens et vieillards, riches et pauvres, le philanthrope pratique les réunit tous! Sa bannière est la tolérance; sa loi découle du principe d'amour et de fraternité prêché par Jésus; il cimente l'association par l'empire des habitudes bienveillantes et par l'intérêt individuel identifié à l'intérêt de tous.[43]

Movements like those led by the Chartists, by Owen, by Daniel O'Connell and certainly, manifestations like the riots of Lyons, were evidence to Flora that the working class, as "the most numerous and the most useful class",[44] possessed tremendous potential to effect social change. In light of this, she clearly understood the significance and necessity of harnessing male workers' support for female emancipation.

L'Union ouvrière

At the same time, Flora recognized that in spite of their promise as catalysts for reform, the French working class would never be an effective force in their country until they were organized. Indeed, Edouard Dolléans demonstrated in his 1957 Histoire du mouvement ouvrier that the reason French workers were largely incapable of acting on their disappointment with the lack of expected work reforms after their otherwise successful revolution in 1830, was that they lacked cohesive organization.[45] L'Union ouvrière was Flora's response to the need to organize workers in a way which would also ensure the acceptance and inclusion of women. Enough theorizing, Flora admonished her readers, "Only one thing remains to be done: to act [. . .] it is up to you and *only* you to act in the interest of your own cause."[46]

As the title of her book suggests, the action which Flora contemplated encompassed the creation of a Workers' Union. This union, just as she had conceived it at least nine years earlier in Nécessité, was to be international in nature and open to both male and female workers of all religions and races. Beverly Livingston (1983) credits her with being the "first to call for an international association of the proletariat"[47] but this period was the

peak of debate over the future of worker organizations. Given also the proliferation of ideas which circulated in the worker newspapers, poetry, and even in salons such as Flora's own, it is controversial to assignate "firsts" to even the most illustrious thinkers. Secret worker societies of the "compagnonnages" and worker associations already existed in France and, as Dolléans pointed out, in France, as in Great Britain, the workers' movement strove for solidarity with workers of other countries.[48] Thus, the Irish feminist and Owenite Anna Wheeler, was able to introduce Flora to Robert Owen at a gathering in Paris, and the English Chartists endeavoured, however unsuccessfully, to join ranks with the Irish Workers' movement.[49]

Flora actually credited the writings of three worker contemporaries for enlightening her with the idea of a "universal union of men and women workers": Le Livre du compagnonnage (1840) by cabinetmaker Agricol Perdiguier; De la réforme des abus du compagnonnage et de l'amélioration du sort des travailleurs (1843) by locksmith Pierre Moreau; and Projet tendant à régénérer le compagnonnage sur le tour de France soumis à tous les ouvriers, (1842) by blacksmith Jean Gosset.[50]

The "compagnonnages" were secret trade associations or "guilds" which provided both financial and moral support to its members. A "tour de France" was undertaken by each

member or "companion" during his apprenticeship in order to broaden his work experience, meet with his trade "brothers" in different parts of France, and participate in "vocational competitions" with members from other guilds.[51] As Gosset's and Moreau's titles suggest, however, the "compagnonnages" had long been plagued by in-fighting and often violent rivalries with other guilds. In their books, both Perdiguier and Gosset exposed the vices of the "compagnonages" and sought reforms, but they nonetheless remained attached to the secret societies' old traditions which kept apprentices materially at odds with full-fledged companions.[52] Moreau however, believed that simply reforming the "compagnonnages" would be insufficient to overcome the inherent divisiveness of these traditions. He supported a new worker society known as "l'union", and in doing so became one of Flora's major influences. Worker-poet Achille François shared Moreau's doubts and frustrations and wrote the following poem for his friend's book:

> Prolétaires, pourquoi ces haines?
> Ne sommes-nous pas tous égaux,
> N'avons-nous pas les mêmes maux,
> Ne portons-nous pas les mêmes chaînes?53

Flora's proposals for a universal union strove "to put the working class in a social position to demand its right to work, its right to education, and its right to be represented before the country".[54] The most basic of human rights, Flora pointed out, was the right to live, and it was

conspicuously absent from the Constitutional Charter of 1830. Recognizing that "the working class' own property and the only one it can ever possess is its hands",[56] Flora equated the right to work with the right to live - the single most important claim the working class had yet to make.

> Now, for the poor worker who possesses no land, shelter, capital, absolutely nothing except his hands, the rights of man and the citizen are of no value if his right to live is not recognized first of all (and in this case is even bitterly derisory). For the worker, the right to live is the right to work, the only right that can give him the possibility of eating, and thus, living.[57]

Flora reasoned that only an organization of labour could guarantee the workers' right to work and thus, the workers must secure their right to organize. Given that the right to work would doubtlessly be perceived as an attack on property, and labour organization as an attack on private enterprise, the only hope the workers had against the objection of the government and the capital owners according to Flora, was to unionize because "Unity gives strength."[58] The objectives of Flora's proposed Union would include the construction of Workers' Palaces throughout France where "children of both sexes, six to eighteen would be raised" and provided with a moral, intellectual, and vocational education; where sick or disabled or elderly workers would be admitted; and where equal rights for men and women would be recognized.[59] She proposed that a "defender", .. the

tradition of the Irish Daniel O'Connell, paid by the Workers' Union, be chosen to represent the demands and needs of the workers.

Although they had "brilliantly pointed out small, specific reforms", it was the lack of such a grand-scale plan which Flora found most wanting in Perdiguier's, Gosset's and even Moreau's proposals.[59] Her perceptiveness and her ability to translate theory into action are indeed what Dolléans believed earned Flora a place in French workers' history.[60]

CONCLUSION

More and more feminists today are recognizing that biography as a microcosm of history is an important part of reclaiming women's past. This thesis has demonstrated that Flora's (like other nineteenth-century feminists') theories and actions were very much based upon her life experiences. Flora's vision of herself and other women as pariahs, is a forceful theme throughout her work, but not original for her time. The pariah is also a prevalent Romantic theme. Romantic writers and socialists were intent upon analyzing institutions of injustice in their society which polarized the rich and the poor, the weak and the strong. Flora's self-portrait as a pariah stemmed originally from her personal circumstances of birth and then marriage which shaped her life experiences. Her conclusion that all women were pariahs stemmed from her analysis of women's cultural subordination based upon a master-slave dynamic and what she viewed as the double oppression of women.

