

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO

A REVOLUTIONARY REGRESSION: THE POLITICAL SELF-DEFEAT OF WOMEN IN
PARIS, 1789-1793

BY
CARISSA SUTTER

ADVISED BY DR. MATTHEW GERBER

SENIOR HONORS THESIS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

SUBMITTED TO:
MATTHEW GERBER OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT
MARTHA HANNA OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT
AND
MASANO YAMASHITA OF THE FRENCH DEPARTMENT

BOULDER, COLORADO
OCTOBER 2012

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Professor Matthew Gerber for his unlimited patience in assisting me with this project. Without his critical advice and guidance I would not have been able to complete it. I would also like to thank my colleague Sheena Barnes, as well as the honors students at the University of Colorado at Boulder who inspired me with their dedication and passion for history.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION AND HISTORIOGRAPHY.....	7
CHAPTER ONE.....	20
DELIBERATIVE AND MILITANT POLITICS	
CHAPTER TWO.....	53
THE IMPORTANCE OF ALLIANCES	
CHAPTER THREE.....	82
THE CLOSING OF WOMEN’S CLUBS	
CONCLUSION.....	110
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	126

Introduction

In the early morning of October 5, 1789, a market woman beat her drum and yelled for bread as women stepped out of their homes and onto the cold streets of Paris. This was not a daily ritual but a kind of call-to-arms that the market women had used for at least a century during bread shortages. In a short time there were thousands of women gathering at the Parisian City Hall, demanding bread for their families. Later that day, these women pillaged City Hall for weapons, used messengers to recruit in the many districts of Paris, and coerced a hesitant Marquis de Lafayette to lead them on a march over four leagues to Versailles in order to appeal their cause to the National Assembly. The consequences of these actions were immense, because they pushed the French Revolution onto a dramatically more radical track: the king was forced to return to Paris, and the National Assembly had to follow suit, putting both institutions under the intensified scrutiny of the popular masses and substantially constraining their political decisions. Paris became the new center of French political activity, and common Parisians were empowered by the knowledge that they now had a voice.

Four years later, market women again made demands during an even more radical phase of the French Revolution, this time for the closure of a women's political club, the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires. The market women were driven mostly on this occasion by economic pressures, though there were also ideological differences which made them enemies of the Citoyennes. As was the case in October 1789, the market women succeeded in achieving their demands, because soon thereafter the National Assembly outlawed any future meetings of women's political societies. Yet, the market women's petition of 1793 has not

received the same historiographic accolades as the October march of 1789. No scholar has given the market women credit for leading the charge and forcing the end of women's political clubs in France. Instead, historians tend to blame male legislators for the course of these events. This suggests that many scholars credit women with historical agency only when their actions during the revolution are seen as bearing a positive impact on women's rights. If their actions had any negative aspect, then scholars dismiss them as the product of male manipulation.

Market women were not solely responsible for the end of women's right to assemble in political clubs, for the volatile relationships among the women *within* the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires were also a factor in their declining reputation in Paris. There were disagreements within the Société des Citoyennes concerning political goals, allies and actions. Historians have been noticeably silent on the issue of how these fights contributed to women's loss of political viability. Generally, the study of female revolutionaries focuses on their struggle against a male-dominated system. As a result, the consequences of disagreements among these women are overlooked or disregarded by historians – even to the extent that valid evidence is ignored or suspicious primary documents are used. It is unfortunate that events which were likely altered in the original records to make men look more powerful are now being used as examples of why men were central to the closure of the clubs. Meanwhile, the contribution that women made to their own loss has remained largely shielded from historical debate. Why has this been the case?

The march to Versailles has been retrospectively championed as a triumph of the people over the Ancien Régime. So why were their actions in October 1793 not hailed by modern historians as another powerful defense of their livelihood? Why has their unified attack against the Citoyennes been ignored or else mentioned only in passing? Their actions were downplayed

by the male politicians of the time, but that should not have an influence on discerning historians of today. This oversight is common to all of the most prominent feminist historians of the French Revolution in spite of the ideological and interpretative differences that separate them.

There are two broadly defined historiographic groups to consider while examining women in the French Revolution: the moderates and the radicals. While moderates like Lynn Hunt, Carla Hesse, and Suzanne Desan would agree that the revolution had long-term positive effects on women's rights, radicals like Joan Scott, Carole Pateman and Joan Landes would disagree. While the radicals seem to believe that it would have been impossible for the French Revolution to extend more rights to women given that it remained ideologically beholden to a fundamentally sexist and misogynistic set political traditions, to the moderates instead dismiss its shortcomings as the product of contingent circumstances. Neither group, however, ascribes much agency to the selfish decisions made by female political actors. This shifting of blame from women to the misogynistic cultural traditions, the separate experiences of the genders, or to the chaotic political situation of the time, is ironically condescending to women. These republican women were not stupid. They were fully aware of the constraints of their environment and their sex, and they had seen other men's clubs fail. Claire Lacombe knew what she was going up against when she chose to ally the Société des Citoyennes with the Enragés, a faction which by September 1793 (or Brumaire an II) was already unmistakably doomed as a political entity, and she knowingly continued to defend radical politics until the women's clubs were shut down. Though documents supporting this view have long been available, they have largely been misinterpreted or overlooked.

Over the past two or three decades, historians have become increasingly interested in the diversity and versatility of female political actors, yet none have focused directly on the extent to

which the political contradictions among such women was often dictated by class.¹ In many works, the needs of starving prostitutes were conflated with the desires of educated housewives. This flaw has inspired more recent scholars to separate women according to their trades, to more closely examine their lives, and to better understand their individuality. The multitude of studies on women is impressive considering the short time that women have been examined as a group. However, to date, there has not been a sufficiently close examination of the true catalyst of the *bonnet rouge* affair, an argument that Parisian women supposedly had about revolutionary garb, or even a strong consideration of the economic disagreements as the basis for internal dissonance between women. Joan Landes has merely proposed that women were limited within the "context of the revolutionary movement" by their inability to reconcile "publicity and propriety" within the revolutionary bourgeois public sphere.² In examining the political clubs of the revolutionary era, there has been a tendency to treat women as a coherent interest group when in fact women, like men, were characterized by a variety of competing social, economic, and political interests. There has yet to be a serious work on how the differences in women's political beliefs created intra-gender political warfare, ultimately undermining women's rights during the French Revolution.

The market women were not politically ambitious in the same way as other skilled women. Their petitions had more to do with their economic concerns than ideological concerns. The market women were among the most desperate women in Paris, and they did not have the patience to tolerate the women of the clubs, these "pale women" who came preaching extreme

¹ Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-94*, (Conneticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1979) , Darlene Gay Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979) , Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1992).

² Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 123, 151.

radical revolutionary politics. They could clearly see that the theories of the radicals were not based on a realistic consideration of their impact on the poor. The market women needed to be able to charge a fair price for the bread that they were selling, but because the radicals were sure that market women were hoarding bread to inflate prices, they forced the bread to be sold to customers for lower prices and in exchange for the increasingly worthless *assignats*. The market women were illiterate and not officially organized, but they could see that radical women's access to political power was seriously limiting them financially and hurting their ability to feed their own children. This knowledge led them to make a choice which probably seemed obvious: sacrifice political rights that they did not use in order to protect the livelihoods that fed their families.

When it came to political rights, the majority of women in Paris agreed with market women: they were not primarily interested in suffrage or even equality. Some women wanted a right to vote, but some only wanted the right to own property. There were many different aspects of citizenship that were being weighed for their individual importance in clubs, and each had a different worth to different women. When the female citizens of the Droits-de-l'Homme section of Paris went to the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires to present the rights they wanted to petition to the convention for women in their district, they asked that they should have political rights "as members of the social community" and not as members of the "electoral body."³ There were political, legal, territorial and civil rights being petitioned for by women,⁴ and during the beginning of the Revolution they were sometimes obtainable by women depending on their social status. A widow would have more claims to these rights, while a

³ Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (University of California Press: California 1988), 280.

⁴ Jennifer Ngaire Heuer, *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789-1830* (Cornell University Press: Ithaca 2005), 6.

married woman might have less freedom than an unattached single woman.⁵ There were many women who were united in anger when they realized they could not take the Civic Oath of Citizens⁶ - a symbol of the dedication of an individual to the new revolutionary government.

So if political rights were so unimportant to most women in Paris, why does it matter whether women lost their right to gather in societies? If research can prove that the friction between the club women and the market women was the true cause of the closing of the women's clubs, we may be able to add a new dimension to the revolutionary women's rights debates in historiography. This approach may have been avoided in the past because of the negative light it casts on women, or because of the overwhelming distraction of misogynistic, chaotic revolutionary France. Whatever the reason, if there were differences which caused a schism and led directly to limitations on women's rights, it may be a linchpin which could tie the theories of women's political struggle into a single cohesive story – and shed light on why some women blindly and recklessly sought power to the detriment of their own political rights.

There are a multitude of eighteenth century Parisian journals that can be carefully considered. The biased journals need to be balanced with the (also biased) official court documents to try to determine what may have motivated the political animosity between the Société des Citoyennes and the market women, and whether external factors were heavily involved. *L'Ami du peuple*, an extreme radical newspaper in early 1793, was published to spread the political ideology of revolutionary activists to the masses – much like every other political journal of the time. It may be more balanced since the printing press that published it was run by a political woman. Even so, no single journal or court document can be trusted as a reliable source of information due to the common practice of adjusting facts to suit the writer's politics.

⁵ Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women became Modern* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 74.

⁶ Jane Abay, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 55.

There are journal articles concerning the 1793 *bonnet rouge* confrontations, which were a series of altercations between extreme radical revolutionaries and moderate citizens of Paris. The *bonnet rouge* were donned by many radicals as symbols of liberty in reflection of the red Phrygian caps worn by emancipated slaves in ancient Rome. The revolutionary men had been wearing them for years to advertise their political beliefs, and Citoyennes had added the bonnet to their uniform in 1793, and were petitioning the National Convention to force all women in France to wear them. This initiated many violent street fights between Femmes Sansculottes who felt that not wearing the bonnets was a telltale sign of counterrevolutionary sentiments, and street women who felt that the Citoyennes were becoming too much of an economic burden.

There are also documents of the Société des Citoyennes meetings, detailing internal and external disagreements. By considering the actual documents of these disputes, we can more easily understand how the dynamic relationships between the women in Paris led to the difficulties in maintaining their political control. It is useful to compare the way the Société des Citoyennes' disagreement was presented by the radical Jacobin, Chabot, at the Assembly versus the extreme radical Société president, Lacombe at a Société des Citoyennes meeting. These alternate views of the situation separate the objectives of the grandiose showman Chabot and the violent radical actress Lacombe.

In the case of studying the public documents recording the political actions of women in eighteenth century France, it is particularly important to be circumspect. The original authors were bound to have their own biases against what the women were doing and very likely skewed the description of the events in order to devalue the achievements or strengths of women as a group. These sources should never be taken at face value, and neither should the secondary sources which rely heavily on these documents to support questionable theories. Many historians

have bought into the misogynistic denial of female agency, preferring to believe that women didn't fail – men led them astray. It is important to judge whether secondary sources include altered primary documents as evidence to support shaky theories – or if they were edited responsibly. If a reliable source can be found, such as *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* by Dominique Godineau, it can be a treasure to use. A volume like that, written by a scholar who has regular access to Parisian archives unavailable anywhere else in the world, an author with limited agendas or biases to distract her from her purpose, is invaluable. Its value is doubled when compared to the sources that ignore large portions of primary texts, lack analytical comparative capability of events, or use preexisting ideas as blinders to opposition.

Joan Landes is a feminist historian who wrote *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* in the aftermath of the American feminist revolution of the 1970s and 80s. In Landes' view, the market women were “encouraged by hostile authorities”⁷ to physically attack the women of the Société des Citoyennes in October of 1793. Landes references a primary document that depicted a single Juge du Paix summoning the hundreds of incensed market women to initiate a physical confrontation with the Citoyennes.⁸ It was after this attack that the market women went to petition for the closing of the clubs, another decision that was supposedly encouraged by “hostile authorities.” Landes does concede that the entire event “came [not only] at the hands of the Jacobin authorities ...[but also at the hands of] the women in the district where the Society was holding its meeting.”⁹ However, she primarily uses the petition of the market women to support her thesis that the members of the Committee of General Security manipulated the situation for their own purposes. Her claim that “the bourgeois public is essentially...masculinist,” and that “this characteristic serves to determine both its self-

⁷ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 143.

⁸ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, “No. 215,” *Révolutions de Paris* 17 (1793): 208.

⁹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 142.

representation and its subsequent “structural transformation,”¹⁰ directs her misconception of the events in October. In her estimation, the actions taken against women in 1793 were a result of the male bid for power, and “there was remarkably little protest against the Convention’s decree” to prohibit all clubs and popular societies of women.¹¹ While heavily quoting the words of the hubristic misogynist, André Amar, Landes ignores the words recorded of the market women themselves. Landes perhaps relies too heavily on a volume of translated primary documents edited by Darlene Gay Levy,¹² whose coverage of the *bonnet rouge* affair is perhaps too selective.

Joan Scott heralded the new régime of the revolution as the consequential catalyst for feminism as well as a producer of injustice for women. She argues that the coexistence of the male-dominated republican system and the beginning of feminism was a result of a structural contradiction within the political system,¹³ not a symptom of the forward momentum of burgeoning political liberalism that was only promising equality to male French citizens. Scott contends that without the genderized Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen, women might not have been triggered to seek those rights for themselves. The new system of government which, by accident rather than by design, offered women a kind of ambiguous equality was not, according to Scott, a sign of progress towards a better situation for women¹⁴ – but an augury of a further delay in providing a system which would be a real home for free women.

Carole Pateman, a political scientist at UCLA, and the author of *The Sexual Contract*, argues there was a time before the French Revolution when there were two aspects of the social

¹⁰ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 7.

¹¹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 144.

¹² Darlene Gay Levy et al. *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 210.

¹³ Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1996), 18.

¹⁴ Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*, 18.

contract: the government's claim of power over the people, and man's claim of power over women. She believes that the "alliance" between 'liberté, égalité, fraternité' was established long before the revolution,¹⁵ but that the sexual aspect had become obscured. The liberal contract, or the constitution written during the French Revolution, was created within a universal system of patriarchy – which Pateman believed made it incompatible with true liberty for women. The system could never have allowed women to continue working towards personal political rights, according to Pateman, because the Social Contract automatically excluded them.¹⁶

In comparison to this view, Lynn Hunt's reaction to the misogynistic policies of the French Revolution can appear to be passive; but her theory comes with evidence that has teeth. Hunt points out in her work that men have been universally misogynistic throughout history, but they became amazingly amiable to women's involvement during the Revolution when compared to the past.¹⁷ She does point out (in a footnote) the specifically political rights which were suddenly legally allowed to women;¹⁸ but it is clear, regardless of Hunt's finding, that women remained confined to communicating their economic concerns through unsanctioned violence. These two roads toward liberation point directly at how women's ambiguous role within the new political system created internal strife; like when Femmes Sansculottes forced political sanctions on market women by using illegal force, highlighting the hypocrisy which the Revolution was meant to end.

Also on the moderate side, Carla Hesse dedicated an entire book – *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women became Modern* – to the impact of the Enlightenment on each sex, proposing an Enlightenment experience for women entirely separate from the one for

¹⁵ Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1988), 77.

¹⁶ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, 77.

¹⁷ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 203.

¹⁸ Hunt, *The Family Romance*, 203.

men in that it was more skeptical than idealist, more situationalist than universalist.¹⁹ However, while Landes is arguing that the revolutionary principles and consequences created a more negative environment for women, Hesse is presenting the positive, yet different, intellectual impact that the Enlightenment had on the actions of women. Scott scolds the men of the revolution for creating law based on “nature” which predisposes the women to take the part that the law has dictated to them;²⁰ and Hesse appears to agree by claiming that the women experience their own Enlightenment based on their separate legal status. The difference between these theories is that Hesse is making observations on how these women “acquire[d] the capacity for ...participation in public reasoning,”²¹ and Scott is criticizing the liberal system for forcing women to create a reactionary movement. Also, Hesse presents her book as a work exploring how it “became possible”²² for women to be political. This wording highlights Hesse’s belief in the necessity of a welcoming environment for individual change – and offers a theory that can be applied to any political system on what change would be necessary to allow the possibility of freedom for the oppressed.

Suzanne Desan has found that the shift in women’s rights came much later – during the period of control of the National Directory.²³ Her examination of the first stage of the revolution, in *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*, is centered on the women’s regular use of coquettish feminine wiles to win court battles against lovers.²⁴ She points out that there were more civil and property rights secured for women during the beginning of the revolution, and that the women’s situation remained unclear. Desan paints a picture of women working within a

¹⁹ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, 156.

²⁰ Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*, ix.

²¹ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, xii.

²² Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, xii.

²³ Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

²⁴ Desan, *The Family on Trial*.

system that was built against them, and frequently winning by playing their gender role effectively.

The lack of consensus among historians proves that the question about women's rights during the revolution remains an open one. The uneven disinterest in the market women's involvement in October 1793, while simultaneously exemplifying the actions of the women in October 1789, requires examination of those events. Documentation from both historical moments give credit to male agitators, but only in 1793 do historians buy into the misogynistic reports of Prudhomme's *Moniteur*. Why have the October Days been treated so differently? Or more specifically, why would the women of the marketplace go out of their way to put an end to women's rights?

In the early evening of October 5, 1789, the market women arrived at Versailles. Over two thousand women rushed into the meeting hall of the National Assembly with weapons, and joined in the voting on "motions and amendments relating to legislation on the circulation and distribution of grains."²⁵ This assertion of militant force on the government was a successful way for market women to temporarily gain political power, and was seen by the new French nation as a means of applying "the collective moral will"²⁶ on legislation. The market women would later be an inspiration to club women who used their armed status as a sign of their capacity to meet the model of an equal French citizen; but the club women's desire to officially gain political power with this militant force ironically was said by reports to have offended the market women as a masculine objective and supposedly contributed to their petition to close the clubs. However,

²⁵ Darline Gay Levy and Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Malzer and Leslie W. Rabine (Oxford University Press: Oxford 1992), 84.

²⁶ Levy and Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship," 85.

there is some doubt as to the true cause of the conflict between women in 1793, and the reliance on original reports has only perpetuated the confusion.