In his 1987 essay "The Socialist Women's Movement from 1850 to 1940", Charles Sowerine claimed that Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels were the first to develop an analysis of the double oppression which confronted women. Sowerine

supported his claim by referring to Engel's statement that, "Within the family, [the husband] is the bourgeois, and the wife represents the proletariat", and to Marx's conclusion that "Marriage is a form of exclusive property". Sowerine also pointed to Marx's and Engels' observation that because women received half the wages of men, they were forced to be dependent upon men, a form of double oppression which "facilitated and increased their exploitation by capitalists."[2] Yet, almost fifty years before Engels' famous analysis, Flora had gone further by proclaiming that women were a separate class entirely.[3] And, years before Marx's analysis of marriage, she had already explicitly demonstrated in her chapter on Englishwomen in Promenades how "Il [le mari] la [sa femme] cloître dans sa maison, non parce qu'il en est amoureux et jaloux comme le turc, mais parce qu'il la considère comme sa chose, comme un meuble [. . .]."[4] Flora's portraits of women throughout her written oeuvre, articulate the legal and philosophical double standards borne and maintained by masculine culture, which effectively excluded women from the power structures of society and ensured their subordination in virtually all their relationships with men. It was clearly Flora's own personal experience and analysis of women's double oppression, long before Marx's and Engels', which inspired her belief that all women were pariahs.

Although Flora believed that women possessed Divine powers of influence as a result of their superior capacity for love, and that indeed, to guide man and humanity was woman's God-given mission, she did not believe women needed to resign themselves to their apparent fate of subservience. As suggested earlier, her portrayal of women as Divine manipulators could be seen as a strategy for the times which empowered women with the capability to alter the master-slave scenario, independently of legal constraints and within a context which was both dignifying and appealing because of the emphasis on women's important social position.

On this point, Flora shared common ground with many other French feminists of the period. A popular feminist argument for women's emancipation was based on the ideal of the mother-educator. Historian Karen Offen (1987) explained the appeal of this analogy:

> [. . .] aristocratic women viewed it as a meaningful alternative to the dissipation of pre-revolutionary court and social life. For urban women of the middle and lower-middle classes, the new ideal of the mother-educator had dignity and value that could counteract the devaluation of the many other vital but less inspired chores that fell to them."[9]

Like Flora, other feminists such as Saint-Simonians Desirée Veret and Suzanne Voilquin, took advantage of the respect

and responsibilities accorded motherhood to demand women's rights and special consideration.

Today Flora, like her Saint-Simonian sisters, might be described as a relational feminist, someone who "argued for greater personal autonomy for women [but] generally cast their arguments in terms of women's relationships to others and their responsibilities to a broader collectivity - in some cases the nation and in others the working class."[6] The relational feminist sought to "rehabilitate" women and to equalize the power of men to women in society without eroding or eliminating distinctive and, to them, desirable gender differences. According to Flora, the distinctive and crucial gender difference was women's capacity for love. This did more than equalize male-female power, however, it gave a decisive and obviously desirable edge to women for it made them inherently superior.

Acutely aware of the fragility of the patriarchal ego, Flora was ever careful not to allow her belief in female superiority to be perceived as a threat to man. Much like the Saint-Simonians and other relational feminists, she viewed the relationship between men and women to be "complementary and interdependent."[7]

> [. . .] it is not in the name of women's superiority (as I will unfailingly be accused) that I tell you to demand rights for women; not really. First of all, before discussing her superiority, one must recognize her social individuality. My support has a more solid basis.

> In the name of your own interest and improvement, men; and finally in the name of the universal well-being of all men and women, I invite you to appeal for women's rights [. . .].[8]

Women's "social individuality" simply rested with their unequalled and socially indispensable attributes as the moralizing agents of culture. Liman women, she had written, must be careful not to abuse their feminine wiles lest their important influence over the assignment of political appointments become impotent. Likewise, Flora admonished educated English women writers to take advantage of their privileged position and to take up the cause of women's emancipation just as their foremother, Mary Wollstonecraft, had done. Flora emphasized French bourgeois women's obligation to support their proletarian sisters by lending both moral and financial support for the creation of the Workers' Union and the workers' palaces.[9] To all women regardless of their social standing, she addressed reminders of their potential to influence their sons, brothers, husbands and fathers throughout their lives. Flora never regarded bourgeois women as class enemies. They were privileged sisters who, in the spirit of female class solidarity, had to be made aware of their moral obligation to help sisters less fortunate.

In her 1987 article, "Revolution and Opposition", Marie Maclean pointed to the "semi-institutionalisation of the 'power behind the throne' [in France], and the [French]

female tradition of manipulation of those in positions of authority". She quoted de Certeau who defined such "tactics" of manipulation as "the art of the weak".[10] Maclean herself defined these psychological and political machinations more technically in terms of "oppositional practice": "Opposition and oppositional practice constitute a recognition and acceptance of exclusion, by the very fact that the ground for manoeuvre is chosen with the laws of exclusion in mind."[11] While oppositional practice may eventually lead to a change in the exclusionary norm as a result of social evolution, "in the short run", wrote Maclean, "the other voice knows that it must revert to being the hidden voice".[12] Maclean contrasted "opposition" with "revolution", defining the latter as an act which "questions the processes and relationships of exclusion themselves and seeks to overthrow the norms, only of course to replace them".[13] The question one might ask of Flora as an activist is whether she was an oppositionalist and accepted exclusion, or a revolutionary who sought to "overthrow" the exclusionary norms.

As a socialist, it is true that Flora did not challenge the existence of a class-based system which supported the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie; her greatest frustration as a young woman stemmed from not being able to claim her aristocratic heritage. What she really challenged were the

hypocrisy, cruelty and apathy of these ruling classes. Her endeavours to create a "universal union of working men and women" and to erect worker palaces which would guarantee them a proper and equal education as children and a productive and comfortable retirement in old age, arose simply out of her conviction that the workers deserved better working conditions and a better quality of life. Inarguably, her goal was for the workers' voice to become an effective opposition to the ruling classes, which she hoped would inevitably lead to a gradual change in society's values and to respect for human rights. But this, as defined by Maclean, belongs to an evolutionary process, not a revolutionary one.

On one level, Flora's feminism also appears not to challenge the exclusionary norms of masculine society which refused women overt power. She was bothered that capable women, like Senora Gamarra - or indeed, herself - needed middlemen to rule, yet she accepted the cultural framework by suggesting that women manouevre within it as manipulators. Even linking women's drive for emancipation to the workers' movement, although perhaps a revolutionary "tactic", was not in itself an act of revolution. Women were still, in the end, depending on men to assist the process of their emancipation, still sublimating their voice to one that had better odds of being heard.