This thesis is an exploration of the events that led up to the closing of women's clubs and societies, with the purpose of disseminating the responsibility of women in the restriction of their own rights. Chapter 1 examines the gradual replacement of deliberative with militant politics and political radicalization in Paris during the early years of the revolution. Chapter 2 underlines the necessity of alliances through clubs in the complex political system that developed between 1791 and 1793. It tries to establish why women were unable to engage stronger allies in the Legislative Assembly. Chapter 3 focuses on the events of October 1793 and the climactic clash between the street women who were becoming destitute because of the Price Maximum and militant women who were attempting to police the markets by enforcing it. Radical historians blame all of the difficulties that women had in the political forum in 1793 on the Jacobins, even though there are numerous reports of violent altercations between women both in the streets and in the halls of the Assembly. The present essay is meant to illuminate in what ways militant women were culpable in the closing of the women's clubs, and how their personal agency has been overlooked by historians too keen to underline the faults of men.

Chapter 1

Deliberative Politics and Militant Women during the Liberal Revolution

The true origins of the French Revolution have always been a source of heated debate.²⁷ Although the origins of the French Revolution have been much debated, there is little question that militant violence was a source of radicalization once the revolution was underway. Marxist historians Georges Lefebvre and George Rudé describe the French Revolution as a “trade-union and socialist reaction”²⁸ that was motivated almost completely by economic concerns. Revisionist historians like Alfred Cobban argue that the Revolution had more purely political origins, particularly as an attack on royal governance.²⁹ Whether the origins were socio-economic or political, the growth of radical politics was heavily due to the brute force demands of the public, whose violent assertions of political rights had different implications for men and women.

Women tried to take advantage of the tumultuous nature of revolutionary politics to gain rights for themselves, just as the men did, but they did not always agree on what steps to take. This lack of unity among women led to a detrimental lack of focus. While some wanted to argue their position using the deliberative politics of speech and written arguments in forums and clubs, others wanted to effect change through militant politics in violent demonstrations. Still others wanted to act fluidly within both the deliberative field of written and spoken discourse, and in the militant arena of violence and coercive threat. However, by failing to unify their

²⁷ Thomas E. Kaiser and Dale K. Van Kley, *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011) and Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution: Bicentennial Reflections on the French Revolution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991) both investigated the “origins” of the French Revolution. In their examination, there is not a single cause for the birth of the revolution, but a “chimera of origins,” which cannot be limited to cause and effect, per Chartier 4.

²⁸ Georges Lefebvre, *La Révolution française. La Révolution de 1789* in George Rudé, “Georges Lefebvre as Historian of Popular Urban Protest in the French Revolution,” in *The Face of the Crowd: Selected Essays of George Rudé*, ed. Harvey J. Kaye (New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1988), 108.

²⁹ Alfred Cobban, *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1964), 82.

political principles within the deliberative sphere during the outset of the revolution, women increasingly relegated themselves to militant politics. The practical success of popular militant interventions, combined with the Parisian working class's continuing passion for egalitarianism, created a haven for increasingly disenchanted female politicians who had initially attempted deliberative techniques.

The Birth of Deliberative Politics

In 1788, the French government announced that there would be an emergency meeting of the Estates General to be held in April 1789.³⁰ While the various regions of France held elections for their local representatives, protests against the voting methods of the Estates General were illustrated in published pamphlets. The most popular pamphlet on the Versailles voting question was presented by the clergy member Abbé Sieyès in *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers États?*³¹ Most convincingly, Sieyès pointed out that “nothing would go well without the Third Estate”³² but everything would be much better without the other two.³³ Although the First and Second Estates constituted less than 1% of the population,³⁴ due to the traditional “voting by order,” the Third Estate was only allowed one-third of the voting power at the Estates General. Sieyès proposed that because the Third Estate was the largest and most important economic contribution, its representation should be effectively doubled. His pamphlet became a manifesto, inspiring the men of the Third Estate who gathered at Versailles to create their own assembly to better reflect

³⁰ The *Assemblée des Notables* had been called in November 1788 to avoid the calling of the Estates General, but there was no way to establish the kinds of tax reform that Necker wanted without the approval of the Estates.

³¹ Abbé Joseph Emmanuel Sieyès, “What is the Third Estate,” in *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*, trans. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 51-54.

³² Sieyès, “What is the Third Estate,” 51-54.

³³ Sieyès, “What is the Third Estate,” 51-54.

³⁴ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 28.

the demands of the French people. While Sieyès was a spokesman for the Third Estate,³⁵ he did not recognize the abilities of women and openly opposed their political involvement in later debates.³⁶

Though women made up more than fifty percent of the population, they were entirely unable to be elected as representatives for the Estates General.³⁷ Women sought to rectify the problem of political representation by expressing their concerns through the *cahiers*, but even women's complaints were censored: prostitution, education, and gender-based economic reform were almost completely edited out of the final version of the local *cahiers*.³⁸ Women were able to bypass censorship when they unofficially put forth *cahiers* as a group, such as the flower sellers who complained that the loosening of restrictions in their trade lowered their profits and drove women into prostitution.³⁹ These women refused to idly accept their exclusion from the Estates General, but a few others whole-heartedly defended it.

In the beginning of the Revolution, the contradictions among women's political opinions were not heavily based on social or economic positions, but rather on conflicts of feminist ideology. The moderate politician Marquis de Condorcet⁴⁰ was an advocate of women's rights and publically argued in 1789 that because women were refused the right to vote for

³⁵ Though Sieyès spoke for the Third Estate, he was technically a member of the Second Estate.

³⁶ Sieyès publically said in July that "Women....should have no direct influence on government," in Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 54.

³⁷ There were one or two exceptions to this, but they were accidents through loopholes not strategic or purposeful. These were accidents of deaths with wives standing in as placeholders, and there is a limited amount of documentation available to explain what kinds of limitations were placed on their ability to vote.

³⁸ *Les Femmes dans la Révolution* (Paris: Edhis, 1982); *Cahiers de doléances des femmes et autres textes*, ed. P.M. Duhet, (Paris : Editions des Femmes, 1981) in Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1988) 99.

³⁹ Madame Marlé, "Doléances particulières des marchandes bouquetières fleuristes chapelières en fleurs de la Ville et faubourgs de Paris," *Les Elections et les cahiers de Paris en 1789* 2 (1782), ed. Chalres-Louis Chassin (Paris, 1888), 534-37 trans. Darlene Gay Levy and Harriet Branson Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Malzer and Leslie W. Rabine (Oxford University Press: Oxford 1992), 24.

⁴⁰ Condorcet was later a vocal member of the moderate Brissotin group, and a prominent member of the Legislative Assembly.

representation, they were being illegally taxed and should refuse to pay taxes in the future.⁴¹ An anonymous feminist writer argued in the *cahier des doléances ...des femmes*,⁴² that if a noble could not speak on behalf of a *roturier*⁴³ (commoner) in the Assembly, a man could not speak for a woman.⁴⁴ This referred to the more common complaint against the traditional voting methods at the Estates General that allowed the nobility to vote for all the estates of France, almost always to the benefit of the nobility and the detriment of the others.

During the elections for the Estates General, the unofficial *Cahier des doléances... des femmes* defended women's right to vote and to participate as representatives, but only on behalf of female property owners.⁴⁵ Of course, men were having their own arguments at the time about what determined the voting rights of men, and it still seemed a radical idea to allow men of any social standing to vote. Women were excluded from participation differently by each district, and in the Abay Saint-Germain district there were guards placed at the door specifically to deter women from entering.⁴⁶ The guards were unsuccessful: a dozen “hardy women”⁴⁷ were able to overcome them and vote for their own representatives, an example of forceful democracy that would become more common for women once the revolution began in earnest.

When flower sellers of Paris presented an unofficial grievance about the moral and financial danger that free trade presented for female merchants, they sent them to the electors at

⁴¹*Pétition des femmes du Tiers au roi, l'er janvier 1789*, extracts in Jeanne Bouvier, *Les femmes pendant la Revolution* (Paris, 1931), 249-50. Duhet compares this petition to *Cahier des dole Mancaset reclamations des femmes*, par Mme B... B..... *Les femmes et la Revolution*, 32-39 in Jane Abray, “Feminism in the French Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 45.

⁴²R.B. Rose, *The Making of the Sans-culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), 39.

⁴³ Commoner

⁴⁴Abray, “Feminism in the French Revolution,” 46.

⁴⁵Rose, *The Making of the Sans-culottes*, 40.

⁴⁶Rose, *The Making of the Sans-culottes*, 41.

⁴⁷Rose, *The Making of the Sans-culottes*, 41.

the Archevêché, directly to the Estates General, as well as to Necker himself.⁴⁸ The women apologized for their petition but blamed it on their desperation to avoid further “debauchery for the means they are lacking.”⁴⁹ These women claimed their petition was to improve their “gains,” but they also argued that their “cause is also that of morals.”⁵⁰ The flower trade had become inundated with desperate people selling wares at lower prices and destroying the merchandise of their competitors.⁵¹ These conditions drove some women to prostitution, and the petition for a reform of the trade environment was inextricably tied to a warning of further moral decline in Paris. An elimination of prostitution and proximate crimes was germane to the political activists of the revolution in a way that assisting young women was not, so the manipulation of the Estates General was inherent in this deliberative request. The women wanted to achieve the goal of market regulation by appealing to a common problem that effected men and women.

The Estates General was understood to be a meeting where the complaints of the people, even of women, could be heard by the king. This was an unusual opportunity for any oppressed or mistreated group to effect a real change in their lives through written petitions and the arguments of their locally elected officials. Almost immediately however, women were shunted from the process by being denied participation as representatives of their gender. Some localities denied their participation in the election process, and even left women's complaints out when the local *cahiers* were edited. The suppression of women's involvement in the Estates General was largely obscured by the general suppression of complaints emanating from the entire Third

⁴⁸ Free trade was not implemented at this time, but there had been reforms that created a free trade environment in the Parisian flower trade. There is no information as to whether they were able to have their *cahiers* formally presented to the Estates General, or whether they simply sent their grievances to everyone involved with the assembly.

⁴⁹ Madame Marlé, “Doléances particulières des marchand des bouquetières fleuristes chapelières en fleurs de la Ville et faubourgs de Paris,” *Les Elections et les cahiers de Paris en 1789 volume II*, edited by Chalres-Louis Chassin (Paris, 1888), 534-37 translated in Levy and Applewhite, “Women and Militant Citizenship,” 24.

⁵⁰ Madame Marlé, “Doléances particulières,” 24.

⁵¹ Madame Marlé, “Doléances particulières,” 24.

Estate. The question of voting methods was not fully resolved before the first meeting of the representatives at Versailles in the Spring of 1789, leading to the initial confrontations between "the people" and their king.

A Violent Rhetoric

The political culture of the French Revolution was distinctive from other political movements because of the unusual level of mob violence in the name of principles,⁵² making it necessary for women to operate in both deliberative and militant politics. The mob violence heavily centered on the rhetoric of the revolution, a definition which has been nicely captured by the historian William Sewell:

By the term 'rhetoric of social revolution,' I mean to include a number of related things: rhetoric that challenged the superior social prestige and extra political power of nobles and clerics; rhetoric that harnessed private social grievances and resentments to public political issues; and rhetoric that criticized or called into question the basic architecture of the Old Regime's social order.⁵³

The rhetoric of the revolution separately incited violence and inspired legislation. Albert Soboul described mainstream revolutionary rhetoric in economic terms, while Lynn Hunt highlights the rhetoric as a "language of class struggle *without*⁵⁴ class [...] distinctly anti-aristocratic, and [...] developed in the first place as an instrument of attack on the old society."⁵⁵ Hunt and Sewell consider the rhetoric itself to be militant, even comparable to the violence happening in the streets. Hunt's argument is not completely in line with Sewell, as he points out the aggressive

⁵² John Dunne, "Fifty Years of Rewriting the French Revolution," *History Today*, 1998, <http://www.historytoday.com/john-dunne/fifty-years-rewriting-french-revolution>, (Accessed May 26, 2012).

⁵³ William Hamilton Sewell, *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and What is the Third Estate*, (New York: Duke University Press, 1994), 54.

⁵⁴ Italics added to quote by author for emphasis.

⁵⁵ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1984), 50.

nature of language from a Marxist perspective and she points out that "polarized rhetoric is the natural outcome" of "intense political and social ferment"⁵⁶ through the perspective of a revisionist. This aside, rhetoric was more commonly used to justify and incite militant violence through a deliberative stage. It was an inspiration for both the militant acts that took place over the course of the revolution and revolutionary legislation. Though there is a distinction between "deliberative" and "militant" actions, both partook of a common revolutionary rhetoric surrounding expressions such as "liberty," "equality," and "rights." In this sense, rhetoric was not only an inspiration for militant acts, it was also a basis for the post facto justification of various acts of violence. Against the hopes of these lofty historical theories, women were increasingly driven to public protest instead of being welcomed into the realm of active fraternal politics, which may illuminate the questionable validity of arguing that all women were interested in a full rejection of the Ancien Régime.

The legal rights of women when they belonged to guilds was totally out of proportion with the rights that they had if they were not in a guild. In this way, women had long formed a kind of class system which was not based on levels of wealthy, but rather on their access to legal rights within the French government. Seamstresses had a long history of legal petitions, contracts, and negotiating around sectional laws - all of which were experiences that married women were entirely barred from. The guild women were an isolated entity, in that they could not approach law in the same way that men did and heavily depended on the king and guild law as a buttress to their economic stability. They were also more dependent on law to protect them

⁵⁶ Lynn Hunt and George Sheridan, "Corporatism, Association, and the Language of Labor in France, 1750-1850," *The Journal of Modern History*, 58(1986): 837.

than men in guilds were,⁵⁷ and this special circumstance framed their expectations of the revolutionary government.

Soboul proposed that the meeting of the Estates General allowed the bourgeoisie a new capacity to create economic and social revolution through the Assembly. This Marxist theory lays the revolution entirely at the feet of the bourgeoisie, who, some historians argue, guided the working class to riot and revolt so that they could liquidate their land-based wealth and gain social dominance over the traditional nobility.⁵⁸ In this view, the French Revolution was no different than any other bourgeoisie revolution of Europe or America – completely driven by the economic concerns of a single class. This ignores multiple violent protests which forced the bourgeois politicians, the monarchists, and the constitutional monarchists to adhere to the will of the people, explained in detail later in this chapter. These protests support the idea that the people had independent philosophies of the revolution, which they were willing to compromise to maintain alliances with the political bourgeoisie.

Sarah Maza describes the “muddled” social construction in the Estates General as a tool to disarm those who believe that the bourgeoisie were selfishly organizing the lower classes to political dissent, but there is a simpler explanation.⁵⁹ There were a variety of economic and social classes within the Third Estate and at times the differences between them created some small amount of discord, but ultimately the members of the Third Estate, rich and poor, learned to cater to each other’s needs. The bourgeoisie could not have met the standard of ally or leader for the Third Estate if they had not spoken on issues that were important to the common classes.

⁵⁷ Clare Crowston, *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 223.

⁵⁸ Albert Soboul, “The French Revolution in the History of the Contemporary World,” in *The French Revolution: Recent debates and New Controversies*, ed. Gary Kates, (New York: Routledge, 2006), 17.

⁵⁹ Sarah Maza, “Luxury, Morality, and Social Change: Why there was no middle-class consciousness in prerevolutionary France,” in *The French Revolution: Recent debates and New Contraversies*, ed. Gary Kates (New York: Routledge, 2006).

In turn, the political leaders of the revolution would have been powerless to enact legal change without the violent dissent of the people. It was only because their interests merged that they were able to become a cogent political movement and effect rapid political change.

The Revolution Begins

When it became apparent to the representatives of the Third Estate that the Estates General and the King were not going to honestly consider the *cahiers* of their constituents, they formed an alternate Assembly. Soon after, most of the representatives of the Third Estate and some representatives of the Second Estate swore the Tennis Court Oath, promising not to disperse until a constitution had been written. They named their gathering the National Constituent Assembly, and it was not long before Louis XVI was forced to ask all of the Estates General representatives to join them.

When they began to have meetings which included the King, they discussed how their newly formed assembly should be structured. The defender of the common majority, Abbé Sieyès, argued against the inclusion of women in the new political process in July; “[w]omen, at least as things now stand, children, foreigners, in short those who contribute nothing to the public establishment, should have no direct influence on the government.”⁶⁰ It is clear that women were a visible part of the economy, as sewing was a career which was dominated by women and was important to the booming fashion trade.⁶¹ So what did Sieyès mean by “public establishment?”

⁶⁰ Abbe Sieyès, “Recueil des pièces authentiques approuvées par l’assemblée nationale de France” 1 (1789): 193-99. in Jane Abrey, “Feminism in the French Revolution,” *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 43-62.

⁶¹ Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1988), 54. and Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 223.

Enlightenment principles regulated women to the private sphere, which became the core of revolutionary anti-woman sentiments.⁶² Sieyès was using a philosophic explanation for an unconscious biological bias, which (in turn) would incur many philosophic responses from deliberative women. Unfortunately, Sieyès was addressing the underlying physical concern of women's bodies with an outward political argument that was a catalyst for political responses from the growing feminist movement.⁶³ It was a distraction from the real problem that men had with women, which was their supposed physical deficiencies, and made it more difficult for women to find their place in the new system.

The consequence of the developing constitutional monarchy for women was that they no longer maneuvered through a monarchical system which had ignored them, but directly confronted a system suspicious of their social position. The historian Jane Abray argues that the creation of the Constitution allowed for a “systemization of French electoral law eliminat[ing] the idiosyncrasies that had permitted [some] women to vote; for the first time in centuries women were completely barred, as a group, from this aspect of the political process.”⁶⁴ For example, in the Ancien Régime there was not a “unitary civil law code,”⁶⁵ but a complicated system of laws which was based on customs of various regions.⁶⁶ So, women had different rights in different parts of France, though there were some commonalities in segregated gender law such as an overall exclusion from public offices.⁶⁷ With these multitudinous laws, sometimes

⁶² While there were revolutionary politicians, such as Condorcet, who argued on behalf of women, they were not utilizing Enlightenment arguments as effectively as others in defense of their beliefs.

⁶³ Carla Hesse highlights previous arguments that women were denied equal and political rights because of “discursive and visual representations of gender norms generated by a small group of male propagandists and apologists.” Her focus was on how women participated in the Enlightenment despite their limitations. Per Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 32.

⁶⁴ Abray, “Feminism in the French Revolution,” 54.

⁶⁵ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 223

⁶⁶ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 223.

⁶⁷ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 223.

women could claim rights under one law to avoid the financial penalties of another. When the Parisian seamstresses corporation was formed in the 1670s, some women successfully avoided its fees by hiding under the "Art of the statues of the Master Tailors,"⁶⁸ which allowed daughters of master tailors to work as seamstresses without financial penalties.⁶⁹

Another way in which women could work around these limitations was by belonging to a guild, where women were granted the same rights of men in almost every way.⁷⁰ Also, the Ancien Régime had "no written constitution outlining a set of fundamental laws,"⁷¹ and the King could create whatever laws he wished based on his own prerogative. If a woman were to write a persuasive argument, she could always hope that the King might write her a letter that would override any other authority in France.⁷² With the outbreak of the revolution, women could no longer circumvent laws using these traditional methods, and were forced to consider the newly forming revolutionary practices.

The most pressing concern for many Third Estate members of the National Constituent Assembly was the structure of the economy⁷³ and redefining who owed taxes. Traditionally, it was the duty of the members of the Third Estate to pay all of the taxes, while the clergy was only expected to determine for themselves what they owed France each year, and the Second Estate paid France through their governmental and military positions. The hopes of the common people for a resolution of the economic question were heavily laid on the shoulders of Jacques Necker, a portent of unusual ingenuity in that he had attained the position of Finance Manager which was

⁶⁸ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 226.

⁶⁹ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 227.

⁷⁰ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 224.

⁷¹ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, .

⁷² Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 219.

⁷³ Though there were many other important concerns.

rarely held by a member of the Third Estate,⁷⁴ or a Protestant, or a foreigner: of which he was all three.⁷⁵

The *poissardes*,⁷⁶ or fishwives, had long trusted that Necker would fix France. This was especially because he was a member of their own estate and they believed he would look out for the interests of the common majority. In June, previous to the Tennis Court Oath, a delegation came to literally sing his praises for those assembled at Versailles:

You, who consider us scum
So politely
Just as we pay you the *taille* most nobly.
Long live the Savior of France! Necker *vivat*! From where does
this hero spring?
From the Third Estate.⁷⁷

This excerpt of their song aimed an attack at the Second Estate, to whom the Third Estate was obligated to pay dues on top of the many other taxes they were forced to pay to the government and the church. The Third Estate was a great supporter of Necker and he had been slowly gaining even more popularity in the months leading up to the first official meeting of the Estates General.

Louis XVI also attributed many of the recent events to the actions of Necker (with less positive enthusiasm) as of June of 1789, held him responsible for the political quagmire of the National Constituent Assembly. The King fired and exiled Necker on July 11, ignoring his popularity and the looming consequences of dismissing the only Minister who held public support. The Parisian members of the Third Estate believed that Necker's dismissal was a sign of

⁷⁴ This position was previously held by one other Protestant foreigner, the Scottish John Law, per Michael Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners, 1789-1799* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 32.

⁷⁵ The French technically would not allow a Protestant to attain the position of Contrôleur-Général, so Necker operated under the title of Directeur-Général, per Rapport, *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France*, 32.

⁷⁶ Fish Wives.

⁷⁷ *Compliment des dames poissardes à leurs frères du Tiers État (1789)* in Charles-Louis Chassin, *Les Elections et les cahiers de Paris en 1789*, 4 (1888-89): 252-53 in Darlene Gay Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95*, (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979) 28.

the King's rejection of the reforms presented by their delegates and furious crowds mobbed Paris for days. Finally, men and women gathered together at the Bastille Prison on July 14, 1789 and used a cannon⁷⁸ to attack the historic fortress. Marguerite Pinaigre, an early example of a militant Parisian woman, looted several wine shops to provide bottles to the cannoneers, later becoming one of the celebrated heroes of the revolution.⁷⁹

Protesting was not new to French women, but traditionally there was a limit to the level of violence and political motivation. Women had a long history of economic (bread-based) protest, most recently illustrated by the Flour War of 1775. In food riots, "there was very little violence."⁸⁰ Cynthia Bouton wrote:

Only 2 percent of all rioters arrested used violence against another person [in the Flour War.] Among these, the women arrested were as violent as the men, although a higher percentage of women arrested were more violent than men. . . . Françoise Martin was accused of being the most violent and seditious person at the market....hit[ting] a merchant and grab[bing] him by the hair.⁸¹

These traditional protests "served as a kind of political training ground for the common people as they struggled to assert their vision of economic organization."⁸² The revolution was introducing a new form of mob rule – one in which violence was tolerated, exemplified, and provided successful results.

The National Constituent Assembly recognized the militant actions of those days as viable political tools of dissent. The official support for the events of July 14 legitimized violence as a political option which subsequently inspired women to address legislation through

⁷⁸ The canons were taken from the Hôtel les Invalides.

⁷⁹ Marguerite Pinaigre, "Pétition adressée à l'Assemblée nationale," in A.N., Fic III, Seine 71 in Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 30.

⁸⁰ Cynthia A. Bouton, *The Flour War: Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993), 158.

⁸¹ Bouton, *The Flour War*, 158.

⁸² Bouton, *The Flour Wars*, 27.

violent blackmail if not political representation. The women were observing a quick acceptance of demands through popular militancy, as Necker was quickly reinstated on July 16, and many may have believed that the young political culture was consuming the old in this newly formed bloody tradition that was unique to France.

The chaos that led up to the Bastille riots, also led to the quick passing of stagnant legislation to organize a city militia. Originally presented on June 26, 1789, it was introduced as a “medieval right of the local community to guard and to govern itself.”⁸³ It was opposed by the King, but it was pushed through on July 13, 1789 in response to the riots.⁸⁴ The haphazard formation of these units took place in districts around Paris, and it was not until after the fall of the Bastille that the command was handed over to Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette.⁸⁵ At that point, the military force was officially renamed the Parisian National Guard,⁸⁶ which centralized the city police and the security for streamlined efficiency.⁸⁷ Over the following three years, this force would come to represent the Constitutional Monarchists, moderate revolutionary politicians, who stood against further reform in the direction of democratization or social leveling in the form of wealth redistribution.

Militancy, Deliberative Politics, and Revolutionary Rhetoric: An Examination

After the fall of the Bastille, political militancy became a more vital component of the revolution for both men and women, though women experienced militance in a different way. Historians such as Dominique Godineau have tried to define the differences between political

⁸³ Dale Lothrop Clifford, “The National Guard and the Parisian Community, 1789-1790,” *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 850.

⁸⁴ Clifford, “The National Guard,” 850.

⁸⁵ Harlow Giles Unger, *Lafayette* (New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2002), 3.

⁸⁶ Which will be referred to as the National Guard from this point.

⁸⁷ Clifford, “The National Guard,” 851.

militance for women and men during the revolution, to understand how gender guided their separate experiences. Godineau notes that historiography allocates any man involved in general assemblies into a militant category, and provides a similar list of legislative qualities present in, what she considers to be, militant women;⁸⁸ a group which was encompassed by their (comparatively) distinguished “sustained political interest.”⁸⁹ More quantifiably, Godineau describes a smaller sample from her pool of militant women who were “outstanding” or “grassroots militant women.”⁹⁰ These were the *actual* militant women that would eventually be known as the “female Jacobins, the furies of the guillotine, the knitters”⁹¹ and ultimately the “Female Sansculottes;”⁹² arrested for violent protests and with a stronger political identity than the moderate deliberative women. Their involvement was not limited to petitions or sectional meetings but was specifically geared towards using physical violence as a tool of liberty.

What Godineau does not examine within her construction of these gendered militant groups is how the separation of the male bourgeois assembly regulars from the Sansculottes (or in an analogous definition: “outstanding militant men”) allowed these two groups to define themselves separately, and to construct temporary alliances with each other to achieve common goals. Godineau's “militant men” were actually just revolutionary activists; it was the tradesmen, the guildsmen, and the street merchants who acted out the militant protests. This is not to say that no male members of the assembly were militant, only that they were not ALL militant. Conversely, all Sansculottes engaged in militant activism and dabbled in deliberative politics. In

⁸⁸ Godineau points out that women cannot completely fit into the militant definition of men, since women were not active citizens and did not have access to all the militant political activities that men engaged in. Though she describes this as an obiter dictum, when she relates the men voting in the assemblies to the women meeting in clubs, she implies that women experienced militance in a similar way as men.

⁸⁹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 113.

⁹⁰ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 113.

⁹¹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 113.

⁹² Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 113.

other words, there was an invisible line that separated the deliberative men who were officially members of the National Constituent Assembly - representatives of the people who were voting on constitutional issues, from the militant men who were engaged in sectional politics and could always be counted on to engage in physical violence to justify their argument. In comparison, women had no absolute division between deliberative and militant politics, they did not exist in separate spheres and could not make alliances from within their separate political identities. This was one of the main differences between the revolutionary experiences of men and women.

The relationship between militant men and men who practiced deliberative politics in the assembly has long been a matter of debate among historians of the French Revolution, largely because of the popular use of militant language in revolutionary rhetoric. It is not clear that Robespierre and Marat wanted to construct themselves as separate from the militants, but the Sansculottes were certainly happy to be publicly viewed this way. Robespierre relied on the power of his words in this legal gathering to initiate change, and sometimes threatened the wrath of the will of the people within his speeches - this was militant language in a deliberative forum, not militant action.

There was a relationship between militant language, practiced by Robespierre, and militant action, practiced by the Sansculottes, which was defined by the political position they held; more clearly defined than the relationship between militant and deliberative politics in the realm of women's politics. In the case of women, they did not have the legal ability to use deliberative politics within the halls of the Assembly as acting representatives of the nation. They were forced to interact with each other unofficially in political clubs, section meetings, or in the streets. This disallowed women the ability to have a legal forum in which to define their

various positions, as the men could. This is at the heart of the differences between men and women's politics from 1789 onwards.

The March of the Market Women

Despite the fall of the Bastille, by October many popular reforms had still not been signed by the King – and Parisian women were tired of waiting. The legislation was rumored to be held up by the political meandering of aristocrats and the clergy, which made women in Paris believe that the men of the Third Estate were being pushed aside. For many, the promise of change was beginning to seem like a dwindling dream. Women blamed the representatives of the Third Estate for the delay, because the men were “cowards”⁹³ and were “not strong enough to avenge themselves.”⁹⁴ There had been demands in patriotic newspapers for the King to move to Paris and be removed from the influence of the court,⁹⁵ and for weeks there was talk in the streets of walking to Versailles to force him to leave. On October 5, women stormed the Hôtel de Ville in Paris and gathered weapons, and more than 6,000⁹⁶ women marched thirteen miles to Versailles. They planned to demand immediate legislative action on issues concerning flour transport⁹⁷ and the relocation of the King to Paris. Some of the women claimed that the “men were not strong enough to avenge themselves and that they would show themselves to be better

⁹³ David Garrioch, “The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women and the October Days of 1789,” *Social History* 24(1999): 232.

⁹⁴ [Siméon Prosper Hardy], ‘Mes loisirs, ou Journal d’événements, tels qu’ils parviennent à ma connaissance’, 1764-89 (6687, fol. 469) Bibliothèque nationale, Paris IB.N.], Mss. 6680-7. Found in David Garrioch, “The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women and the October Days of 1789,” *Social History*, 24(3):, 232.

⁹⁵ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 98.

⁹⁶ Some believe that this was as high as 10,000 women - Stanislas Maillard, “Stanislas Maillard Describes the Women’s March,” *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, (Accessed April 2012) <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/386/>.

⁹⁷ Marie-Rose Barré, “October Days: Deposition of a Marcher,” *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/388/>, (Accessed 2012).

than the men.”⁹⁸ This may have not only referred to the revolutionaries who were building the new government, but also to the Parisian men who spoke of taking action but never did.

The march to Versailles was an early example of women independently taking militant action after political promises were left unfulfilled. Their focused pressure on the “Commune, the deputies and the King”⁹⁹ highlights a deliberate attack on the government branches which were most responsible for the delay in the progress of policy. In other words, they put active pressure in political centers to get results; not as a mindless mob, but as a political force. A few weeks earlier they had warned the mayor of Paris that “men didn’t understand anything about the matter and that . . . [the market women] wanted to play a role in affairs.”¹⁰⁰ The market women had been marching in festivals and were beginning to be described as *citoyennes* by contemporary observers.¹⁰¹ This was the French word for “woman citizen,” which implied women’s desire to be respected in deliberative politics - though it was a moniker that was frequently used by men to describe militantly political women.

There was a “commission established by the Tribunal du Châtelet in 1790 to investigate the events of October 5,”¹⁰² which was somewhat remarkable considering the validating rewards and pensions given to those who were involved on July 14. At the commission meeting, Stanislas Maillard, a twenty-six years old National Guard officer and “veteran” of the storming of the Bastille, described how he kept the women under control to ensure the safety of the march.¹⁰³ He said that he had gone to City Hall in Paris in the morning to “lodge a complaint on behalf of the

⁹⁸ Garrioch, “The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women,” 232.

⁹⁹ Garrioch, “The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women,” 232.

¹⁰⁰ Siméon-Prosper Hardy, “Mes Loisirs,” vol. VIII, fols. 431, 433, 479, in B.N. Mss. Fr., vol 6687 in Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 35.

¹⁰¹ Siméon-Prosper Hardy, “Mes Loisirs,” vol. VIII, fols. 431, 433, 479, in B.N. Mss. Fr., vol 6687 in Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 35.

¹⁰² Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 36.

¹⁰³ Stanislas Maillard, “Stanislas Maillard Describes the Women’s March to Versailles, October 5, 1789,” ed. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 36-42.

volunteers,”¹⁰⁴ because of the King’s unwillingness to sign various reforms. Many Guards wanted Louis XVI to sign the August Decrees which would allow a vastly more equal status among the Estates. When Maillard saw women rampaging through the city hall and demanding that the King be returned to Paris, he told them that the National Assembly “owed them no reckoning and that if they went there, they would cause a disturbance and would prevent the deputies from paying serious attention to the important business arising from the present situation.”¹⁰⁵ Upon failing to convince them that they should not go to Versailles, he determined to raise some of the National Guard to accompany them.

Fournier L’Américain also gave a report to the Châtelet commission, describing himself as having a large part in the initial procession to Versailles.¹⁰⁶ In his account to the men of the commission, the women at the Hôtel-de-Ville begged him to lead them to the King to ask for bread.¹⁰⁷ Fournier only agreed to lead them if they brought the National Guard with them, and they enthusiastically agreed to march under him but no one else. The remainder of Fournier’s depiction of that day included his story of commanding Lafayette to do his will (“Lafayette obeyed”¹⁰⁸), giving a speech against Lafayette’s “lieutenant” that was so powerful that the women physically tore the man apart in the street,¹⁰⁹ and his skillful manipulating the *poissards* by “stoop[ing] to their level of intelligence”¹¹⁰ because he wanted them to force Louis XVI to return to Paris. Both Maillard and Aulard claimed to be the lone voice of reason in a sea of

¹⁰⁴ Maillard, “Stanislas Maillard,” 36-42.

¹⁰⁵ Maillard, “Stanislas Maillard,” 36-42.

¹⁰⁶ F. –A. Aulard, ed., *Mémoires secrets de Fournier l’Américain* (Paris, 1890), pp. 27-35 ed. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 43.

¹⁰⁷ F. –A. Aulard, ed., *Mémoires*, 43.

¹⁰⁸ F. –A. Aulard, ed., *Mémoires*, 44.

¹⁰⁹ F. –A. Aulard, ed., *Mémoires*, 45.

¹¹⁰ F. –A. Aulard, ed., *Mémoires*, 46.

unruly women, so according to their reports to the investigating committee, over 6,000 women were restrained into a peaceful march by an officer and a handful of army volunteers.

There were women who reported the march on Versailles as neither dangerous nor chaotic.¹¹¹ Marie-Louise Lenoel described a shared national pride among the women and a sense of concerned responsibility from the few men accompanying them.¹¹² She depicted Mallaird's participation in the march as one of a hero who wanted to "join to [his] laurels from July 14 the honor of again making the people's ills known to the National Constituent Assembly."¹¹³ Lenoel's report did not include Mallaird's concern that the market women might rampage the countryside and burn down Versailles without him.

In reality, the women's march to Versailles was relatively composed, though aggressive and intimidating at times. Between 6,000 and 10,000 women marched, most of them armed with "broomsticks, lances, pitchforks, swords, pistols, and muskets,"¹¹⁴ while slowly rolling two cannons. Whenever the mob came upon an unfortunate monarchist on the road, they forced the flabbergasted traveler to hold a sign announcing their political affiliation and to march along with them.¹¹⁵ This was, in some ways, reminiscent of the Réveillon class-based carriage robberies, but the reasons for the attacks this time were purely political. While the Réveillon riots ended with the nobility being targeted for their unfair economic advantages in carriage

¹¹¹ Though it was not in their best interest to report their own activities as dangerous, they certainly did not portray the presence of Guards as a preventative addition to their march.

¹¹² Marie-Louise Lenoel, "The Event of Paris and Versailles, by One of the Ladies Who had the Honor to be in the Deputation to the General Assembly," (1789), trans. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo, *The French Revolution: A Document Collection* (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1999), 84.

¹¹³ Marie-Louise Lenoel, "The Event of Paris and Versailles," 84.

¹¹⁴ Maillard, "Stanislas Maillard," 36-42.

¹¹⁵ Many of the monarchists still publically wore the black cockade, a habit which would become more dangerous as the revolution progressed.

robberies,¹¹⁶ the women's march was targeting monarchists for public humiliation. The October Days showed that women, even of the *menu peuple*,¹¹⁷ were capable of political actions that transcended their economic concerns and interests, even if the latter continued to dominate their thinking.

When the women arrived at Versailles, thousands stormed the hall of the National Constituent Assembly and joined in voting on "motions and amendments"¹¹⁸ which directly impacted the economy. This assertion of militant force on the government was an extraordinary way for the market women to temporarily gain political freedom, and was later seen by the French nation as a means of applying "the collective moral will of the community"¹¹⁹ onto legislation. The economic challenges of the people became, for a short while, the driving force behind political decisions. Their actions also support the theory that there was a common desire for militants to legitimize their actions by influencing deliberative politics. This foreshadowed the style which later became popular for militant women: using their armed status as a sign of their capacity to meet the revolutionary model.