On another level, however, given the double oppression lived by women workers, Flora well knew that their emancipation could not be achieved simply by winning constitutional changes to guarantee legal and political recognition of women's rights. It is neither ironic nor detracts from the radicalism of her feminism, as Beverly Livingston suggested it did in 1983, that Flora said little on the issue of women's suffrage, an important topic at the time she published Promenades and L'Union, as well as a seemingly obvious route for women to take in their quest for emancipation. Flora did clearly acknowledge that suffrage was not to be scoffed at:

> [. . .] il y a lieu de croire que le vote universel enverrait à la Chambre des hommes réellement dévoués aux intérêts sociaux et que leur nombre l'emporterait sur les représentants des intérêts privés. C'est dans cet espoir que je désire le vote universel, afin d'arriver à un ordre de choses meilleur.[14]

Yet, at heart, and doubtlessly as a result of her Peruvian experience of politics, Flora was a grass-roots reformer: "Je ne suis pas de ceux qui voient dans le vote universel un remède à tous nos maux, les formes politiques ne sont que des moyens [. . .]."[15] Flora believed that real and enduring reform could only come about by changing cultural attitudes which were nurtured within the family. Even when she enjoined male workers to appeal for equal

rights for women, Flora asked that they "meanwhile at least recognize them in principle".[16]

Flora's biographers have commented that Flora's name is conspicuously absent from feminist rhetoric of the revolution of 1848. Daniel Armogathe pointed out in 1983 that while there was the odd working woman's association like Jeanne Deroin and Pauline Roland's "Association fraternelle et solidaire de toutes les associations" which bore a striking resemblance to Flora's Workers' Union, feminists by and large ignored Flora. Based upon an article in the "ultra-moralizing" La Voix des femmes (1848), Armogathe hypothesized that Flora's personal life sufficiently shocked even the most avant-garde women of the time that they let her slip into obscurity.[17] (A more in depth analysis of this phenonmenon would make an interesting study.) It must also be remembered however, that the main feminist platform (directed by Deroin) in 1848 was female suffrage, not an issue for which Flora was known.

By harnessing male workers' support to achieve the goal of women's emancipation and by establishing the equality of women as a precondition to the success of the Union (and thus, the workers own emancipation), Flora did purposefully direct a plan intended to revolutionize the hitherto male-owned organization of labour. By insisting that women also be guaranteed the right to work and that they be

remunerated equally and sufficiently, Flora did not accept the family processes and working relationships which refused women secure livelihoods, and productive and independent lifestyles. By insisting that women have the right to divorce, by retaining her own maiden name in an act of personal cultural defiance and as an example to others, by demanding the rights of the individual to organize, and by insisting upon society's responsibility to facilitate women's endeavours to study, to research, to conduct business and to seek protection, Flora categorically did not accept the socio-political norms which delineated women as anonymous cultural pariahs. I believe L'Union ouvrière's importance as a socialist document stems less from Flora's efforts to create an international workers' union than it does from her unwavering and radical insistence that women be included in the functional and philosophic norms of society. I believe historians Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert (1987) erred by suggesting that Flora followed in the tradition of Marx and Engels by including the woman question within the social context."[18] Unlike Marxist-feminist Clara Zetkin, who believed that changes in the organization of the family (intended to increase women's economic independence by reducing women's domestic responsibilities through communal sharing), were first dependent upon a social revolution,[19] Flora insisted that

such a revolution could only be successful with the prior emancipation of women. It would have been easier for her to gain worker's support for the Union, as many of her correspondents implied,[3] had she only compromised this commitment to women. That she did not is Flora's greatest legacy to Western men's and women's social history.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

[1] Barbara Taylor, Eve and the New Jerusalem (London: Virago, 1983) x.

[2] Jules-L. Puech, La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan, 1803-1844 (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1925) 290.

[3] Charles Gattey, Gaughin's Astonishing Grandmother: a Biography of Flora Tristan (London: Femina, 1970).

[4] Taylor x.

[5] Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot, Histoire des femmes en occident: le XIXe siècle (Paris: Plon, 1991) 507.

[6] Marie Maclean, "Revolution and Opposition: Olympe de Gouges and the 'Déclaration des droits de la femme'", Literature and Revolution, ed. David Bevan, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989) 171.

[7] Maclean 172.

[8] Laura Strumhinger, Women and the Making of the Working Class: Lyon 1830-1870 (Montreal: Eden Press, 1979) 1.

[9] Claire Goldberg Moses, French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century (Albany: NY Press, 1984) 67.

[10] As cited in Dominique Desanti, A Woman in Revolt: a Biography of Flora Tristan, trans. Elizabeth Zelvin (NY: Crown, 1972) 18.

[11] Moses xi.

[12] Flora Tristan, Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes etrangères (Paris: Délaunay, 1835).

[13] Flora Tristan, Mémoires et pérégrinations d'une paria (1833-1834), (Paris: A. Bertrand, 1838, 2 vols). Subsequent notes refer to the text used in this study: Flora Tristan, Peregrinations of a Pariah (1833-1834), ed., trans., and forward by Jean Hawkes (London: Virago, 1986).

[14] Flora Tristan, Promenades dans Londres ou l'aristocratie et les prolétaires anglais (Paris: Prevot, 1843). Subsequent notes refer to text used in this study: Flora Tristan, Promenades dans Londres ou l'aristocratie et les prolétaires anglais, forward and notes by François Bédarida (Paris: Maspero, 1983).

[15] Flora Tristan, L'Union ouvrière (Paris: Raymond Bocquet, 1842). Subsequent notes refer to text used in this study: Flora Tristan, The Workers' Union, translation and forward by Beverly Livingston (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983).

[16] Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays (1830-1840).

[17] For one such study, see Dale Spender, Women of Ideas And What Men Have Done to Them (London: Routeledge, 1982).

[18] These studies include: Hélène Brion's Une meconnue, Flora Tristan, la vraie fondatrice de l'internationale (Epône, France, Société d'édition et de librairie, l'Avenir Sociale, 1918); Marguerite Thibert's "Féminisme et socialisme d'après Flora Tristan" Revue d'Histoire économique et sociale, IX, (1921) 115-136; a few unedited letters by Flora in André Breton's "Lettres inedités." Le Surréalisme même, 4 (1954) 4-12; and a short chapter devoted to Flora in Margaret Goldsmith's Seven Women Against the World, (London: Methuen & Co., 1935).

[19] See Hélène Brion, note 14.

[20] Dominique Desanti, "L'Utopie saisie par les utopistes" Fini le féminisme? Perdre plus que nos chaînes, (a collection of lectures given at an international conference in Paris on "Feminism and Socialisms"), ed. Gisèle Halimi (Paris: Gallimard, 1983) 58.

[21] Paule-Marie Duhet, Femmes et la Révolution, 1789-1794 (Paris: Julliard, 1971) 24.

[22] Laura S. Strumingher, The Odyssey of Flora Tristan (NY: Peter Lang, 1988) 151.

[23] Flora Tristan, Le Tour de France: Journal, 1843-1844, vols. I and II. Notes by Jules-L. Puech, preface by Michel Collinet, introduction by Stéphane Michaud. (Paris: Maspero, 1980).

[24] Flora Tristan, Méphis (Paris: Ladvocat, 1838).

[25] Flora Tristan, "Lettres a un architecte anglais". Revue de Paris 37.134-139: 38.280-290 (1837); "De l'art et de l'artiste dans l'antiquité et a la Renaissance", "De l'art depuis la Renaissance." L'Artiste 3.9 (1838): 187 and 3.24 (1838) 143.

[26] Flora Tristan, "Pétition pour le rétablissement du divorce Chambre des Députés", no. 133, Pét. 71 (December 20, 1837). Pamphlet in Archives national, Paris.

[27] Flora Tristan, "Pétition pour l'abolition de la peine de mort". Journal du Peuple (December, 1838). Pamphlet in Archives national, section moderne, Archives de la Chambre des Députés, Pet. 139. no. 70.

[28] Tristan, Promenades, 61-62.

[29] Maurice Agulhon, Une ville ouvrière au temps du socialisme utopique: Toulon de 1815 à 1851 (Paris: Mouton, 1971).

[30] Agulhon 154.

[31] Tristan, Tour de France, vol. I, 163-164.

[32] Tristan, Tour de France, vol. I, 119.

[33] George Lichtheim, The Origins of Socialism (NY: Praeger, 1969) 68.

[34] Mariana Valverde, "As if Subjects Existed: Analysing Social Discourses", The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology, 28.2 (1991): 174.

[35] Carolyn Steedman, Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1990 (London: Virago, 1990) 245.

[36] Martin Turnell trans., Beaudelaire, Jean-Paul Sartre, (Norfolk, James Laughlin, 1950).

[37] Turnell 10.

[38] See note 24.

[39] Flora Tristan, "Episode de la vie de Ribera dit l'Espagnolet" L'Artiste 13 (1838) 192.

[40] Moses ix.

[41] Barbara Corrado Pope, "The Influence of Rousseau's Ideology of Domesticity", Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to Present ed., Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (NY: Oxford UP, 1987) 136-146.

CHAPTER ONE

The Cultural Exclusion of Women

[1] Moses ix.

[2] Moses x.

[3] Barbara Mitchell, The Practical Revolutionaries: A New Interpretation of the French Anarchosyndicalists (NY: Greenwood Press, 1987) 107.

[4] Mary Wollstonecraft, A Vindication of the Rights of Women, introduction by Mary Warnock (London: Dent, 1985).

[5] Barbara Corrado Pope, "The Influence of Rousseau's Ideology of Domesticity", Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to Present ed., Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert (NY: Oxford UP, 1987) 136.

[6] For a discussion of Rousseau's concept of separate spheres see Pope.

[7] Olwen Hufton, "Women in Revolution 1789-1794", French Society and the Revolution, ed. D. Johnson (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976) 150.

[8] Cahiers des doléances des femmes, ed. Paule-Marie Duhet (Paris: Des Femmes, 1981).

[9] Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, "Women and Political Revolution in Paris", Becoming Visible in European History, eds. Bridenthal, Koonz, Stuard, 2nd ed., (Boston: Houghton, 1987) 285.

[10] For an analytical account of women's victories and losses during and after the Revolution see Paule-Marie Duhet, Les Femmes et la Revolution, 1789-1794 (Paris: Julliard, 1971).

[11] Mitchell 108.

[12] Eleanor S. Riemer, John C. Fout, eds., European Women: A Documentary History, 1789-1945 (NY: Schocken Books, 1980) 66.

[13] Mitchell 104.

[14] Mitchell 105.

[15] For an analysis of the failure of "Les Trois Glorieuses" to live up to the workers' aspirations see

Edouard Dolléans, Histoire du mouvement ouvrier 1830-1871 (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1957) 42-48.

[34] Beverly Livingston, translation and forward, The Workers' Union by Flora Tristan (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983) xii.

[35] Livingston xii.

[36] Livingston xiv.

[37] J.L. Talmon, Romanticism and Revolt: Europe, 1815-1848 (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1967) 51.

[38] Tristan Promenades, trans. Bédarida, 15.

[39] Laura Levine Frader, "Women in the Industrialist Capitalist Economy", Bridenthal et al. 329.

[40] As cited in Taylor xii.

[41] Taylor 20.

[42] Taylor 23.

[43] Taylor 270.

[44] As cited in Taylor 38.

[45] Taylor 43.

[46] Taylor 184.

[47] Taylor 48.

[48] Taylor 205.

[49] Marilyn J. Boxer and Jean H. Quataert, Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present (NY: Oxford UP, 1987) 111.

As cited in David Owen Evans, Social Romanticism in France, 1830-1848 (NY: Octagon, 1969) 14..

[50] Frank E. Manuel and Fritzie P. Manuel, French Utopias: An Anthology of Ideal Societies (NY: The Free Press, 1966) 262.

[51] Dominique Desanti, "L'Utopie" 46.

[52] Roger Picard, Le Romantisme Sociale (NY: Brentano, 1944) 384.

[53] Joan S. Moon, "Feminism and Socialism: The Utopian Synthesis of Flora Tristan", Socialist Women: European Feminism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, eds. Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert, (NY: Elsevier, 1978) 26.

[54] Moon 27.

[38] Boxer and Quataert, Connecting, 111-112.

[39] Claire Démar, Textes sur l'affranchissement des femmes: (1832-1833) Notes by Valentin Pelosse. (Paris: Payot, 1976) 19.

[40] Moses 56.

[41] See Moses, 60-87, for a detailed discussion of the Tribune des Femmes.

[42] Sheila Rowbotham, Woman, Resistance and Revolution (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1972) 52.

[43] Moon 28.

[44] Mitchell 109.

[45] Evans 47.

[46] Picard 317.

[47] Boxer and Quataert, Connecting, 112.

[48] Rowbotham 51.

[49] Stéphane Michaud, ed., Flora Tristan: Lettres (Paris: Seuil, 1980) 79.

[50] Rowbotham 52.

[51] Maclean 174.

[52] Taylor xv.

[53] Evans 66-67.

[54] Philippe Van Tieghem, Le romantisme français (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1958) 29.

[55] As cited in Picard 189.

[56] As cited in Picard 183.

[57] Amédée Pommier, as cited in Picard, 91.

[58] Nancy Rogers, "George Sand: Social Protest in her Early Works" The George Sand Papers: Conference Proceedings, 1976 Hofstra University Cultural and Intercultural Studies: 1, (NY: AMS Press, 1976).

[59] Picard 200.

[60] Hugo, as cited in Picard 155.

[61] Picard 401-402.

[62] Hugo, as cited in Picard 99.

[63] Taylor 157.

[64] Taylor 158.

[45] Taylor 162.

[46] Taylor 161.

[47] Jean Baelen, "Une romantique oubliée Flora Tristan", Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Lettres d'humanité, XXIX, 4th ser. 4 (Dec. 1970) 505-561.

CHAPTER TWO

The Feminist and Socialist Indoctrination of a Pariah

[1] Puech's study (see note 1) is recognized by scholars as the definitive biography of Tristan's life. Unless otherwise stated, all biographical details presented in this thesis are based upon Puech's research.