The militant presence at Versailles did not stop with voting at the assembly. The representative members of the march asked for an audience with Louis XVI to discuss their demands, and though they were initially refused, he did meet with them later that afternoon. During the meeting, the thousands of protestors waited in the fields outside of Versailles. Shots were fired between the National Guard in the field and the Swiss Guards within the palace,

¹¹⁶ The carriage occupants would be asked if they were members of the Third Estate before being robbed, for more information please see Marquis de Ferrieres, "The Réveillon Riot" (28 April 1789) *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, (Accessed April 2012) <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/377>.

¹¹⁷ *menu peuple* was commonly used to refer to the "lesser folk," the poorest of the Third Estate. – Peter McPhee, *A Social History of France 1780-1880* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 53.

¹¹⁸ Levy and Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship," 84.

¹¹⁹ Levy and Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship," 85.

which one woman described as a way for the men “to amuse themselves.”¹²⁰ It wasn’t long before the women again became riotous, and they stormed the palace to kill Marie Antoinette – a popular icon of the overindulgent nobility. After some hours of violence and the deaths of a number of the Queen’s personal guards, Louis XVI and his family were piled into a carriage under the protection of the National Guard and the recently arrived Lafayette, for transport to Paris.

Louis XVI might have considered his forced move to Paris unpropitious because of the royal association of Paris with the Frondes: a power struggle which temporarily weakened the influence of the monarchy. In a way, Versailles was a physical manifestation of the absolutist system after which Louis XIV had been striving. It represented the separation of the Parisian mob and power-hungry nobility from the unquestionable choices of the King. When the women brought Louis XVI to Paris, they consequentially forced the National Assembly to follow. The process of creating the monarchical constitution required the assent and participation of the King. Since the march was to prevent the First and Second Estate from being able to lord over the representatives of the Third Estate and manipulate the King, the movement of Louis XVI was unmistakably strategic. This placed all official political legislation for the remainder of the revolution in Paris – a heavily populated and volatile city, with a growing number of political clubs. In comparison to Versailles, Paris would become the physical manifestation of the will of the people. Lafayette has been both congratulated and accused by historians of being responsible for the movement of the King, but this incident was beyond his control. In a circumstance repeated throughout the revolution, women’s agency was overlooked in favor of maintaining an illusion of control for a small number of men.

¹²⁰ Levy and Applewhite, “Women and Militant Citizenship,” 85.

The result of the King's forced move was the intensification of tension between deliberative and militant politics, which had first come to the forefront with the storming of the Bastille. After October 1789, the perpetual threat of militant politics would continue to weigh heavily on the deliberations of the National Constituent Assembly, while the practice of militant politics clearly had different outcomes for women than it did for men. Though the events of October 5 had a huge impact on the course of the Revolution, the women involved faced investigation and censure. This is markedly different from the response to the men's storming of the Bastille. However, the rewards for women were greater in militant politics than they were for men. Women were more successful at achieving their goals when they used militant channels.

Deliberative Women

The democratic politics of the Revolution spawned new arenas for political deliberation, such as clubs. This should have been advantageous for women as clubs were coming to be increasingly important to the revolution. In February 1790,¹²¹ they provided women with an opportunity to engage politicians to support women's rights legislation in Paris, but women were not yet permitted to petition within clubs on any issues. In the Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs the women were only allowed to participate from the public galleries, which was an area reserved for observers.¹²² Etta Palm d'Aelders was a pioneer in the advancement of women's participation within political clubs in Paris, partnering with the Friends of Truth to attempt to "arrange apprenticeships for poor young girls and various interventions in favor of the law of divorce."¹²³

¹²¹ This was when women became more active in the Parisian clubs, such as the Society of Both sexes per Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 105.

¹²² Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 105.

¹²³ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 104.

Women were initially more comfortable with the substantive bureaucratic method of petitions – in part because Parisian artisans had practiced dialectics for years and this was culturally appropriate¹²⁴ – but even petitions to the National Constitutional Assembly stylistically resembled the petitions to the king of old, highlighting the particular circumstances of an individual case, asking for an exemption from a general law. Exploitation had been a theme in women’s petitions both before and after the revolution, and was not always limited to the fear of exploitation by men – though men were frequently highlighted. This was illustrated in January 1789, when “women of the Third-Estate” petitioned the king about “their restricted economic opportunities and the limited possibilities for female education,”¹²⁵ and warned the king that this situation would put young women in the position to be exploited by their communities. They sought a monopoly over certain trades which they felt should be specific to the female gender, including “seamstress, embroiderer, [and] fashion merchant”¹²⁶ – and argued that enlarging the female-restricted trades in France would allow women to secure stable employment in a safe environment. Only gradually did petitioners, both male and female, learn that under the New Regime, it was more effective to cast their still-personal demands in *general terms*. Matthew Gerber put it best when he wrote:

¹²⁴ Joan Landes describes the women's active involvement with language in the Ancien Régime in Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 29 and Carla Hesse points to recent research that in the Ancien Régime there were more institutions that were inclusive of women such as the salons and "provincial political assemblies in Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern*, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 32.

¹²⁵ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 385.

¹²⁶ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 386.

The Revolution permanently replaced the fluid negotiations of diverse legal sources within case law jurisprudence with legislative attempts to arrive at historically transcendental codes of law, shifting social and political discussions...out of the courtroom and into the public sphere of democratic debate over legislation.¹²⁷

Deliberative women were also concerned with the less savory profession of prostitution. Prostitution laws remained a constant interest for many public women through the changing political regimes in Paris, and women contorted their petitions to cater to each increasingly radical government. These issues were both beneficial to women and strategically intelligent for their success because it gave them the potential to improve their access to the newly forming welfare system and eventually to gain political equality. When reform legislation was presented by women under the guise of prostitution, the chance of achieving social reform for all women was raised. The revolutionary fervor that infused the Assembly was philosophic, moral, and reform-minded. It ironically had its roots in the Ancien Régime and the *cahiers* to the Estates General. The women knew that they had a better hope of gaining rights if they appealed to the morality of the representatives. After all, it was the limitation of women's rights that compelled women to turn to prostitution – a career necessitated by bad marriages, poor economic opportunities, and restricted access to education.¹²⁸ These matters had long been debated in government during the eighteenth century, and some changes concerning illegitimate children had already been made (outside of adulterous accidents) which lightened the traditional stigmatization of illegitimate offspring.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Matthew Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 186.

¹²⁸ A little over 100 years later.

¹²⁹ Matthew Gerber, "On the Contested Margins of the Family," in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*, ed. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 252.

There were a limited number of official revolutionary women journalists, but more than a few influential salon women and women editors behind radical works. Anne Félicité Colombe was the official printer of Jacques Marat's radical journal *L'Ami du Peuple* as well as *l'Orateur du Peuple*¹³⁰ – and she shielded Marat and his papers from authorities when he was on the run in 1790.¹³¹ Madame Roland has also been documented as a complimentary force behind a political man, contributing to many of her husband's speeches and written works which directly led to his promotions in governmental positions.¹³² Roland would be executed before her husband committed suicide in 1794, widely acknowledged to be a prominent voice in the moderate Brissotin faction.

Other writers such as Olympe de Gouges, Etta Palm d'Aelders and Théroigne de Méricourt mostly stuck to petitions, at first, in order to convey their desires for the “vote for women, the abolition of primogeniture and the availability of divorce.”¹³³ However, de Gouges and de Méricourt became more radical in their works as the revolution progressed. De Gouges wrote increasingly violent threats to those who opposed the Brissotins,¹³⁴ including one aimed at Robespierre warning him that “his throne will be the scaffold,” and a proposal “that you should take a bath with me [de Gouges] in the Seine” with a couple of cannon balls.¹³⁵ De Méricourt became known as the “Fury of the Gironde” and spent time at assembly meetings dressed eccentrically in the National Guard uniform; she was also involved in some of the most relevant

¹³⁰Theophile Leclerc, *Discours de Monsieur Le Clerc*, Bibliothèque Nationale, 2260. in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 382-383.

¹³¹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 382-383.

¹³²Galina Osipovna Sokolnikova, *Nine Women, Drawn from the Epoch of the French Revolution* (New York: Books for Library Press, 1932), 85.

¹³³ McPhee, *A Social History of France*, 47.

¹³⁴ The Brissotins became known as the Girondins towards 1794.

¹³⁵ Peter McPhee, *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life* (New York: TJ Press (Padstow) LTD, 2012), 138.

mob actions in Paris during the revolution. Her activities in politics ended badly when she was beaten into a progressive insanity by other radical militant women.¹³⁶

Though de Gouges used a kind of “militant rhetoric,” to reflect the violence of her words, de Méricourt was more adoptive of the revolutionary violence as a source of political legitimacy. She wore the National Guard uniform as a costume to political debates, bragged about her part in the march to Versailles, and petitioned to form groups of Amazons. Moderate women were more heavily involved in using words to win arguments, and while they enjoyed employing threats of violence, they were far less active than other women in physical confrontations. They tied their deliberative politics to the militant movement through rhetoric, which was the great alloy of revolutionary politics.

Guilds

The economy of France was built partly upon the small trades of members of the Third Estate. These tradesmen were legally and traditionally bound together within guilds and worked as a group to determine the regulations of their trade. Even women were allowed to form gender-exclusive guilds and run them independently of outside interference. The government allowed guild women to automatically exist as *marchande publique*,¹³⁷ or “surrogate men,”¹³⁸ which gave them the rights to go to court, borrow money, and sign contracts.¹³⁹ Guild trades were the only

¹³⁶ De Méricourt was badly beaten for being a supporter of the Girondin, and some historians believe that her head injuries led to her later questionable desire to remain naked in protest to her poor treatment that day. She was eventually locked up in an insane asylum called the Salpêtrière which was also one of the locations of the September Massacres per Sokolnikova, *Nine Women*, 15.

¹³⁷ Daryl M. Hafter, “Female Masters in the Ribbonmaking Guild of Eighteenth-Century Rouen,” *French Historical Studies* 20 (1999): 4.

¹³⁸ Cockburn describes the practice of avoiding the provision of real rights with legal loopholes as a method to make some women into “surrogate men.” She believes this is a way to ignore the need to rewrite the social contract per Cynthia Cockburn, *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations* (Great Britain: Macmillan Press, 1991), 21.

¹³⁹ Hafter, “Female Masters,” 4.

occupation in which women were considered legal adults, and since guild mistresses were made up of 40% widows and single women,¹⁴⁰ many of them were uncommonly independent.

During the Ancien Régime, the women's guilds had many official interactions with the government. The temporary guild closing by Turgot in 1776, led to women protesting their concerns of "exploitation and abuse"¹⁴¹ if men were allowed to step into "female trades"¹⁴² without guild restraints. Their concern for the safety of women did not diminish with the reestablishment of guilds. In January 1789, the "women of the Third-Estate" petitioned the King about "their restricted economic opportunities and the limited possibilities for female education,"¹⁴³ and warned the king that this situation would put young women in the position to be exploited by their communities. They wanted a monopoly over certain other trades which they felt should also be specific to the female gender, "such as seamstress, embroiderer, [and] fashion merchant"¹⁴⁴ – arguing that enlarging the female-restricted trades in France would allow women to more easily secure stable employment in a safe environment.

Many of the Sansculottes were also heavily opposed to the closing of guilds during the construction of the constitutional monarchy, but with decidedly more monetary motivations. In the Pont-Neuf section of Paris, most of the Sansculottes were "young or middle-aged masters who were at least of the second or third generation in craft families,"¹⁴⁵ and they had complete control over the pricing and quality of the products sold in that section. There were a number of journeymen Sansculottes who had not been granted the title of Master, which forced them to sell quality goods at a reduced rate – those men were more interested in an end to the guild system.

¹⁴⁰ David Garrioch, *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 70.

¹⁴¹ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 384.

¹⁴² Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 384

¹⁴³ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, , 385.

¹⁴⁴ Crowston, *Fabricating Women*, 386.

¹⁴⁵ Richard Mowery Andrews, "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-94: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's "Les sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II," *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 100.

In March 1791, the guild women's fears were realized when Pierre Gilbert Le Roi, baron d'Allarde proposed a law to finally shut down all of the guilds in France. The impact on women was closely aligned to what they anticipated in 1776 and 1789 – those who were not single or widowed were forced to work under their husband's trades as journeymen, or else be forced to pay for the new patent required for self-employment. This meant that the dissolution of the women's guilds did not multiply trade businesses for women as it did for men, but either limited or prohibited their growth. It also stripped them of their status as "honorary men," and threw them into competition with men who had more legal rights.¹⁴⁶ The one advantage that came out of this anti-guild legislation was that these politically savvy women were free to exert their energies elsewhere, such as on the newly forming clubs.

That same March, Etta Palm d'Aelders submitted a pamphlet proposing the creation of women's political clubs.¹⁴⁷ The previous year d'Aelders had campaigned to change the public's perception of women as political beings, pointing out the usefulness of Amazons and the injustice of segregated rights based on gender.¹⁴⁸ When guilds were dissolved there was a new availability of politically conscious women to be examples of women's agency and to act as administrators of welfare. Because there was a greater political participation among tradeswomen and mixed artisanal trades,¹⁴⁹ these types of women had a monopoly on deliberative politics; however, their goals were not always unifiable with the goals of other

¹⁴⁶Daryl M. Hafter, "Women at Work in Preindustrial France," *Penn State PSUPRESS.ORG*, <http://www.psupress.org/justataste/justatastehafter.html> (Accessed July 19, 2012).

¹⁴⁷ Etta Palm D'Aelders *Lettre d'une amie de la vérité*, Etta Palm, née d'Aelders, Hollandaise, *sur les des marches des ennemis extérieurs et intérieurs de la France; suivie d'une adresse à toutes les citoyennes patriotes, et d'une motion à leur proposer pour l'Assemblée nationale, lue à l'Assemblée fédérative des amis de la vérité, le 23 mars 1791 in Bibliothèque historique de la Ville de Paris*, 12, 807, vol. 1, no. 15, 16-31 trans. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 68.

¹⁴⁸ Etta Palm D'Aelders, "Discourse on the Injustice of the Laws in Favor of Men, at the Expense of Women," (30 December 1790), *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, (Accessed April 2012) <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/476>.

¹⁴⁹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 202.

women. When the clubs became more accessible to women in Paris after 1790,¹⁵⁰ these conflicts became more obvious.

The classic Marxist interpretation of the Sansculottes does not adequately describe the story of the Femmes Sansculottes. According to Soboul, the political methods that were adopted by Sansculottes which most threatened the government were the publicity of their political activity and the unity of their purpose.¹⁵¹ However, the women were unable to be truly public about their goals because of the hindrance of the expectations of their gender. This led directly to the embracing of militance in Paris, since there were no acceptable or impactful methods for women to advocate their political standpoint. The conflict over the militarization of women and the petitions made by some groups on behalf of all women were politically divisive, and led to a lack of unity. Some women believed that legalizing weapons for their gender could snowball into conscription for women, which led to distrust towards official women's organizations. The devout Catholic women were unhappy with the ideological policies of the radical leftist women, and the market women grew to hate the propaganda which trumped revolutionary pride over economic concerns.

In general, the women in Paris were in the unprecedented position of being at the ground floor of the creation of revolutionary governmental ideology, but the unequal balance of political experience between various women's groups encouraged competition which diminished their individual effectiveness. At the beginning of the Revolution there were a number of political changes put forth that divided women on mainstream economic issues,¹⁵² preventing them from uniting behind women's rights legislation. In the coming years of the revolution, the political

¹⁵⁰ In 1790 the Society of Patriots of Both Sexes attracted a large female following per Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 105.

¹⁵¹ Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-94* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1979) , 136.

¹⁵² "The issue of subsistence was often at the origin of female crowds" per Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 114.

clubs would form more of a cohesive position in mainstream politics, leading to a greater communication between the deliberative politics of the legislative forum and the murderous riots of the streets of Paris. This gave clubs an increasing amount of power, and seemed to be an enormous opportunity for women to harness a more powerful position in the rising Republic.

The Downfall of the Idea of a Monarchical Constitution

When Louis XVI was confronted with the finalization of the transition into a French constitutional monarchy in 1791, he found himself backed into a political corner. His virtual abduction by the market women in 1789 had forced him onto the violent Parisian political platform, and the members of the assembly could not control the riotous popular political movement. Louis XVI was not interested in a monarchical constitution, and most radicals were not interested in granting his request to have a royal veto over legislation, and so he and his family prepared to flee France.

The King's flight to Varennes is one of those historical events whose failure led to enormous consequences. There was a string of missed opportunities and hesitations which doomed the venture, the most pertinent to this chapter being the possible interference from the family chambermaid, a "*démocrate fanatique*,"¹⁵³ who forced the delay of the royal departure simply by being openly radical and scheduled to work on the same day that the flight was originally planned to take place.¹⁵⁴ According to some reports, it only took the presence of one woman to scare the king, and because of the delay of the departure to June 21, 1791, they missed an important carriage exchange outside of the town of Varennes and were captured. The family

¹⁵³ "Female fanatical democrat," from Alphonse de Lamartine, "Histoire des Girondins, 1ère parité," *Gallica Bibliothèque Numérique* (1861), 82.

¹⁵⁴ de Lamartine, "Histoire des Girondins," 82.

was soon transported back to Paris, where they would be held as virtual prisoners for another two years.

This is an important example of the how the Femmes Sansculottes were empowering women in the streets and in their everyday lives. Women had political opinions and had learned to be vocal when it came to those who violated their ideologies, and everyone was aware of their new political activism - though reports frequently obscured it.

After Louis XVI failed to abandon France, political women became divided on the future of the constitutional monarchy. There was a rally in July on the Champs-de-Mars in Paris, where thousands gathered to sign a petition to put an end to the monarchy altogether. While some “campaign[ed] for the abolition of the monarchy,”¹⁵⁵ others, such as the Brissotin Madame Roland, were hoping for reconciliation with the King. The National Guard were loyal to the idea of a constitutional monarchy, so when the protestors at the Champs-de-Mars were surrounded by the Parisian militia, the division between the ideological positions of the revolutionaries crystallized. While the event began as a publically organized signing of the petition to completely abolish the monarchy, it finished with the National Guard opening fire on unarmed¹⁵⁶ French mobs, killing 50 civilians.¹⁵⁷ Women were arrested and interrogated for verbally assaulting the Guards and their part in the organization of the petition to abolish the monarchy which had caused the riots.

¹⁵⁵ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 106.

¹⁵⁶ History describes the masses as unarmed, but no Parisian revolutionary mob ever went completely without weapons.

¹⁵⁷ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 107.

The Power of Militant Politics

In the short time between 1789 and 1791, politicized women found that they were more successful taking militant action than appealing to the moral nature of those in charge through deliberative means.¹⁵⁸ While men were learning that militancy was going to be a vital part of their political future as well, they did not need to rely on it so heavily as the women did. The slow rift that was forming between the upper-class deliberative women and the lower-class militant women was more heavily dependent on economic differences, while the men who were focused on militant politics were concerned with the political approach to the economic problems. These separate approaches to economic concerns would become more obvious as the revolution continued, and women relied more heavily on militant actions to defend their economic beliefs.

¹⁵⁸ Assata Shakur was a militant philosopher who argued that "Nobody in the world, nobody in history, has ever gotten their freedom by appealing to the moral sense of the people who were oppressing them."
<<http://www.assatashakur.org/axioms.htm>> (accessed on October 14, 2012.)

Chapter 2

Political Clubs and Revolutionary Radicalization

The most famous example of women's deliberative action was Olympe de Gouges' publication of the *Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne* in September 1791. Introducing the *Déclaration* at the promulgation of the first French Constitution¹⁵⁹ was a moderate political move that was intended to enable "critics to ask new kinds of questions about the paradox of women's civil status."¹⁶⁰ As usual, Gouges' attempt to work within the system to present the contradiction as women experienced it was ignored by the National Assembly.¹⁶¹ Women found themselves unable to efficaciously petition for political rights, and they began to rely more heavily upon the growing influence of political clubs and popular revolt. The growing importance of male-dominant Parisian clubs as an intermediary between legislative political action and popular violence was an inspiration to women, but the inability of Parisian women to form strong alliances with powerful legislators prevented them from maintaining or garnering political rights within the National Assembly in the same way that men did.

The militarization movement among women in Paris was paradoxically founded on an intentional distortion of Rousseauian principles,¹⁶² claiming the interior as the domain for women. In Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile*, he described the difference between the Public and the Private spheres, which belonged to men and women respectively.¹⁶³ Since revolutionary principles revolved around the ideology of Rousseau's philosophies as well as the

¹⁵⁹ Joan Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Malzer and Leslie W. Rabine, (Oxford University Press: Oxford 1992), 109.

¹⁶⁰ Lynn Hunt, *The Family Romance of the French Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 203.

¹⁶¹ Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer," 36.

¹⁶² As were the ideologies of many other clubs; fitting a club's purpose into Rousseau's philosophies or Enlightenment principles was vital to the survival of any revolutionary Parisian club.

¹⁶³ "Though Rousseau certainly wrote *during* the Enlightenment, he was not exactly *of* the Enlightenment. Indeed, he was rather the "maverick" of the Enlightenment, criticizing its excessive reason and overdeveloped sophistication, all of which further alienated man from nature in virtue. In other words, he is typically something of a prot-romantic." per Matthew Gerber, October 12, 2012.

Enlightenment,¹⁶⁴ women tried to fit their petitions around these touted philosophical concepts. Women argued that if they were allowed to defend their families' stomachs,¹⁶⁵ and protect their children, they should also be allowed to be armed and protect the interior from counterrevolutionaries and invasion if the men went to war.¹⁶⁶

Pauline Léon further played on the public's fear of counterrevolutionary attack by arguing that women should be allowed to carry guns and other weapons to protect their homes while the men were away. Her request was regularly rejected, but women armed themselves despite its illegality. It seems likely that the goal was to achieve the right to bear arms for women in order to maneuver themselves closer to active citizenship and certainly to use arms to support direct democracy in Paris. As political clubs became more popular, the militant women tried to use them to legislate for women's civil liberties, while proving their militance in parades and through mob violence. This was a different approach than the militant men, who were not trying to prove anything about their gender by protecting Paris, but were using direct democracy to influence legislation.

The Growing Importance of Political Clubs in Paris

Clubs began to play a more prominent role in Parisian politics when the Legislative Assembly was officially instituted in October 1791 with a restriction on how many original members could be elected to continue to serve. This led to the unforeseen consequence of a restriction on experience within the assembly, which meant that they instead pooled power in their respective political clubs. The clubs not only became a center for communication between

¹⁶⁴ In one passage, he presents a speech of a respectable woman who said: "I am a woman and a mother, I know how to keep my proper sphere." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *His Educational Theories Selected from Émile, Julie, and other Writings* (New York: Baron's Educational Series, Inc, 1964), 46.

¹⁶⁵ Women were widely accepted as the appropriate gender for food riots.

¹⁶⁶ *Séance des Jacobins* no. 412 (May 10, 1793).

the popular masses and the influential politicians, but also the source of a deepened factionalism in the assembly. The separation between moderates and radicals became more obvious during this period, and the various groups began to formulate more definite opinions on the future of politics in France. In the beginning there were negotiations between oppositional factions, but their differences eventually led to disagreements and ultimately political warfare.

This should have been a lucky scenario for women, for while they could not participate officially in the assembly, they gained the right to participate in some mixed political clubs and interact with powerful politicians. Etta Palm d'Aelders successfully created a women's arm to the *Cercle Social* in March 1791 called the *Assemblée Fédérative des Amis de la Vérité*, the Friends of Truth, which allowed women to officially debate political issues which impacted them. The women's tier had three functions: First, to "lobby for the elimination of primogeniture, protection against wife-beating, a liberal divorce law, and other forms of civic equality for women;"¹⁶⁷ second, the "establishment of nurseries"¹⁶⁸ for poor women; and third, the "establish[ment of] free medical clinics for...women."¹⁶⁹ The *Cercle Social* allowed The Friends of Truth to publish their announcements in the club's journal, *Bouche de Fer*,¹⁷⁰ at a time when the only man who would publish women's announcements was the moderate feminist Jacques-Pierre Brissot. The liberal Cordeliers, later counted among the few friends and supporters of radical militant women, refused. The *otherness* of women's political clubs may

¹⁶⁷Gary Kates, "The Powers of Husband and Wife Must Be Equal and Separate," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, ed. Harriet Branson Applewhite and Darline G. Levy (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1990), 172.

¹⁶⁸Kates, "The Powers of Husband and Wife," 172.

¹⁶⁹Kates, "The Powers of Husband and Wife," 172.

¹⁷⁰Kates, "The Powers of Husband and Wife," 173.

have been a contributing factor to their limited access to the political stage.¹⁷¹ The duality that women presented by expressing political ideals while simultaneously touting the positive aspects of their gender-identity worked against them in the public forum, according to some historians.

The largest concentration of women's rights supporters was in the moderate clubs, though militant women were radical in their political leanings. Olympe de Gouges, a legislation-oriented political petitioner, argued that the legislative and executive branches should be equal, just as there should be equality between man and wife. De Gouges frequently used revolutionary rhetoric to justify petitions for civil rights for women. Joan Scott proposed that "[i]n these discussions...women's rights were not separable from, but integral to all considerations of politics."¹⁷² Some Brissotins presented feminist propositions as "human rights issues," rather than gender issues. Condorcet used revolutionary logic to argue on behalf of women and minorities. In his 1790 pamphlet on women's rights, *Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité*, he pointed out that Utilitarianism was an ideology of the Ancien Régime and only led to the "censorship of books" and the imprisonment of the innocent.¹⁷³ Like de Gouges, Condorcet was putting forth his arguments to be included in the deliberations about the French constitution. The utilitarian practice of sacrificing the happiness of some women, in order to maintain the happiness of the "collective," was presented by Condorcet as a morally reprehensible mistake. Many moderate suggestions about equal rights were based on the common rhetoric of the revolution, rather than on new approaches to the deserved equality for women.

¹⁷¹ Joan Scott argued that women's rights are not easily supported in a liberal system due to the paradox of their gendered position as "self and other," a paradox explored by both Voltaire and Rousseau. per Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 173.

¹⁷² Scott, "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer," 111.

¹⁷³ Marquis de Condorcet, *Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité*, 1790 in OC, X, 126, quoted in Emma Rothschild, "Condorcet and the Conflict of Values," *The Historical Journal*, 39 (3), 1996: 683.

The Brissotins, as a group, did not have a cohesive opinion on civil rights for women and minorities, but in general there was a common use of philosophy and logic to present principles of equality into revolutionary legislation. Ironically, while Brissot and Condorcet were publicly defending women's rights to representation and political contributions, moderate Brissotin Madame Roland was working behind the scenes to further her husband's political career, arguing "I am often annoyed to see women arguing over privileges that do not suit them."¹⁷⁴ Roland ran a salon in her home, where many moderates met to discuss policy, but her political inclinations never ran towards women's rights. She was even opposed to women writing political texts, which is hypocritical considering her numerous works and her memoirs written in prison.

While some of the more conservative women were pushing for civil rights through organized clubs, the most regular demand of the street revolutionaries was the right to bear arms. On March 6, 1792, Pauline Léon presented a petition to the assembly which requested that the women of Paris be able to organize into a female national guard,¹⁷⁵ justifying their request as a right provided for in the approved *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen de 1789*.¹⁷⁶ Many of the women who accompanied Léon continued presenting militant petitions over the following year, and this would come to represent the first official political stance of the loosely formed Femmes Sansculottes. Dominique Godineau argues that the "constellation of women's demands concerning issues of power, citizenship, and political struggle" contributed to the negative mystique of the *tricoteuse*,¹⁷⁷ a stereotype that classified political women as akin to bloodthirsty sociopaths. The most well known fictional "knitter" was Charles Dickens's Madame

¹⁷⁴Jane Abray, "Feminism in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review*, (80 (1). 1975) 60.

¹⁷⁵Dominique Godineau, "Masculine and Feminine Political Practice during the French Revolution, 1793-Year III," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, ed. Harriet Branson Applewhite and Darline G. Levy, (Michigan: University of Michigan, 1990), 69.

¹⁷⁶Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, (California: University of California Press, 1988), 108.

¹⁷⁷Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 108.

Defarge, a model of ruthless femininity, who callously discussed beheading a child to meet the execution goal of a day, while knitting the names of those she wanted executed.¹⁷⁸ The misogynistic terror of the violent possibilities of women was only increased by the confrontational methods of French militant women. The threat that women's violence presented to the public must have been easy to ignore during the chaos of the revolution, and Léon overlooked how militant women were being represented differently than men in the media. This is underlined by her continued pursuit of militant rights to change women's civil status.

The Legislative Assembly politely refused Léon's request to form a women's Parisian National Guard, but only a few weeks later Théroigne de Méricourt gave another speech at the assembly demanding the women's right to "participate in the war effort by forming female militias."¹⁷⁹ Méricourt avoided relying completely upon the official Déclaration,¹⁸⁰ as some moderate deliberative women had,¹⁸¹ and instead made these demands using the revolutionary certainty that the corrupt Ancien Régime had made another wrong decision when it placed women in a subservient position. This fell in line with the uniquely Parisian revolutionary desire to destroy all perversions of nature created by the old system, but like Léon and de Gouges, Méricourt's argument was also unsuccessful. The politicians did not want to legalize women's militancy.

¹⁷⁸ Charles Dickens, *A Tale of Two Cities*, (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006), 408.

¹⁷⁹ Bernard A. Cook, *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to Present* (California: ABC-CLIO, INC, 2006), 227.

¹⁸⁰ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 109.

¹⁸¹ Olympe de Gouges based her entire treatise on the men's Déclaration.

The Structure of Political Clubs

Political clubs in France in 1792 were societies where men of any social class could ally themselves under a common cause.¹⁸² The radical Montagnard faction built a slow partnership with the Sansculottes and the loosely formed moderate Brissotins, who did not always share their vision for the political direction of France. The Brissotins eventually broke away from the violence of radical alliances, and when the Sansculottes pushed for a Price Maximum in 1793 the Jacobins petitioned on their behalf (against their own desire for a *Laissez-faire* economy) while the Brissotins argued against it – and lost. The moderates would eventually pay the price for not maintaining ties with the street activists, for although it might have compromised their objectives, the Sansculottes were increasingly successful at motivating the assembly to pass legislation. It was becoming more common for deliberative groups and militant groups to work in tandem to realize their goals, sometimes through trade-offs and sometimes through political debts.

The post-Marxist revisionist perspective of the club alliances between street militants and legislators is centered on the idea that the Sansculottes movement was more about a frame of mind than an “entity.”¹⁸³ A popular revisionist quote from Richard Cobb declares the Sansculottes “a freak of nature, more a state of mind than a social, political, or economic entity.”¹⁸⁴ Revisionist historians base their observations of these clubs on the collapse of the

¹⁸² Some clubs were more open to class differentiation than others, which was expressed in the amount of their admission. Jacobins charged, but the Cordeliers did not.

¹⁸³ Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, (California: University of California Press, 1984), 149.

¹⁸⁴ Richard Cobb, *The Police and the People: French Popular Protest, 1789-1820*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 200 in Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class*, 149.

Ancien Régime and the consequent struggle for political control.¹⁸⁵ Robespierre is an example of a politician taking advantage of the vacuum of a new government to appear to have more influence than he actually had. His perceived manipulation of the public is heavily based on his visibility in the press, not on his ability to force ideas on other social groups. It is more likely that other groups frequently pressured him into publicly supporting their causes, against his personal political inclinations. His sycophantic ways may have been the source of his growing influence in late 1792, but a closer examination of his speeches exposes glaring contradictions.

The post-Revisionist David Garrioch argues that merchant women were frequently defined in the streets by their neighborhoods while men in guild trades were defined by their profession,¹⁸⁶ which can help to explain the natural separation between the market women of Les Halles and the militant women of Unité sections of Paris. However, there is a hint in the arguments of the post-revisionists, according to the interpretations of Kaiser and Van Kley, of replacing the bourgeois in the bourgeoisie with commercial entrepreneurialism.¹⁸⁷ This is important because of the classic debates of the motives of the better educated, more wealthy members of radical political clubs defining their relationships with the street militants. The men were uniting from street trades and other professions with wealthy men, perhaps entrepreneurs, to achieve greater commercial interest and civil liberties. The women were uniting in their local neighborhoods to achieve a higher quality life for themselves and their children, and allying with women who were willing to riot or engage in street militance to force their demands on men who had classically rejected them.

¹⁸⁵ A theory based on a description of revisionism in Thomas E. Kaiser and Dale K. Van Kley, *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution*, ed. Thomas E. Kaiser and Dale K. Van Kley (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011), 2.

¹⁸⁶ David Garrioch, "The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women and the October Days of 1789," *Social History* 24 (1999), 237.

¹⁸⁷ Kaiser and Van Kley, *From Deficit to Deluge*, 21.

As the Legislative Assembly began to officially discuss going to war, the militant women became more visible in the streets of Paris. In mid-April, they marched with arms in the Festival of Liberty – which was technically illegal, but no one confronted them. The climate in Paris was ripe for the acceptance of excuses as it became more feasible that women might need to defend themselves against counterrevolutionaries or foreign invaders. On April 20, the Brissotins succeeded in sidelining Robespierre in order to declare war on Austria¹⁸⁸ which simultaneously popularized women's demands for arms and distinguished the Brissotins as defenders of France. This seemed to be another lucky scenario for militant women, since they shared a militant philosophy with important members of the assembly. The political clubs would become more invested in the actions of the street militants in the months to come, and it was an opportune time for street revolutionaries to make powerful allies.

However, from the beginning the French army experienced heavy losses and the war became unpopular. Parisians were terrified that their city would be invaded, and the Assembly felt that it was important to have an army nearby to protect them. The Legislative Assembly responded by proposing gather 20,000 “federated provincial National Guard troops near Paris.”¹⁸⁹ When the King vetoed this proposition, the Parisians were terrified and became increasingly uncertain of the King's position. Louis XVI had been in an incredibly tenuous position since his failed runaway attempt, and many believed that he was secretly working with the Austrians to restore his pure monarchy. The Brissotins wanted to provide for the safety of the people, possibly because it was their fault that France was at war to begin with, and they responded to the King's veto by using the Jacobin club to mobilize popular insurrection in the sections of Paris.

¹⁸⁸David Andress, *The French Revolution and the People* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 159.

¹⁸⁹Andress, *The French Revolution*, 179.

The club alliances were used to mobilize a physical effort against a political disagreement in the Legislative Assembly. This internal agreement to use outside forces to settle disagreements was not new historically, but it was unusual in that it was guided by men who only gained political influence within the previous five years. In France, the men with any influence had almost always been born into their political potential, and their enemies had always been aware of the danger they could present. This new political relationship with clubs was ideal for women to be able to receive rights – if they could become useful to an influential member of the assembly.

The Tuileries palace was stormed on June 20 and the mob confronted Louis XVI concerning his allegedly traitorous policies, especially his veto on protective troops. The invasion of the Tuileries was considered one of the emerging moments of the Sansculotte movement,¹⁹⁰ organized officially by the Cordeliers and Jacobins but unofficially by the Brissotins in response to their declining popularity and their need to reclaim political control. Louis XVI was aware of the Brissotin's culpability in the invasion since he had "sacked his Girondin ministers"¹⁹¹ a week earlier, replacing them with ministers who made enemies with the most popular revolutionary politicians. Rudé believed that this was the cause of the "demonstration," an event which they had actually petitioned to hold on the anniversary of the Tennis Court oath.¹⁹² The inability of Louis XVI to negotiate within the new political environment supports revisionist theories of a political birth to the revolution. Mona Ozouf

¹⁹⁰Andress, *The French Revolution*,179.

¹⁹¹Andress, *The French Revolution*,179.

¹⁹²George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press,1972), 98.

argued that the “escalating conflicts between the monarchy and the Parliament of Paris”¹⁹³ was what built the revolution, a conflict which Louis XVI carried over to the assembly.