[2] Tristan, Promenades, ch. 14.

[3] Tristan, Peregrinations, 70.

[4] Puech, 10.

[5] Tristan, Peregrinations, 71.

[6] Sandra Dijkstra, "The City as Catalyst for Flora Tristan's Vision of Social Change", The City and Women ed. Susan Merril Squier, (NY: Oxford UP, 1978) 15.

[7] Puech 119.

[8] Reprinted in Puech 12-13.

[9] Dominique Desanti, A Woman in Revolt: A Biography of Flora Tristan, trans. Elizabeth Zelvin (NY: Crown, 1976) 19.

[10] As cited in Puech 17.

[11] As cited Desanti 22.

[12] As cited Puech 18.

[13] Puech 19.

[14] Strumingher 16.

[15] Puech 26-27.

[16] Puech 27.

[17] Puech 28.

[18] Tristan, Peregrinations, 1.

[19] Tristan, Peregrinations, 1-2.

[20] Tristan, Peregrinations, 26.

[21] Tristan, Peregrinations, 30.

[22] Tristan, Peregrinations, 50.

[23] Tristan, Peregrinations, 54.

[24] Tristan, Peregrinations, 52.

[25] Tristan, Peregrinations, 76.

[26] Tristan, Peregrinations, 76.

[27] Tristan, Peregrinations, 106.

[28] Jean Hawkes, trans., Peregrinations, xv.

[29] Tristan, Peregrinations, 152.

[30] Tristan, Peregrinations, 124.

[31] Tristan, Peregrinations, 111.

[32] Tristan, Peregrinations, 174.

[33] Tristan, Peregrinations, 232.

[34] Tristan, Nécessité, 25.

[35] Tristan, Nécessité, 25.

[36] Puech 69.

[37] Puech 70.

[38] Puech 77.

[39] Michaud, Lettres, 18.

[40] Michaud, Lettres, 58.

[41] For an account of Marie Madelaine de Pourtrat and her journal see, Laure Adler, A l'aube du féminisme: Les Premières journalistes (1830-1850) (Paris: Payot, 1979) 102-109.

[42] Adler 105.

[43] Taylor 60.

[44] Taylor xii.

[45] Taylor 17.

[46] As cited in Bédarida, 318.

[47] André Chazal, Mémoire ayant pour but d'éclairer la Chambre du Conseil adressé à Mes Juges pour être joint au

dossier de l'affaire Chazal. Pater natae suae defloration is accusatas. - "Aujourd'hui à moi, demain à toi. - Chazal jeune place de l'Abbaye à Montmartre, 1837" (Bibliothèque nationale: 40 F 3 Pièce 6319).

[46] For an account of Chazal's memoire see Puech 82-83.

[47] As cited in Puech, 83.

[49] The petition is recorded in Michaud, Lettres, 73.

[51] Hawkes trans., Peregrinations by Flora Tristan, x.

[52] Hawkes trans., Peregrinations by Flora Tristan, x.

[54] Puech 85, Artiste, August, 1837; Jan. 1838: 280.

[54] Puech 85, Journal des Débats 13 Feb. 1939.

[55] Flora Tristan, "Lettres de Bolivar" Le Voleur 31 July, 1838.

[56] "De l'Art et de l'artiste dans l'antiquité et à la Renaissance" L'Artiste 2.9 (1838): 117, "De l'Art depuis la Renaissance" L'Artiste 2.24 (1838): 345.

[57] As cited in Puech 394-395.

[58] Flora Tristan, "Episode de la vie de Ribera dit l'Espagnolet" L'Artiste 13 (1838) 192.

[59] Strumhinger 66.

[60] Puech 409.

[61] Hawkes, trans, Peregrinations by Flora Tristan, xxi.

[62] As cited in Puech 89.

[63] Michaud, Lettres, 96.

[64] See Francois Bédarida's comments in Tristan, Promenades, 44.

[65] Tristan, Promenades, 54.

[66] Bédarida 24.

[67] As cited in Bedarida 24.

[68] Maximilien Rubel, "Flora Tristan and Karl Marx" La Nef Jan. 1946: 73.

[69] Rubel 73.

[70] Rubel 71.

[71] Michaud, Lettres, 103-106.

[72] These notes were posthumously collected and annotated by Jules Peuch. See note 11.

[73] Puech 205.

[74] Michaud, Lettres, 144.

[75] Charles Lemonnier was a professor of philosphy until he became a devotee of the St. Simonian religion. He published three volumes of St. Simon's work in 1859 and in 1867 founded "Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberte" and his journal, Les Etats-Unis d'Europe. Elise Lemonnier was the founder of the professional schools for young girls in Paris which carried her name. Puech 274.

[76] Puech 414.

[77] Puech 288.

[78] Carolyn Steedman, Landscape for a Good Woman: a Story of Two Lives (London: Virago, 1986) 6.

CHAPTER THREE

Critique of the Present: Portraits of Exclusion and the Master-Slave Dynamic

[1] Barbara W. Tuchman, "Biography as a Prism of History" Telling Lives: The Biographer's Art, ed. Marc Pachter (Wash: New Republic Books, 1979) 134.

[2] Paule Bourgeade, De l'écriture féminine aux écrits féministes (unpublished collection of selected texts, Université d'Aix-Marseille, 1983) 49.

[3] Bernard Rosenthal, foreward, Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties of Women, by Margaret Fuller (NY: Norton, 1971) 37.

[4] Gayle Graham Yates, ed., Harriet Martineau on Women (New Jersey: Rutgers U.P., 1985) 18.

[5] Tristan, Peregrinations, 100-101.

[6] Tristan, Peregrinations, 101.

[7] Tristan, Peregrinations, 102-106.

[8] Tristan, Peregrinations, 200.

[9] Tristan, Peregrinations, 200.

[10] Tristan, Peregrinations, 240.

[11] Tristan, Peregrinations, 241.

[12] Tristan, Peregrinations, 105.

[13] Tristan, Peregrinations, 240.

[14] Tristan, Peregrinations, 106.

[15] Tristan, Peregrinations, 105.

[16] Tristan, Peregrinations, 186.

[17] Tristan, Peregrinations, 186.

[18] Tristan, Peregrinations, 190, 188.

[19] Tristan, Peregrinations, 197.

[20] Tristan, Peregrinations, 262.

[21] Luis Martin, Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1983) 34.

[22] Tristan, Peregrinations, 262.

[23] Tristan, Peregrinations, 179-180.

[24] Tristan, Peregrinations, 179-180.

[25] Martin 33.

[26] Tristan, Peregrinations, 180.

[27] Tristan, Peregrinations, 230.

[28] Tristan, Peregrinations, 300.

[29] Tristan, Peregrinations, 173-174.

[30] Tristan, Peregrinations, 174.

[31] Tristan, Peregrinations, 176.

[32] Tristan, Peregrinations, 174.

[33] Tristan, Peregrinations, 232.

[34] Tristan, Peregrinations, 111.

[35] Tristan, Peregrinations, 298.

[36] Tristan, Peregrinations, 269, 276.

[37] Tristan, Peregrinations, 271-273.

[38] Tristan, Peregrinations, 275.

[39] Tristan, Peregrinations, 275.

[40] Martin 282.

[42] Martin 300.

[43] Martin 281-282.

[44] Tristan, Peregrinations, 272.

[45] Tristan, Peregrinations, 272.

[46] Tristan, Peregrinations, 272.

[47] See p. 29-30 of this study.

[48] Tristan, Peregrinations, 174.

[49] Tristan, Peregrinations, 275.

[50] Tristan, Peregrinations, 274.

[51] Mary Russell, The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt; Women Travellers and Their World (London: Collins, 1988).

[52] Julie Wheelwright, Amazons and Military Maids; Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness (London: Pandora, 1989).

[53] Ellen Moers Literary Women (1976; NY: Oxford UP, 1985).

[54] Tristan, Peregrinations, 273.

[55] Tristan, Tour de France, vol. II, 124-127. The punctuation and spelling are Tristan's own.

[56] Chroniques de la France et des Français, (Paris: Editions Jacques Legrand, 1987) 851.

[57] Tristan, Promenades, 124.

[58] Rowbotham 65.

[59] E.M. Siggworth, T.J. Wykes, "A Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease", Suffer and be Still; Women in the Victorian Age, ed. Martha Vicinius (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1973) 78.

[60] Francois Bédarida, introduction, Promenades dans Londres, by Flora Tristan, 15-16.

[61] "La ville monstre" is the title of the first chapter in Tristan's Promenades dans Londres.

[62] Tristan, Promenades, 123.

[63] Tristan, Promenades, 125.

[64] Tristan, Promenades, 157.

[65] Tristan, Promenades, 125.

[66] Rowbotham 65.

[66] Tristan, Promenades, 132.

[67] Tristan, Promenades, 139.

[68] André Lagarde, Laurent Michard, eds., XIXe siècle; Les grands auteurs français du programme, "La nuit de mai", Alfred de Musset (Paris: Bordas, 1969) 212-216.

[69] Lagarde, XIXe siècle, "La nuit d'octobre", Alfred de Musset (Paris: Bordas, 1969) 6-39, 8-48, 222.

[70] Lagarde, XIXe siècle, "La maison du Berger", Alfred de Vigny (Paris: Bordas, 1969) III,6, 140.

[71] Paule-Marie Duhet, Les femmes et la revolution, 1784-1794, (Paris, Julliard, 1971) 207.

[72] Tristan, Promenades, 126.

[73] W.E.H. Lecky, History of European Morals, vol. II, (London, 1869) 299-300, cited by Bédarida, ed., Promenades by Flora Tristan, 126-127.

[74] Rowbotham 66.

[75] Tristan, Workers' Union, 76.

[76] For an analysis of Rousseau's influence on western cultural history see Barbara Corrado Pope, "The Influence of Rousseau's Ideology of Domesticity", Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to Present, eds. Marilyn J. Boxer, Jean H. Quataert, (NY: Oxford UP, 1987) 136-145.

[77] Rowbotham 39.

[78] Bédarida, intro., Promenades by Flora Tristan, 29.

[79] Dijkstra 28.

[80] Tristan, Promenades, 264-266.

[81] Sandra M. Gilbert, Susan Gubar, eds., The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women, (NY: Norton, 1985) 171.

[82] Mary Beard, Women as Force in History

[83] Gilbert 172.

[84] Tristan, Promenades, 267.

[85] Tristan, Promenades, 262.

[86] Claire Démar, L'affranchissement des femmes: (1832-1833) (Paris: Payot, 1976) 19.

[87] Tristan, Promenades, 269.

[88] William Thompson Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men,

to Retain Them in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery, as cited in Taylor p. 36.

[89] Tristan, Promenades, 270.

[90] Curiously Tristan does not mention her friend Anna Wheeler. William Thompson had acknowledged that in his Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Pretensions of the Other Half, Men, to Retain Them in Political, and Thence in Civil and Domestic Slavery, he was the "interpreter and scribe of [Wheeler's] sentiments". See Taylor 22-23, footnote.

[91] Tristan, Promenades, 270-271.

[92] Had she lived another 10 years, no doubt Tristan would have been pleased with what she might have read. However, in her time, the major feminist works of her English and American contemporaries - from Elizabeth Barrett Browning Aurora Leigh, 1857) to Margaret Fuller (Woman in the Nineteenth Century) - had not yet been published. Furthermore, Tristan's last visit to London was in 1839, the year before Promenades was published, and she was busily occupied with her new "mission" to enlighten French workers after she returned to France. None of these activities would have left much time for her to become familiar with their works even if they had been available.

[93] Tristan, Promenades, 276.

[94] Tristan, Promenades, 276.

[95] Tristan, Peregrinations, 111.

[96] Tristan, Workers' Union, 76.

[97] Tristan, Promenades, 266.

[98] Tristan, Promenades, 272.

[99] Tristan, Nécessité, 3.

[100] Tristan, Nécessité, 5.

[101] Tristan, Nécessité, 5.

[102] Tristan's own experiences travelling on her own support her claim. In Peregrinations, she recounted her arrival in Valparaiso, Chile aboard the Mexicain:

> The two captains (of ships that had left Bordeaux at the same time as the Mexicain) had annonced my imminent arrival, and as they were unwilling to admit the reason why I had not sailed with either of them, they had had the impudence to claim that I had chosen M. Chabrié because of the good-looking young men on board. So the good folk

> of Valparaiso were expecting to see a very pretty young lady, as to complete their revenge the two malicious captains had made certin insinuations about me. People were also expecting to see the handsome young men of the Mexicain fighting duels over me, which they would have found vastly entertaining. (55).

[103] Tristan, Nécessité, 6.

[104] Tristan, Nécessité, 9.

[105] Tristan, Nécessité, 7.

[106] Tristan, Nécessité, 8.

[107] Moses 7.

CHAPTER FOUR

On the Inclusion of Women

[1] Tristan, Workers' Union, 78.

[2] Tristan, Nécessité, 3.

[3] Tristan, Nécessité, 4.

[4] Tristan also alluded to this belief in Peregrinations in her discussion with Senor Lavalle, the owner of a sugar refinery run on slave labour:

> When you consider the formidable obstacles involved in freeing all the slaves at the same time, you are amazed that a nation as enlightened as the English should have risked such a step before ensuring that the slaves had acquired industrious habits and had been trained to use the freedom which is part of our social system. I am convinced that only a process of gradual emancipation offers a means of transforming the negroes into useful members of society (284)

[5] Tristan, Nécessité, 4.