There was not a report of women’s independent participation during the June 20 invasion of the Tuileries, though only the month before the women had united with the Sansculottes to “parade through the Assembly’s hall, beating drums and singing revolutionary songs.”¹⁹⁴ There may have been some hesitancy to focus on the part of women on June 20, who were making demands independent of the universal demand for protection from the National Guard. This is not to say that misogynistic plots drove women out of politics by 1793, but to suggest that sexism was a regular part of the life of a female political protestor – and that its existence should have been calculated into the plans of any active women’s group in Paris. Women were a part of the invasion on June 20, mentioned in passing in a report of the Paris Department:

des homes pour la plupart inconnus et sans aveu, déjà tout en état de rébellion ouverte . . . et parmi lesquels, ainsi que l’événement l’a démontré, il existait des brigands et des assassins . . . mêlés de femmes et d’enfants.¹⁹⁵

The Fall of the Monarchy

After the events of June 20, all of France became divided over the new direction of the revolution. The Legislative Assembly enacted emergency measures, overruling the King’s veto and declaring “*Le Patrie en Danger*.” On July 5, 20,000 *fédérés* came to Paris.¹⁹⁶ There were coincidentally 20,000 signatures turned in on a petition to the Assembly, “denouncing the 20

¹⁹³ Mona Ozouf quoted in John Dunne, “Fifty Years of Rewriting the French Revolution,” *History Today*, 1998, <http://www.historytoday.com/john-dunne/fifty-years-rewriting-french-revolution>, (Accessed May 26, 2012).

¹⁹⁴ AP, 44: 189-96, 274 in Timothy Tackett, “Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789-1792,” *The American Historical Review*, 105 (2000): 692.

¹⁹⁵ Archives Nationale, F7 477470, fols. 472-600 quoted in George Rudé, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 100.

¹⁹⁶ Andress, *The French Revolution*, 180.

June events,¹⁹⁷ and demanding more support for the constitutional monarchy. Many residents of the Bonne-Nouvelle section publicly branded the National Guard as aristocratic traitors.¹⁹⁸ At the same time, the pressure from the war with Prussia was weighing on Paris – and rumors continued to circulate that the city itself would be invaded.

Not surprisingly, in light of the ideological contradictions among Parisian clubs, the Guards who were called to Paris did not end the discord, but intensified it. These provincial delegates were introduced to the Jacobins and anon there were meetings in the Hôtel de Ville to plan the overthrow of the monarchy.¹⁹⁹ There had been chaos in Paris since the events at the Tuileries in June, such as the discharge and reinstatement of the mayor of Paris by conflicting authorities. There was also a “call to arms” in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine in late July,²⁰⁰ and more “false starts”²⁰¹ as paranoia progressed. There was widespread panic about Louis XVI making deals with Austria, and this fear was intensified when the “Brunswick Manifesto” was issued to the public, warning Parisians not to hurt the King or else Paris would be completely destroyed.²⁰²

With the publicized danger of the war, and the fear of counterrevolutionary invasion of Paris, it was not surprising that women would once again demand arms publicly. On July 31, 1792, the women of the Hôtel de Ville section of Paris again asked for the right to bear arms, this time specifying that all “true *citoyennes*” be allowed to bear arms “for the defense of the capital.”²⁰³ There was not a prominent journalistic fascination with women’s internal disputes in

¹⁹⁷Andress, *The French Revolution*, 179.

¹⁹⁸Andress, *The French Revolution*, 179.

¹⁹⁹Andress, *The French Revolution*, 180.

²⁰⁰Rudè, *The Crowd*, 103.

²⁰¹Rudè, *The Crowd*, 103.

²⁰²Duke of Brunswick, “Brunswick Manifesto,” *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*, ed. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999), 167.

²⁰³Godineau, “Masculine and Feminine Political Practice,” 69.

1792, but by the nature of their presentation it can be surmised that there was probably some disagreement among women concerning active citizenship. While these militant women were asking for the right to bear arms in a way that simultaneously sought active citizenship,²⁰⁴ there were other women who were rejecting a military role in the new social order such as the furtive Madame Roland or Etta Palm d'Aelders.

All the sections save one “formally petitioned the Assembly for the King’s overthrow,”²⁰⁵ but when the decision was postponed for too long an “Insurrectionary Commune”²⁰⁶ was formed to organize another militant invasion of the Tuileries. This commune was created by the joint efforts of the Jacobins, the Cordeliers and the Enragés – all of whom had different political motivations for the overthrow. The Enragés saw the popular violence as the application of direct democracy, but the Jacobins were aligning themselves with the popular discontent to improve their own position. In early August the sections were “admitting non-active citizens to their debates,”²⁰⁷ which allowed women the right to debate the monarchy issue and participate in the Insurrectionary Commune. By this time the Brissotins had seen the error of encouraging popular violence for personal gain, and they avoided any further connection to mobilization.

On August 10, 1792 sectional forces of the National Guard²⁰⁸ and provisional volunteers from Paris arrived at the Tuileries Palace at around six in the morning,²⁰⁹ including an assembly of armed women. The effective leader of the loosely formed Femmes Sansculottes, Pauline

²⁰⁴ In militant petitions, women consistently used the term *citoyenne*, which translates to “Female Citizen.” As women were not granted the powers of active citizenship, this was not technically an accurate term for their current position.

²⁰⁵ Address, *The French Revolution*, 180.

²⁰⁶ Address, *The French Revolution*, 180.

²⁰⁷ Address, *The French Revolution*, 180.

²⁰⁸ Also called by some historians, the “Jacobin volunteer soldiers,” Leger Grindon, “History and the Historians in “La Marseillaise,” *Film History* 4 (1990): 228.

²⁰⁹ Monsieur de Durler, “Relation de Monsieur de Durler, capitaine au régiment des Gardes-Suisses, et commandant environ 500 hommes qui se sont défendus sur l’Escalier de la Chapelle et dans l’Intérieur du Château, le 10 Août 1792,” *The English Historical Review* 2(1887) : 357.

Léon, showed up with a pike, the traditional homemade weapon of choice for young Parisian women, but was gently unarmed by one of the “patriots,”²¹⁰ who was in the rows of the battalion. Another woman, the actress Claire Lacombe, was not disarmed or dissuaded from the attack on the Tuileries. She earned her moniker “Heroine of August 10” when she took a bullet from a Swiss Guard, tied off her arm with a rag, and continued fighting. Léon was later involved in organizing a women’s street militia, but ultimately Lacombe had a more intimidating presence and a reputation for violence. The invasion of the Tuileries and the end to the monarchy in consequence also led to “the end of the distinction between active and passive [male] citizens,”²¹¹ which augmented the potential for women to gain civil rights in the future.

The Consequences of August 10 Outside of Paris

When the monarchy fell, there was a flourish of legislation passed concerning the family, most of which appeared to benefit women. There were new laws on inheritance rights, women and men could sue for the right to divorce, and the *État Civil* was placed “in the hands of state officials rather than priests.”²¹² The removal of Louis Capet, combined with resounding public demands for divorce provided the ideal opportunity to make radical changes. There was also a new concern with women’s legislative demands, and divorce debates included a consideration of the “happiness and rights of women.”²¹³ With these early changes in policy, it seemed possible that the abdication of the “father of the nation” was going to lead to new freedoms for women –

²¹⁰Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 111.

²¹¹Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 111.

²¹²Suzanne Desan, *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 62.

²¹³Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 63.

but the influence and power of the “Jacobin reformers” had grown,²¹⁴ which meant that their approval was necessary.

The destruction of the monarchy on August 10 was an independent action of the people of Paris and the National Guard. The demands of the Parisians Sansculottes were not those of the provincial farmers, or moderate monarchists, and the continued denigration of the power of the Catholic Church in France was a step beyond what the devout wanted to accept. In late August, “over ten thousand protesters invaded the town of Châtillon-sur-Sèvre” and attacked governmental buildings in “defense of religion.”²¹⁵ In the Vendée there was street violence, and the faithful demanded that imprisoned priests be let out.²¹⁶ When the news of these events came back to Paris, they were not viewed as a criticism of the legislation of the newly convened National Convention, but a rejection of Parisian revolutionary principles.

The secularizing legislation was not the only thing that angered the non-Parisians, there was also the looming consequences of essentially daring Europe to stop the revolution. In retrospect, and to the people of the countryside, invading the Tuileries after the circulation of the Brunswick Manifesto was bound to have military consequences. The Prussians marched from the eastern border of France to raze Paris, just as the Duke of Brunswick had threatened should the King be molested in any way. The Prussians had already reinstated detained priests in towns that they successfully conquered, which only increased the Parisian fear of their own incarcerated counterrevolutionary clergy. This might have been welcomed by the Catholic countryside if their sons had not been conscripted, which forced them to fight against their own desired

²¹⁴Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 62.

²¹⁵David Andress, *The Terror: The Merciless War for Freedom in Revolutionary France* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005), 99.

²¹⁶Andress, *The Terror*, 99.

reinstatement of priests and the monarchy. In Brittany there were “battles between anti-recruitment groups and [the] hastily mobilized” National Guard.²¹⁷

The Parisian reaction was to cage more of the non-juror priests and nuns in the overcrowded prisons, along with other suspects of counterrevolutionary sentiments. This only engorged Parisian prisons with people who were feared to be dangerous to the revolution, which led to the common belief that these counterrevolutionaries were plotting the destruction of Paris from within. Many believed that the Prussians would successfully reach Paris and at that time the prisons would be opened and revenge would be unleashed upon them. This was not a completely unrealistic concern, because the Prussians were releasing people from captivity as they marched towards Paris – but the consequences of the political reaction to this fear would be catastrophic.

There has long been a dispute between historians as to whether the escalating fear in Paris from August 10 leading up to the September Massacres was guided by the manipulations of the bourgeoisie, as George Rudé would propose,²¹⁸ or whether the Sansculottes were independently swaying the sections of Paris with their military prominence despite their minority population.²¹⁹ The cohesion of the Jacobin club with the Sansculottes in late 1792 and early 1793 has been well documented, their mutually beneficial relationship led to many “successful” reforms – and some bloody consequences. The most startling representation of the Sansculotte/Jacobin partnership was the execution of the September Massacres in 1792. The gruesome spontaneous trials led to the deaths of almost 1500 people, including women, priests,

²¹⁷Andress, *The Terror*, 91.

²¹⁸ “..a small group of determined Republicans had long decided to follow up the preliminary skirmish of 20 June with a more decisive, and final, blow when a favorable opportunity should arise.” in Rudé, *The Crowd*, 101.

²¹⁹ Michael Scott Christofferson, “An Antitotalitarian History of the French Revolution: François Furet’s “Penser la Révolution française” in the Intellectual Politics of the Late 1970s,” *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999): 586 in François Furet and Denis Richet, “La Révolution: Des Etats généraux au 9 thermidor,” *La Révolution française* 1 (1965): 240, 249, 300.

nuns, and the criminally insane.²²⁰ In this instance, the massacres were likely organized by sectional leaders, largely represented by militant Sansculottes. Other examples came with the passing of the Free Trade laws, and the abolition of guilds.

Louis-Marie Prudhomme described the events of August – September 1792 as the initial consolidation of power within the faction which “inaugurated the agendas of the Terror.”²²¹ Paradoxically, these events weakened any immediate potential for women’s consolidation of military power with legislative influence. This was both because of the weakening of the (majority) feminist Brissotin faction, as well as the negative portrayal of women in the horrific events of August and September. In both the invasion of the Tuileries on August 10, and the September Massacres, militant women were portrayed in the media as excessively attracted to violence. There were “reports” of a drunk woman “cut[ting] off the genitals of a Swiss Guard...in order to take it home,”²²² and other gruesome, fantastical stories. This illuminates the public relations problem that women had in Paris, condemned publicly as irrational and bloodthirsty villains. Some of these reports were likely presented by counterrevolutionaries who wanted to discredit the revolution by associating it with the actions of unbalanced people, especially women who appeared to be more interested in committing crimes than in restoring peace to the nation.

The Trial of Louis Capet

After August 10, the monarchy was abolished, but the assembly needed to decide what to do with the former monarch, Louis Capet. The division over what should be done was not

²²⁰ The Salpêtrière was one of the institutions that held trials, and it contained prostitutes, criminals, and the insane; all equally vulnerable to execution. The statistics of those who died are Andress, *The Terror*, 104.

²²¹ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, “Histoire des crimes,” 4:112, quoted in Joseph Zizek, “Plume de fer”: Louis-Marie Prudhomme Writes the French Revolution,” *French Historical Studies*: 26 (2003): 637.

²²² Prudhomme, “Histoire des crimes,” 644.

between sexes or social classes when Louis Capet was put on trial, but purely a division between political ideologies. By August 1792, constitutional monarchists had given up on the idea of Louis Capet becoming a part of a constitutional government, and the Brissotin speaker Condorcet was actively speaking for Louis's punishment – but not for his death.²²³ The decision to put Louis on trial would also have international consequences, and if they decapitated him there would be ramifications which could not be undone. Some argued that France was at a greater threat of war while Louis was still alive. Robespierre argued “[t]hus, all partisans of tyranny can still hope for aid from their allies; foreign armies can encourage the audacity of counterrevolutionaries, while foreign gold tempts the fidelity of the tribunal which is to pronounce the fate of Louis.”²²⁴ Though Robespierre had argued against the death penalty in the past,²²⁵ he argued that the danger to France was too large to ignore.

The moderate Girondins argued that they could avoid civil war with an *appel au peuple*, which would allow them to focus military efforts on foreign enemies. They believed that the countryside needed to be invited to ratify the decision to execute Louis or else face an internal rift which may not be easily repaired. Many members of the National Convention saw the proposal of a ratification by the countryside as a political maneuver by the Girondins against the plans of the radical Montagnards. Even some Girondins turned against their own and renounced the ratification proposal, believing that there would not be a large enough turnout to approve the execution, and it could even lead to a complete reprieve.²²⁶ The Convention voted “by roughly a

²²³ Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat Condorcet, *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*, ed. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo (Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1999), 185.

²²⁴ Maximillian Robespierre, *Speech of December 3, 1792* (Paris, 1792) trans. Michael Walzer, *Regicide and Revolution: Speeches at the Trial of Louis XVI* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1793), 135.

²²⁵ Robespierre, *Speech of May 30, 1791*, 132.

²²⁶ Jones, *The Great Nation*, 466-67.

two-thirds majority” that there should not be a consensus with the countryside, and voted “nem. con.” that the king was guilty of treason and should be executed.²²⁷

Some of the auguries of the Girondins began to be realized once the decision was made to execute Louis Capet. The international war grew to include England and Spain in the spring, and new legislation was passed to enlarge conscription rates. The consequences of the war were blamed on the Girondins, and their opposition to Louis Capet’s execution only further damaged their reputation. Civil unrest bubbled in the countryside and rebel leaders rose up from the peasantry. In the Vendée, regiments were formed in support of including Catholic ideals in the French Republic. The “royalist element”²²⁸ was not prominent in the beginning of the conflicts in the Vendée, mostly due to the nobility’s proclivity towards military snobbishness – their pride disallowed them the freedom to practice guerrilla warfare.²²⁹

Economic Discord and the Political Agency of Parisian Women

The war in the Vendée only lit a fire under another escalating issue in Paris: food shortages. The subsistence crisis had been an active issue of the revolution since its inception, but the prices had escalated to new heights in the winter of 1792 after price controls were lifted.²³⁰ Dominique Godineau argues that, among the popular movement, “there was no separation between the economic, the social, and the political spheres,”²³¹ which allowed the *menu peuple* to endorse the Enragés proposal for price controls on certain market goods.²³² The previous summer women had applied spontaneous price controls traditionally known as the

²²⁷Jones, *The Great Nation*, 467.

²²⁸Jones, *The Great Nation*, 469.

²²⁹Jones, *The Great Nation*, 469.

²³⁰Boissy d’Anglas, “lettre of Boissy d’Anglas,” *Moniteur* XIV (Paris: Moniteur, 1792), 163 in Bill Edmonds, “A Study in Popular Anti-Jacobinism: The Career of Denis Monnet,” *French Historical Studies* 13 (1983): 232.

²³¹Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 114.

²³²Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 114.

“*taxation populaire*,” forcing merchants to sell goods at reasonable price by threat of violence. On February 12, 1793 “this tradition was applied again when a deputation of forty-eight Parisian sections demanded bread and price controls,”²³³ fully focusing their combined power on economic concerns.

The deputation to the Convention for price controls was followed that same month by a delegation of women from the Unité section to the Jacobin Club, officially requesting to use the hall to discuss market monopolies. The Jacobins declined to allow the delegation of women to use their hall, but The Society of Both Sexes offered a place for them to meet in a common section of Paris.²³⁴ It was there that the women formed the “Assembly of Republican Women”²³⁵ and organized to petition the Convention to revoke the decree that money was equivalent to a commodity.²³⁶ There was a dangerous market for “gold or silver at a premium,”²³⁷ which rapidly reduced the value of the *assignat*, as it was a way for the rich to speculate on the worth of the paper currency. The pronouncement that money was a commodity had allowed the most wealthy to appear to maintain control over the economy, as well as the market values.

The Republican Women went to address the Assembly on currency problems on February 24, the same day that the halls of the legislature were filled with washerwomen who demanded price controls on certain commodities. Jacques Roux was an Enragé and friend to some members of the Assembly of Republican Women, and because of his close ties to the washerwomen it is not overreaching to suppose that he had helped the Republican Women and the washerwomen to unite their efforts. The women may have been trying to mimic popular

²³³ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 114.

²³⁴ They were also from the Unité Section of Paris, which suggests that these women had an alliance with this club already, but were trying to attempt to create a new partnership with the powerful Jacobins.

²³⁵ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 115

²³⁶ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 115

²³⁷ R. G. Hawtrey, “The Collapse of the French Assignats,” *The Economic Journal* 28 (1918): 301.

protest by allying worker issues with the concerns of the wealthy in order to overwhelm the Convention with deliberative and militant politics, using Roux as their political ally. They wanted a fixed price for food and “raw materials used in bleaching,”²³⁸ as well as the death penalty for speculators: “You have made the tyrant fall under the blade of the laws, let the blade of the laws bear down on the heads of these public bloodsuckers.”²³⁹

Economic Historian, R.G. Hawtrey, describes the economic discussions of the spring of 1793 as between the Jacobins and the Girondins, rather than between the Convention and the women protestors and petitioners. Hawtrey writes that the Jacobins wanted to put a price maximum on corn, and later “food...cloth, leather, fuel, wood, etc.”²⁴⁰ in order to reduce the quantity of *assignats* in circulation. In fact, the Jacobins were only supportive of the price maximum as a temporary incentive. It was the petitions of the Republican women combined with the protests of the washerwomen that actually pressured the Convention into supporting the price maximum.

Historians have become accustomed to describing Roux as the leader of the soap riots,²⁴¹ and of women protestors in general. Roux slowly lost influence in the Convention over the course of 1793, which could have been partially due to his frequent speeches for a price maximum, along with his association to the rioting washerwomen. Between February 25 and 27, the “grocers’ shops and barges carrying soap were pillaged,”²⁴² leading to prices rising and further protests. Roux did not create the economic crisis, or even use it to form an alliance for his

²³⁸ Lisa DiCaprio, *The Origins of the Welfare State: Women, Work, and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 120.

²³⁹ Anonymous Laundress, “National Convention Minutes” (February 24, 1793) trans. Darlene Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 131.

²⁴⁰ Hawtrey, “The Collapse of the French Assignats,” 301.

²⁴¹ Georges Lefebvre, *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*, trans. John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti (New York: Columbia, 1964), 61.

²⁴² Lefebvre, *The French Revolution*, 41.

own legislative incentives outside of economic demands, he was only the legislative voice for some women who had similar concerns about the French economy.

George Rudé does not present the riots between February and June as being controlled by women. He manages to present the birth of the Republic as an event which “swept aside” the notion of active and passive citizens,²⁴³ and “all citizens, for the first time in modern history, [were] granted equal political rights.”²⁴⁴ This is, of course, a false statement considering that more than half of the population was not allowed to vote, including women and minorities. Rudé examines the escalating violence in the terms of the directions given by the “Jacobin dictatorship” of “Robespierre, Danton, and Marat”²⁴⁵ and not as much in terms of an organized effort between the Parisian washerwomen and the Assembly of Republican Women. He breaks down the riots that occurred after the deputations of women presented on February 24, in which the women rioted and enacted the *taxation populaire*, but he did not highlight the fact that these organized attacks were executed almost entirely by women. Instead he said the women “played a conspicuous part”²⁴⁶ in the events, and that the Montagnards were doing their best to “draw attention away from Marat, whose paper had recommended hanging a number of grocers over their own doorsteps,”²⁴⁷ in order to lay blame on Roux.

In an interesting comparison between gender relationships in clubs in Paris and in outlying areas of France, some political relationships in the countryside were formed between married couples. Suzanne Desan proposes that the “pattern in Dijon, Grenoble, and Bescançon

²⁴³Rudé, *The Crowd*, 113.

²⁴⁴Rudé, *The Crowd*, 113.

²⁴⁵ Though Danton was more prominently active in the Cordeliers, and Marat would only be forced to align with the Jacobins around March or April, they were considered by Rudé to be combined in radical efforts of the Montagnards and so be a part of the Jacobin leadership. Modern historians would probably consider them to be separated.

²⁴⁶Rudé, *The Crowd*, 115.

²⁴⁷Rch. Nat., AFIV 1470 in Rudé, *The Crowd*, 118.

may well have been typical: many of the leading women were bourgeois wives of active members of the men's clubs."²⁴⁸ Conversely, many of the militant women who led clubs in Paris were elite courtesans,²⁴⁹ and any romantic ties were made during political activities. The political ideology of these women was wholly original, as political women all over France were beginning to intellectualize their romantic interests from a political standpoint. In 1792, Marie Dorbe of Bordeaux gave a speech which advised unmarried women to "develop public, political allegiances that transcended private ties,"²⁵⁰ highlighting the use of political flattery as a new method of flirtation.

If there was a single aspect of political legislation which could both unite and divide women in Paris, it was the methods which would most efficiently repair the economy. The washerwomen and the militant women agreed that there should be a price maximum on basic goods, and an effort to improve the value of the *assignats*. Though some historians have discredited the agency of the women in the soap riots, it is unlikely that a single man, or even a small handful of men, were orchestrating women into a protest which they did not want to participate in. It is also unlikely that these women had no say in the direction of their protests. It appears most probable that the women had a large part in organizing their own riots, and used Roux as a facilitator between the washerwomen and the petitioning Republican women. In a situation which was becoming standard, women used political men to achieve their goals.

²⁴⁸ Suzanne Desan, "Constitutional Amazons: Jacobin Women's Clubs in the French Revolution," in *Re-Creating Authority in Revolutionary France*, ed. B. T. Ragan Jr. and E. A. Williams (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 11-35.

²⁴⁹ Théroigne de Méricourt, Etta Palm d'Aelders, and possibly Claire Lacombe were all courtesans for wealthy men in Paris before the Revolution. Many other militant women leaders were single before they formed alliances with men.

²⁵⁰ Desan, "Constitutional Amazons" 11-35.

How the Disapprobation of Moderate Politics led to Militarization among Women's Groups

As the internal war in the Vendée continued and the war abroad intensified, the public support for the Girondin moderates who pushed France to war with Austria was gone. When they demanded that the people in the countryside be included in the decision to execute Louis Capet, he could have been released. This was not only directly opposed to the will of the powerful Montagnards, but also publicly appeared to be supportive of the counterrevolutionary movement ; after all, if the men of France got to vote on what punishment Louis XVI had, they could vote for a vindication of all charges.

The popularity of the Girondins took another hit when Charles-François Dumouriez, a moderate military general who was associated with their group, tried to lead his army on a march to Paris in March 1793 in order to “restore the constitution of 1791 with the infant Louis XVII as king.”²⁵¹ Earlier that month, Dumouriez had received public support from both Danton and Robespierre for his role as a General of the Republican army. Even Marat described him as irreplaceable, but all of his radical supporters reportedly took a step back when he called France a “kingdom.”²⁵² However, his Girondin leanings and his private negotiations with the Austrians may have been the true cause of his fall from grace. When deputies were sent to Saint-Amand to arrest him, they intercepted letters that Dumouriez wrote denouncing the Jacobin-dominated Convention.²⁵³ This, no doubt, encouraged the men in their charge, but when they tried to arrest Dumouriez in the middle of his military encampment, he arrested them. This is when he ordered the march on Paris which quickened his downfall, and further harmed the Girondin reputation.²⁵⁴

It is impossible to predict whether the moderates could have regained respect in Paris at that

²⁵¹ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 242..

²⁵² Patricia Chastain Howe, *Foreign Policy and the French Revolution: Charles-François Dumouriez, Pierre LeBrun, and the Belgian Plan, 1789-1793* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008), 173.

²⁵³ Howe, *Foreign Policy and the French Revolution*, 175.

²⁵⁴ Howe, *Foreign Policy and the French Revolution*, 175.

point, but some women saw the destruction of active Girondin supporters as an opportunity for a militant alliance with the Jacobin club.

In April, two pieces of legislation passed which may or may not have been related. On April 11, it was prohibited to buy or sell gold “at a premium,”²⁵⁵ and all financial debts were to be paid with the *assignat*, or “at par”²⁵⁶ with the price of the *assignat*.²⁵⁷ In mid-April, there was another bread shortage and women began mobbing bakeries again, threatening to march on the convention.²⁵⁸ They were also beginning to demand another massacre like the one held in September.²⁵⁹ The Assembly of Republican Women had been demanding since February that the Convention pass legislation preventing men from speculating on the *assignat*, but many of those women were also demanding the armament of women in Paris. On April 30, for no documented reason, the Convention passed a decree that women could no longer serve in the military.²⁶⁰ There was not a large number of women serving in the military, historians have tracked down forty-four through documentation,²⁶¹ so why would this seemingly superfluous legislation be passed? Does war breed misogyny?²⁶² It seems that the removal of women at war would be a loss for the women’s movement, especially if they were planning to use that training like the

²⁵⁵Hawtrey, “The Collapse of the French Assignats,” 301.

²⁵⁶Hawtrey, “The Collapse of the French Assignats,” 301.

²⁵⁷Hawtrey, “The Collapse of the French Assignats,” 301.

²⁵⁸Rud , *The Crowd*, 119.

²⁵⁹Rud , *The Crowd*, 119.

²⁶⁰Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 246 & 269.

²⁶¹Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 244.

²⁶² This is a subject which is too large for the scope of this chapter, but there is a short section in Godineau's book which touches on it, and where she recommends some primary sources to review the cases of decorated women during and after the French Revolution, such as Ang lique Duchemin, who was given the Legion of Honor by Napoleon III, or the wife of Communeau who killed counterrevolutionaries at the Vend e per Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 242-254.

Irish did much later during the American Civil War²⁶³ – to bring their knowledge home to use against oppressive forces. While some historians might view this removal as an intentional attack on the women’s militant movement, it could also be perceived as another failure on the part of political women to negotiate effectively.

On May 10, 1793, the Assembly of Republican Women officially registered their club with the “office of the secretary of the municipality and...declared that they intended to assemble and form a club for women only”²⁶⁴ under the name, Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires.²⁶⁵ They had been meeting for weeks, but were waiting for the right moment to introduce themselves as an official political club. A group of representatives presented their economic petition to the Jacobin Club, in which they accused the Girondins of being cowards and pronounced women as the hopeful defenders of Paris.²⁶⁶ Their mission, said to be imparted to them by the Finistère section, was to form armies of “amazons” and demand the “extermination of all villains.”²⁶⁷ They intimated their contempt for officially permitting male counterrevolutionary suspects to be armed while the faithful republican women were not legally allowed to, and demanded that women be allowed to protect the interior of Paris while men fought on the borders.²⁶⁸ The Citoyennes wanted the rich (Girondins) to pay for arming the people of the Finistère section, which could have been used as a military tax that could fund their Amazon army. Their petition was ultimately refused.

²⁶³ During the American Civil War, many Irish immigrants learned how to organize in war in America, then brought that knowledge home to Ireland to use against the British. While this happened many years after the women lost their right to fight at war in France, having women trained in arms could only improve the radical women’s demands to be permitted to carry guns.

²⁶⁴ *Moniteur*, XVI, (Paris: Moniteur, 1793), 362 quoted in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 119.

²⁶⁵ *Séance des Jacobins* no. 412(May 10, 1793), 2.

²⁶⁶ *Séance des Jacobins*, 2.

²⁶⁷ *Séance des Jacobins*, 2.

²⁶⁸ *Séance des Jacobins*, 2.

The Girondins had been fighting the Convention on issues of armament and the formation of regiments for over a month,²⁶⁹ leaving them open to attack from militant clubs. The Girondin assembly members were concerned that the Sansculotte sectional leaders would pick out moderate Parisians for military service and send them to die at the front.²⁷⁰ The Sansculottes had been petitioning to expel Girondins from the Convention, but this had been rejected by cautious radicals. By May 20, the Sansculottes successfully pushed through a “billion-livre forced loan from the wealthy,”²⁷¹ which was what the Société des Citoyennes had asked for a week earlier – suggesting that the Société des Citoyennes may have influenced the Sansculottes. These militant club women were in agreement with many of the beliefs of the Sansculottes, but those similarities would slowly diverge over the next few months.

When their anti-moderate petition was rejected, the Citoyennes began to physically prevent Gironde supporters from participating on the balconies of the National Convention. This was a significant blow, as moderate politicians were losing support, and desperately needed spectators to cheer them on. The Citoyennes returned to the Convention every day in mid May 1793, storming the halls outside the meeting and conspicuously interrupting speeches given by moderates. This was once fantastically accomplished when a young Citoyenne snuck onto a balcony and screeched angrily at a man who had breached the Citoyennes blockade, forcing the meeting to a halt.²⁷²

It was not all amusing anecdotes, the women were also bringing violent terror down on the halls of the legislature. Sometimes when supporters attempted to present invitations to the reserved Girondin balconies they were brutally beaten. Théroigne de Méricourt, a once radical

²⁶⁹Andress, *The Terror*, 169.

²⁷⁰Andress, *The Terror*, 170.

²⁷¹Andress, *The Terror*, 170.

²⁷²Desan, *The Family on Trial*, 168.

militant feminist, was stripped naked and hit about the head and body when she presented her Girondin invitation, a beating which continued until Marat interfered on her behalf. After this beating, Méricourt slowly began to lose her mind, and would eventually be placed into the Salpêtrière mental asylum.²⁷³

While the first women's society had organized under d'Aelders with goals that were almost purely social, the Société des Citoyennes continued Léon's campaign to arm women, while antagonizing the assembly for economic reform. The Société des Citoyennes seemed to present social issues, such as prostitute reform programs, when their position was delicate; and pushed military and citizenship legislation when the public was supportive.

After the attacks against supporters of the Girondins in late May,²⁷⁴ the members of the moderate section of the National Convention were either forced out of Paris or locked away in prison. This shifted the radical Jacobins into the newly abandoned "moderate" revolutionary position, and shifted the Enragés from "extremely radical" to just left of the new "moderate." This is how the Reign of Terror became an acceptable political concept: the remaining members of the assembly were either violently radical, or so afraid of the Sansculottes that they would not speak against it.

The growing influence of men's political clubs as useful intermediaries between deliberative and militant politics had a radical impact on the construction of women's participation in politics in Paris. The moderate deliberative actors had quickly lost footing in a system controlled by organized street violence, while the Société des Citoyennes seemed to be coordinating with street militants to empower their legislation efforts on economic and militant

²⁷³ Jane Kromm, " "Marianne" and the Madwomen," *Art Journal* 46 (1987): 302.

²⁷⁴ Described in Chapter 2.

reform. The only ingredient missing was a strong political ally in the convention, and in May, many of the Citoyennes probably felt they had found this in the Enragés.

Chapter 3

The Red Bonnet Affair

On 7 Brumaire an II (October 28, 1793) at 11AM, the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires gathered at the St. Eustache cathedral²⁷⁵ to hold a club meeting before attending a political rally nearby. There was going to be an inauguration of the busts of revolutionary martyrs Louis-Michel Lepeletier and Jean-Paul Marat, and the Société des Citoyennes was invited to take part as an officer of the ceremony. Women from Les Halles arrived almost simultaneously with the club's meeting announcements, reportedly determined to complain about the street fights they had been having with Femmes Sansculottes – until they heard the announcement that hoarded bread had been discovered in the sewers below Rue de Montmartre.²⁷⁶ The report of the event describes the market women as becoming so enraged by the announcement that they tried to climb down from the triforium to attack the women below, screaming “down with the *bonnet rouge*, down with the Jacobines, down with the Jacobines and the cockade.”²⁷⁷

The Juge de Paix arrived with six men armed only with sabers to assert control over the hundreds of women.²⁷⁸ According to reports, the Juge demanded that the women “be quiet” and advised the Citoyennes to stop wearing the *bonnet rouge*.²⁷⁹ When he asked Claire Lacombe to

²⁷⁵ Some translations say it was at Le grand Charnier des Innocents of the St. Eustache church, or the St. Eustache Charnel House or just at the St. Eustache Cathedral. There is little information to clarify which of these is accurate.

²⁷⁶ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, “No. 215, 48. de la Convention Nationale,” *Révolutions de Paris*. 23 Brumaire an deuxième de la république française (Paris:1793), 208.

²⁷⁷ Prudhomme, “No. 215,” 207.

²⁷⁸ According to André Amar during his speech to close the clubs, there were 6,000 women rioting in the streets to close the women's clubs, per Jean-Baptiste Amar “Discussion of Women's Political Clubs and their Suppression, 29-30 October 1793,” *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, (Accessed April 2012) <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/294/>; but the club was regularly attended by around a hundred women at most per Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1988), 12; and they were not overwhelmed by the market women immediately, so it seems unlikely that there were more than 200-300 women involved in the initial fight.

²⁷⁹ Prudhomme, “No. 215,” 208.

take off her *bonnet*, she lifted this symbol of political liberty off of her own head and placed it on his, to the triumphant cheers of the protesting crowds in the galleries, as if it were a coronation and the official surrender of the Société des Citoyennes' power.

The women in the gallery were soon "called" to enter the meeting hall at the direction of the Juge, and there is no explanation given for why hundreds of angry street women would have been so easily restrained by him and his six men beforehand. It should raise some questions of the veracity of these documents that this single man was able to manipulate massive crowds of women, some of them "violently intoxicated,"²⁸⁰ to do his bidding. The "immense crowd"²⁸¹ burst onto the floor and attacked the political women. There were cheers as the women "harshly whipped"²⁸² the President Lacombe, though some translations have skipped this single aspect of the clash.²⁸³

In another possibly allegorical moment, Lacombe is described as realizing that she was unable to protect the tattered French flag from the mob, and she handed it over to the Juge.²⁸⁴ She warned him that he would answer for its safety with his life,²⁸⁵ but the surrender of the protection of the emblem of France can be interpreted as the personification of men's perception of women's lack of ability to protect France. At this point the flag, which had been in danger from the uncontrollable mob while under the care of a hundred or so club women, was completely protected by the six men and "several" male cannoneers from the section, who only arrived after the flag was surrendered.²⁸⁶

²⁸⁰ Prudhomme, "No. 215," 208.

²⁸¹ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, "No. 213, 46. De la Convention Nationale," *Révolutions de Paris*. 7 Brumaire an duxième de la république française, (Paris :1793) 150.

²⁸² Prudhomme, "No. 213," 150.

²⁸³ Darlene Gay Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979) .

²⁸⁴ Prudhomme, "No. 215," 208.

²⁸⁵ Prudhomme, "No. 215," 208.

²⁸⁶ Prudhomme, "No. 215," 208.

The violence is reported to have forced many Société des Citoyennes members to flee through a secret passageway, an escape suspiciously reminiscent of Marie Antoinette's famous escape from the market women in 1789. There are conflicting records concerning the structure of the charnel house, including reports of recent mass burials,²⁸⁷ and some suggesting they met in the Cathedral that day,²⁸⁸ preventing a reconstruction of their escape. The Juge de Paix had warned them to run, as there were 'thousands' of people in the streets, screaming "Vive la Republic! Down with the Révolutionnaires!" It was in the aftermath of this final conflict that the market women went to the National Convention and demanded that the women's clubs be closed.

Interpretations

So how can these events be interpreted? The women of the Société des Citoyennes did not write the surviving reports of the events of that day, the only lasting records were issued by Prudhomme's journal, *Le Moniteur*. As previously demonstrated, journals did not usually highlight the strength of the protesting women, or the absolute powerlessness of a single man or a small group of men to stop them. While many historians support the validity of the version of events described by Prudhomme, the presentation of the disagreements is unbalanced. The men seem determined to insert themselves into an economic confrontation between women, when they actually had little to do with it. The militant women took independently motivated actions which directly led to regular confrontations with market women, bringing attention from politically powerful members of the Convention, and eventually limiting women's political

²⁸⁷ Bodies were being stored in the charnel house after various massacres between 1789-1792 according to G.B. Whitaker, *The History of Paris from the Earliest Period to Present Day*, (Paris: A&W Galignani, 1827), 332.