[6] Tristan, Nécessité, 6.

[7] Tristan, Nécessité, 15.

[8] Tristan, Nécessité, 25.

[9] Tristan, Nécessité, 16.

[10] Tristan, Nécessité, 25.

[11] Tristan, Nécessité, 25.

[12] Tristan, Nécessité, 24.

[13] Tristan, Nécessité, 25, note 1.

[14] Tristan, Tour, 70.

[15] Tristan, Nécessité, 24.

[16] Tristan, Tour, 123.

[17] Tristan, Tour, 231.

[18] See also Barbara Taylor's study in Eve of the socialist millenarians, particularly those like Joanna Southcott who influenced the Owenite movement. 157-172.

[19] Roger Picard highlighted Lamartine's and Hugo's divinization of women in Le Romantisme social, (NY: Bentano's, 1944) 401.

[20] Charles Ganneau was a self-proclaimed messiah. Adopting many St. Simonian principles, he regarded himself as a sort of synthesis of the Supreme Couple. He referred to himself as the Mapah, a word he derived from the French maman and papa. In 1838 he published a manifesto entitled Evadam. Ganneau was a close friend of Flora Tristan. Picard 343.

[21] For a description of the metaphysical and religious influences in many of the French utopists' doctrines, see Picard 290-351.

[22] Tristan, Nécessité, 12.

[23] Tristan, Nécessité, 13.

[24] Tristan, Nécessité, 23.

[25] Tristan, Nécessité, 21.

[26] Tristan, Nécessité, 21.

[27] Tristan, Nécessité, 22.

[28] Tristan, Nécessité, 22.

[29] Puech 69.

[30] Hubertine Auclert, La citoyenne: articles de 1881-1891, forward by Edith Jaieb, (Paris: Syros, 1982) 122-123.

[31] Baelen 541.

[32] Jules L. Puech, "La vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan", Revue de Paris Dec. 1, 1910, 590.*

[33] Livingston x.

[34] Baelen 542-543.

[35] Moon 23.

[36] Tristan, Promenades, 126.

[37] Tristan, Promenades, 114.

[38] Tristan, Promenades, 54.

[39] Tristan, Promenades, 50.

[40] Tristan, Promenades, 200-204.

[41] Tristan, Workers' Union, 52-53.

[42] Tristan, Promenades, 87.

[43] Tristan, Promenades, 325.

[44] Tristan, Workers' Union, 48.

[45] Dolléans 44-45.

[46] Tristan, Workers' Union, 37.

[47] Livingston vii.

[48] Dolléans 173.

[49] Tristan, Promenades, 87.

[50] Livingston 45.

[51] Livingston 45-46.

[52] Dolléans 189-191.

[53] Dolléans 191.

[54] Tristan, Workers' Union, 47.

[55] Tristan, Workers' Union, 55.

[56] Tristan, Workers' Union, 54.

[57] Tristan, Workers' Union, 39.

[58] For a more in depth account of these palaces refer to Tristan, Workers' Union, 113-123.

[59] Tristan, Workers' Union, 47.

[60] Dolléans 192.

[61] Tristan, Workers' Union, 83.

[62] Tristan, Workers' Union, 82.

[63] Tristan, Workers' Union, 97.

[64] Tristan, Workers' Union, 84-85.

[65] Tristan, Workers' Union, 92-93.

[66] Tristan, Workers' Union, 64.

[67] Tristan, Workers' Union, 87.

CONCLUSION

[1] Charles Sowerine, "The Socialist Women's Movement from 1850- 1940", Becoming Visible: Women in European History, eds. Bridenthal, Koonz, Stuard, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton, 1987) 402.

[2] Sowerine 402.

[3] Tristan, Nécessité, 3.

[4] Tristan, Promenades, 267.

[5] Karen Offen, "The Theory and Practice of Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Europe", Becoming Visible: Women in European History, eds. Bridenthal, Koonz, Stuard, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghtin, 1987) 347.

[6] Offen 338.

[7] Offen 338.

[8] Tristan, Workers' Union, 87.

[9] Tristan, Workers' Union, 110-111.

[10] Maclean 175.

[11] Maclean 171.

[12] Maclean 172.

[13] Maclean 172.

[14] Tristan, Promenades, 89 footnote.

[15] Tristan, Promenades, 89 footnote.

[16] Tristan, Workers' Union, 87.

[17] Daniel Armogathe, "Flora Tristan, féministe et socialiste." Fini le féminisme? Perdre plus que nos chaines, ed. Gisèle Halimi, (Paris: Gallimard, 1984) 70-71.

[18] Boxer, Marilyn, and Jean Quataert, eds. Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present (NY: Oxford UP, 1987) 131.

[19] Offen 347.

[20] See "Lettre de L. Vasbenter", Puech 474, and "Lettre de S. Hugont" Puech 478.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adler, Laure. A l'aube du féminisme: Les premières journalistes (1830-1850). Paris: Payot, 1979.

Agulhon, Maurice. Une Ville ouvrière au temps du socialisme utopique: Toulon de 1815 à 1851. Paris: Mouton, 1971.

Applewhite, Harriet Branson, and Darline Gay Levy. "Women and Political Revolution in Paris." Bridenthal et al. 279-309.

Armogathe, Daniel. "Flora Tristan, féministe et socialiste." Halimi 58-73.

Ascher, Carol, Louise de Salvo, and Sara Ruddick eds. Between Women. Boston: Beacon Press, 1984.

Auclert, Hubertine. La Citoyenne: articles de 1881-1891. Ed. Edith Jaieb. Paris: Syros, 1982.

Baelen, Jean. "Une romantique oubliée: Flora Tristan." Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Lettres d'humanité 4th ser. XXIX, (1970): 505-561.

Boxer, Marilyn, and Jean Quataert, eds. Socialist Women: European Feminism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. NY: Elsevier, 1978.

---, eds. Connecting Spheres: Women in the Western World, 1500 to the Present. NY: Oxford UP, 1987.

Bourgeade, Paule. De l'écriture féminine aux écrits féministes. (Unpublished collection of selected texts). Université d'Aix-Marseille, France: 1983.

Breton, André. "Lettres inédites." Le Surréalisme même. 4 (1954): 4-12.

Bridenthal, Renate, Claudia Koonz, and Susan Stuard, eds. Becoming Visible: Women in European History. 2nd ed. Boston: Houghton, 1987.

Chronique de la France et des Français. Paris: Editions Jacques Legrand, 1987.

Courtivron, Isabelle de, and Elaine Marks, eds. New French Feminisms. NY: Schocken, 1981.

Démar, Claire. Textes sur l'affranchissement des femmes: (1832-1833). Notes by Valentin Pelosse. Paris: Payot, 1976.

Desanti, Dominique. A Woman in Revolt: A Biography of Flora Tristan. Trans. Elizabeth Zelvin. NY: Crown, 1976.

---. "L'Utopie saisie par les féministes." Halimi 46-58.

Dijkstra, Sandra. "The City as Catalyst for Flora Tristan's Vision of Social Change." The City and Women. Ed. Susan Merril Squier. NY: Oxford UP. 1978. 15.

Dolléans, Edouard. Histoire du mouvement ouvrier, 1830-1871. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1957.

Duby, Georges and Michelle Perrot. Histoire des femmes en occident: le XIXe siècle. Paris: Plon, 1991.

Duhet, Paule-Marie. Les Femmes et la Révolution, 1789-1794. Paris: Julliard, 1971.

---, ed. Cahiers des doléances des femmes. Paris: Des Femmes, 1981.

Evans, David Owen. Social Romanticism in France (1830-1848). NY: Octagon, 1969.

Frader, Laura Levine. "Women in the Industrialist Capitalist Economy". Bridenthal et al. 309-335.

Fuller, Margaret. Woman in the Nineteenth Century and Kindred Papers Relating to the Sphere, Condition and Duties of Women. Foreward by Bernard Rosenthal. NY: Norton, 1971.

Gattey, Charles N. Gauguin's Astonishing Grandmother: A Biography of Flora Tristan. London; Femina, 1970.

George Sand Papers: Conference Proceedings, 1976. Hofstra University Cultural and Intercultural Studies: 1. NY: AMS Press, 1976.

Gilbert, Sandra M., and Susan Gubar, eds. The Norton Anthology of Literature by Women. NY: Norton, 1985.

Goldsmith, Margaret. Seven Women against the World. London: Methuen & Co., 1935.

Green, Carol Hurd, and Mary Grimley Mason, eds. Journeys: Autobiographical Writings by Women. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979.

Halimi, Gisèle, ed. Fini le féminisme? Perdre plus que nos chaînes. Paris: Gallimard, 1984.

Hufton, Olwen. "Women in Revolution, 1789-1794". French Society and the Revolution. Ed. D. Johnson. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1976.

Lagarde, André, and Laurent Michard, eds. XIXè siècle; Les grands auteurs français du programme. Paris: Bordas, 1969.

Lichtheim, George. The Origins of Socialism. NY: Praeger, 1969.

Livingston, Beverly, ed. and trans. The Workers' Union. By Flora Tristan. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983.

Maclean, Marie. "Revolution and Opposition: Olympe de Gouges and the Déclaration des droits de la femme." Literature and Revolution. Ed. David Bevan. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1989.

Manuel, Frank E., and Fritzie P. Manuel, eds. French Utopias: An Anthology of Ideal Societies. NY: Schocken Books, 1971.

Martin, Luis. Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1983.

Michaud, Stéphane, ed. Flora Tristan: Lettres. Paris: Seuil, 1980.

Mitchell, Barbara. The Practical Revolutionaries: A New Interpretation of the French Anarchosyndicalists. NY: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Moers, Ellen. Literary Women. 1976. NY: Oxford UP, 1985.

Moon, Joan S. "Feminism and Socialism: The Utopian Synthesis of Flora Tristan." Socialist Women: European Feminism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. Boxer et al., Socialist 19-51.

Moses, Claire Goldberg. French Feminism in the Nineteenth Century. Albany: NY Press, 1984.

Offen, Karen. "The Theory and Practice of Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Europe". Bridenthal et al. 335-375.

Pachter, Marc, ed. Telling Lives, the Biographers Art. Washington: New Republic Books, 1979.

Picard, Roger. Le Romantisme social. NY: Bentano's, 1944.

Pirotte, Huguette. George Sand. Belgium: Duculot, 1980.

Pope, Barbara Corrado. "The Influence of Rousseau's Ideology of Domesticity." Boxer et al., Connecting 136-146.

Puech, Jules L. "La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan." Revue de Paris 1 Dec. 1910: 573-595.

Puech, Jules-L. La Vie et l'oeuvre de Flora Tristan, 1803-1844. Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1925.

Riemer, Eleanor S., and John C. Fout, eds. European Women: A Documentary History, 1789-1945. NY: Schocken, 1980.

Rowbotham, Sheila. Women, Resistance and Revolution. London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1972.

Steedman, Carolyn. Landscape for a Good Woman: a Story of Two Lives. London: Virago, 1986.

---. Childhood, Culture and Class in Britain: Margaret McMillan, 1860-1931. London: Virago, 1990.

Sowerine, Charles. "The Socialist Women's Movement from 1850-1940". Bridenthal et al. 399-429.

Strumingher, Laura S. The Odyssey of Flora Tristan. NY: Peter Lang, 1988.

---. Women and the Making of the Working Class: Lyon 1830-1870. St. Alban's: Eden Press, 1979.

Talmon, J.L. Romanticism and Revolt: Europe, 1815-1848. London: Jarrold and Sons, 1967.

Taylor, Barbara. Eve and the New Jerusalem. London: Virago, 1983.

Tristan, Flora. Pérégrinations of a Pariah (1833-1834). 1838. Ed. and trans. Jean Hawkes. London: Virago, 1986.

Tristan, Flora. Promenades dans Londres ou l'aristocratie et les prolétaires anglais. 1842. Ed. François Bedarida. Paris: Maspero, 1983.

Tristan, Flora. The Workers' Union. Ed. and trans. Beverly Livingston. Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1983.

Tristan, Flora. Le Tour de France: Journal, 1843-1844. 2 vols. Ed. Jules-L. Puech. Preface Michel Collinet. Introduction Stéphane Michaud. Paris: Maspero, 1980.

Tristan, Flora. Nécessité de faire un bon accueil aux femmes étrangères. Paris: Delaunay, 1835.

Rubel, Maximilien. "Flora Tristan and Karl Marx." La Nef 73 (1946): 68-76.

Russell, Mary. The Blessings of a Good Thick Skirt; Women Travellers and Their World. London: Collins, 1988.

Siggworth, E.M., and T.J. Wykes. "A Study of Victorian Prostitution and Venereal Disease." Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age. Ed. Martha Vicinius. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1973.

Valverde, Mariana. "As If Subjects Existed: Analysing Social Discourses." The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology 28:2 (1991): 173-187.

Van Tieghem, Philippe. Le romantisme français. Paris: Presses Univérsitaires de France, 1958.

Wheelwright, Julie. Amazons and Military Maids; Women Who Dressed as Men in the Pursuit of Life, Liberty, and Happiness. London: Pandora, 1989.

Wollstonecraft, Mary. A Vindication of the Rights of Women. Introduction by Mary Warnock. London: Dent, 1985.

Yates, Gayle Graham, ed. Harriet Martineau on Women. N.J.: Rutgers U.P., 1985.