²⁸⁸ Prudhomme, "No. 215," 207.

rights. This was planned and executed by women in response to the behavior of other women, not a plan set into motion and finalized by government officials.

The Dames de le Halle were a jumble of the lower class street people: market women, fishwives, housewives and merchants; sometimes collectively known as *poissardes*. They have not, as a group, been considered incredibly intelligent by historians, and many of their contemporaries claimed that they were easily pushed to violence by passionate speakers. These women were involved in deliberative politics with various groups since the 1750s,²⁸⁹ and by the 1770s they were active in political maneuvers to prevent economic reforms.²⁹⁰ They had some overlapping interests with guild women, but mostly there were stark differences which served to undermine any chance for unity between them when it came to women's enfranchisement.

Most historians believe that the Jacobins were manipulating the market women to protest and using the Juge de Paix to put an end to the Société des Citoyennes and their radical demands, even hypothesizing that men had directed the market women to go to the club meeting on 7 Brumaire.²⁹¹ The problem with this hypothesis is the lack of control that clubs had been able to exert onto market women in the past when it came to street violence, whether they were the Société des Citoyennes or the Jacobins. These women were more heavily invested in the consequences of the failing economy, and in the Jacobin hesitance to apply their free market policies in the face of public protest.

Hoarding rumors were a sensitive subject for market women, because these rumors justified the continued push for price controls in order to prevent grain speculation, and also led

²⁸⁹ Hesse argues that the market women were being manipulated and used in this passage, so the support from her work here is only that the market women were involved in these activities. Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women became Modern*, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey 2001), 18.

²⁹⁰ Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women became Modern*, (Princeton University Press: New Jersey 2001), 18.

²⁹¹ Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1992), 37.

to the public sanction of violence against merchants suspected of hoarding. By October 1793, however, reports of violence always fixated on revolutionary garb, only mentioning in passing some serious economic disagreement or political policy that was also involved. On 7 Brumaire the women were screaming about “Jacobines,” which was not an accusation of an association with the Jacobin Club, but an accusation of political aspirations. Club women’s political aspirations appeared to be to influence legislation to the detriment of market women. A scream of “down with the bonnet rouge” and the cockade was not necessarily a tangible complaint, but a symbol of radical economic politics. It is clear that the fight began because of a hoarding rumor, but it would end with men appearing to regain control and mediating a fight over the *bonnet rouge*.

Darlene Gay Levy wrote that the Montagnards had been after the Société des Citoyennes for many months before the banning of women’s clubs, as was implied when they had warned others to not “support their [the Société des Citoyennes’s] seditious and aristocratic petitions.”²⁹² Levy also contends that the suspension of the June Constitution was proclaimed the day after the women’s clubs were closed, arguing that the Jacobins did not want “organized women continually pressing for greater enforcement of...economic regulations”²⁹³ or to be criticized by the women for their “unwillingness to fulfill the promises of their June Constitution.”²⁹⁴ Levy proposes that women had agency to incite fear in the Convention, but not to shut down women’s clubs. She does not offer any source to support her claim that the Constitution was suspended on October 30, or any direct explanation from the Committee which would support that date.

Historians such as Doyle and Edelstein disagree with Levy on the timing of the suspension of the June constitution, listing October 10 as the date that it was suspended. Doyle

²⁹² Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 147.

²⁹³ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 221.

²⁹⁴ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 221.

refers to a speech from Saint-Just on October 10, in which he argues that “the Committee itself should take on the central direction of the entire state apparatus, subject only to the oversight of the convention.”²⁹⁵ Edelstein highlights the absence of the constitution after October,²⁹⁶ blaming the chaos of the Terror which claimed around 16,000 lives in nine months.²⁹⁷ There were a host of internal and international issues that rapidly overwhelmed the Convention and forced them to take incredible steps in order to maintain control over a tumultuous France, issues more likely to have caused a suspension of the constitution than women policing the market place.

The crux of the problem with many interpretations of the banning of women’s clubs during the revolution is that the primary documents which describe the attack on the Société des Citoyennes on 7 Brumaire are noticeably suspicious, yet they are still being taken at face value by most historians. Relying on these documents, Levy proposes that the closing was a result of manipulations by local section leaders who wanted to put an end to the Société des Citoyennes – both because they were women and because they were preventing the birth of the new Revolutionary Government. It is impossible to thoroughly discount this perspective as it is unlikely that the men were happy with militant women. In fact, they probably did want the Société des Citoyennes to be closed, someday, because of the economic petitions and political rebellion against Montagnard ideology. However, the level of violence and discord between the market women and the revolutionary women in the days leading up to the petition to ban women’s clubs was not created by manipulative male section leaders. They only became involved after the confrontation had begun to boil over. It was the ongoing economic disagreements between the Société des Citoyennes and the market women that was responsible

²⁹⁵ William Doyle, *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 252.

²⁹⁶ Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Kindle Version, 463.

²⁹⁷ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 253.

for the political limitations on women in France - not the manipulations of a few men during a brawl which hundreds of women had started without them.

Joan Landes denies women were responsible for their own downfall in politics in her study on revolutionary women, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Landes uses secondary sources by authors such as Hufton, Levy, and Rudé to prove that the woman's participation was "expanded...and encouraged" by fraternal societies and the (male) Sansculottes,²⁹⁸ and later diminished by male societies such as the Jacobins. Landes describes the Société des Citoyennes as petitioning for non-gender issues,²⁹⁹ though they consistently worked to achieve gun rights for women, rehabilitation for prostitutes, and the club's main purpose was to create "companies of amazons" to "protect the interior."³⁰⁰ In this way, Landes carefully nudges the Société des Citoyennes away from what she calls the "narrow" definition of feminism as "the organized struggle for women's rights,"³⁰¹ saying that the women only became "caught up in ...gender politics"³⁰² against their intentions. The Société des Citoyennes, according to Landes, was closed down because of their female militant republicanism intimidating the male politicians and other women – a defeat which was "at the hands of Jacobin authorities and women in the district where the [Société des Citoyennes] was holding its meeting,"³⁰³ rather than because these female militants were not more cautious with their behaviors towards the women in the district. Though Landes acknowledges the part that the market women had in the closing, she says that they were "[e]ncouraged by hostile authorities"³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸ Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 140.

²⁹⁹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 141.

³⁰⁰ *Séance des Jacobins* no. 412 (May 10, 1793).

³⁰¹ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 141.

³⁰² Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 141.

³⁰³ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 142.

³⁰⁴ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 143.

to “stor[m] a meeting of the Revolutionary Republicans and abus[e] and beat its members.”³⁰⁵ In alliance with many other historians, Landes blamed the manipulations of men for the actions of these women.

The Birth of the *Assignat*

When the Assembly began their post-October days deliberations in Paris in 1789, they were made to confront the complicated responsibility of integrating the requests of the many *cahiers* into law. As previously expounded, taxes were a major concern illustrated within the *cahiers*. There was also a complicated financial relationship between the Catholic Church and the French Government, which impacted the amount of land taxes that the French government was receiving. In order to resolve the issues presented in the *cahiers* concerning the Church, the Assembly was faced with the difficult proposition of balancing the needs of the country with the happiness of the devout Catholic French.

Though the Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen included a portion describing land as inviolable, the Assembly determined that these protections did not apply to church land. The revolutionaries decided that the church did really own the land, but managed it for the Catholic community – the French people. Therefore, secularizing and selling the land to reduce France’s debt would only optimize its original purpose. Not surprisingly, the Catholics were distressed over this new policy and it greatly served to divide an already heavily stratified society of Parisian women.

There were not a lot of financial options for the Assembly, who were faced with a national deficit in 1789 of 318 million livres.

³⁰⁵ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 143.

The capital was therefore the equivalent of about 215 million pounds sterling [or 346 million US dollars] – almost as much as the English capital debt – but that sum was costing the French government 6% or more in annual interest: nearly twice as much as the English government was paying.³⁰⁶

The Constituent Assembly could not raise taxes, and money-lenders were not interested in investing in the future of an unstable nation in the midst of a revolution.

The confiscated church land was estimated at 400 million livres, which would be released to the public in small increments to keep its value high. In 1789 the government issued bonds, called *assignats*, to exchange for the secularized land. The *assignat* system was meant to encourage lenders to invest in French land while simultaneously diminishing the national debt, without depleting the treasury. It was unanticipated that the lenders who were given the *assignats* to trade for land would sell the bonds to profiteers to avoid a forced investment in France. Another serious miscalculation was that when the *assignat* was presented to the government the bond was not destroyed, as it was meant to be. Instead it was used again by the government, even after the amount of land available was diminished. This was an addendum to the original legislation, based on financial desperation. The *assignats* began to be used between citizens as a type of currency, a currency which was rapidly losing value. By February 1793, *assignats* were being exchanged at roughly half of their original value³⁰⁷ - and the market women were bearing the brunt of the financial loss. This secularization of land and the introduction of the *assignats* to the unstable economy would lead to an irreparable fractioning of economic ideals between women; though it certainly was not created as a misogynistic Machiavellian plot by the male politicians.

³⁰⁶ J.F. Bosher, *French Finances 1770-1795: From Business to Bureaucracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 23.

³⁰⁷ Colin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 470.

The Enragés and the Société des Citoyennes

To provide the context for the clashes within the Société des Citoyennes, it is important to understand the conflict between the Enragés and the Montagnards, which intensified when the new government was ratified on June 24, 1793.³⁰⁸ The Montagnards centralized system was not attentive to issues that were dearest to the Enragés, such as food prices and direct democracy. While these issues were being addressed, the Enragés wanted to postpone the ratification of the constitution. There were also rumors that the Convention was filled with greedy profiteers, and the Enragés were determined to root them out. Roux insisted that hoarders were committing crimes that justified their deaths, more aggressively putting forth the argument at a Cordeliers meeting: “Liberty does not consist in starving your fellow men.”³⁰⁹ The Enragés soon became the next target of political intrigue, under the pretense that they were allied with counterrevolutionaries and were trying to subvert the revolution. This should have seemed ludicrous when their policies were considered, but the discord caused by the uprisings was publicized as being a benefit to the counterrevolutionary movement, especially because the Convention was working to maintain order in France and the Enragés were actively preventing that from happening by inciting riots.

As previously presented, Levy argues that the proof that the Montagnards wanted the women’s clubs closed was in the fact that the constitution was put officially on hold the day after

³⁰⁸The Constitution was submitted to the primary assemblies for ratification on June 24 per Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 244. And was officially ratified on the anniversary of the invasion of the Tuileries on August 10 per Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Kindle Version, 452.

³⁰⁹ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 245.

the Société des Citoyennes was closed.³¹⁰ Even if this was an evidentiary claim, while militant women were in support of the ratification of the constitution in June, they had no rights under the constitution. There was no reason for Montagnards to remove women from the political stage in order to suspend the constitution. Women had no reason to prevent its suspension, as they were not affected by it and would not have publically petitioned for its reinstatement. It did not matter to women if the constitution was ratified or postponed, it was only important that they be able to communicate publically with the government to try to attain more rights for their sex.

In earlier chapters, Roux's relationship with militant women was explored, and their similar political tendencies were outlined. Roux did not need to convince women of the economic challenges of the Republic: they had been petitioning about these issues since 1789. However, some historians have agreed with the misogynistic exclamations of the Montagnards: washerwomen and club women were being led by Roux. This is another underestimation of women's self-sufficiency. There was certainly a kind of alliance, but it was based on the complaints of the women more than those of the Enragés. Unfortunately, as some members of the Société des Citoyennes learned, their short alliance with Roux and other Enragés did not have the necessary longevity of support in the Convention.

Roux was thrown out of a Convention meeting in early June when he accused the Montagnards of despotism, pointing out that "[e]quality is but a vain phantom when the rich exercise the power of life and death over their fellows through monopolies."³¹¹ The Jacobins had been attempting to limit the Enragés influence over the popular masses since March, when Roux

³¹⁰ "The Montagnards led by Robespierre proclaimed the creation of the Revolutionary Government on October 30, 1793, one day after the dissolution of the Society..." per Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 221. After October 1793, the "Committee of Public safety...was clearly in no rush to implement the constitution." per Dan Edelstein, *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), Kindle Version, 464.

³¹¹ Collin Jones, *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon* (New York: Penguin Books, 2002), 479.

first began demanding the execution of hoarders and the expulsion of the moderates from the Convention.³¹² This is not to say that the Jacobins did not want those things to happen, they only wanted those things to happen on their own timeline.³¹³

By June, the *assignat*'s value had fallen to around 47 percent of its value,³¹⁴ and the cost of sugar had risen to almost five times its cost three years earlier.³¹⁵ This encouraged unrest in Paris, and there was also unrelated unrest from the overthrow of the Girondins that resonated throughout the countryside.³¹⁶ There was an immediate need for legislative action, but there was no agreement in the Convention concerning who should form policy.

The true basis of the disagreement between the Enragés and the Jacobins was not entirely based on political legislation, but the process by which the legislation was enacted. The Enragés wanted “to replace the parliamentary system with one direct democracy under which representatives would become mere proxies...of the people’s will.”³¹⁷ The Jacobins and their elite Montagnard stewards believed in a more centralized, representational government. After the Girondins power was destroyed, there was nothing stopping the Jacobins from running the Convention as they liked, except the control that the Enragés had over the Sansculottes to incite violence.

There was a series of public denunciations of Roux and the Enragés in June, most notable being the denunciation of Marat himself. Some historians believe Roux’s diminishing popularity was the reason that Marat renounced the Enragés³¹⁸ – though he was, at one time, one of their

³¹² George Rudè, *The Crowd in the French Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 119.

³¹³ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 244.

³¹⁴ S.E. Harris, *The Assignats* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930), 166, 176.

³¹⁵ Rudè, *The Crowd*, 125.

³¹⁶ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 242.

³¹⁷ Morris Slavin, *The Making of an Insurrection: Parisian Sections and the Gironde* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986), 127.

³¹⁸ Marat renounced the Enragés, but maintained matching political beliefs.

leaders.³¹⁹ On June 30 Marat demanded, along with Robespierre and d'Herbois, that Roux and his friends be expelled from the Cordelier's club.³²⁰ When Leclerc tried to defend Roux in the club meeting, he was expelled along with Roux.³²¹ It seemed clear as early as June that the Enragés and their politics were losing legislative backing, a reality of which many women were cognizant.

In July, Charlotte Corday travelled from Caen to stab the journalist Marat in his tub, where she killed him and surrendered herself immediately. The reaction that followed highlights the expectations that the men had for women's militancy. The interrogation by the Revolutionary Tribunal intimated their profound surprise that a young woman could have enacted this plan, and they demanded to know what man had guided her to these extreme actions. Publically, the convention never accepted that she had executed this assassination alone.³²² This does not represent a committee that was worried about the possibilities of women's militance, but a committee that expected women to need the support of male direction.

When Marat was murdered, the Montagnards publically paraded around his widow to denounce the Enragés in his stead,³²³ but the Société des Citoyennes was invited to celebrate Marat as a hero of the republic. This proves the Convention's perception of the Société des Citoyennes as a publically separate entity from the Enragés as early as July – the convention wanted Marat to be completely divorced from the Enragés in the mind of the public, but were fully supportive of the Société des Citoyennes' celebration of the revolutionary martyr in marches and festivals all the way into October. The Société des Citoyennes may have realized

³¹⁹ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 245.

³²⁰ Morris Slavin, "Jacques Roux: A Victim of Vilification," *French Historical Studies* 3 (1964): 530.

³²¹ Slavin, "Jacques Roux," 530.

³²² Galina Osipovna Sokolnikova, *Nine Women, Drawn from the Epoch of the French Revolution* (New York: Books for Library Press, 1932), 58.

³²³ Doyle, *The Oxford History*, 245.

their precarious position, and avoided presenting any provocative legislation during July and August.³²⁴

On September 5, Roux aggravated the Montagnards into initiating the Terror when he participated in an organized march on the assembly. The people demanded that a list of actions be taken immediately, by popular demand of the *citoyens* of Paris. This successfully led to the passing of the General Maximum, and Terror was declared the order of the day.³²⁵ The people requested an expansion of the Revolutionary Tribunal so that more political criminals could be tried and executed. They also demanded a law to create *armées révolutionnaires* to “engage in political and economic terrorism.”³²⁶ This was a prelude to the Law of Suspects³²⁷ which vastly expanded the qualifications for being a danger to France³²⁸ and led to the imprisonment and execution of many hundreds of people.

Some Marxist scholars³²⁹ believe that the Jacobins sacrificed the exorbitant free market profits for the good of the Republic. That seems unlikely when considering the high number of embezzlement and corruption charges brought against many members over the course of the following year.³³⁰ These were not humble martyrs submitting to the will of the people, but ardent supporters of a laissez-faire economy who were forced to make concessions or else face

³²⁴ Some historians present this as due to the Société’s part in parades for Marat, however the politics of Roux were being heavily questioned by the public, and the Citoyennes may have wanted to avoid drawing attention to themselves.

³²⁵ The Maximum laws were not enacted until September 11 and 29, according to Jones, *The Great Nation*, 479.

³²⁶ Jones, *The Great Nation*, 479.

³²⁷ Officially enacted on September 17, 1793.

³²⁸ Jones, *The Great Nation*, 479.

³²⁹ Albert Soboul, *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-94* (Conneticut:Greenwood Publishing, 1979), 252. Also in George Rudè, *The French Revolution: It’s Causes, It’s History, and It’s Legacy after 200 Years* (New York: Grove Press, 1988), 93.

³³⁰ There were a number of members involved in a bankers scam, and illegal investments in the West India Trade company. Among them were Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d’Eglantine and others. Jones, *The Great Nation*, 479 and Jean-Baptiste Amar “Discussion of Women’s Political Clubs and their Suppression, 29-30 October 1793,” *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, (Accessed April 2012).

violence. The National Convention was forced into a corner by the popular demand of the Maximum, which illustrated to them the constraints on their power.

The Bread Shortage and the War of the Cockades

Over the course of September 1793, there were two main issues of contention among women: the bread shortage and the wearing of the cockade. During the summer there had been a flour shortage, and “bakers were accused of putting it aside for the rich, who paid them more.”³³¹ Women were lining up around the street of bakeries the night before they opened, forced to choose between buying bread and earning money.³³² These became a kind of fevered social gathering, where women discussed the state of the economy and sometimes fought over the General Maximum. During the day, there were numerous confrontations in the marketplace over the price of goods³³³ and the wearing of the cockade. The men had been legally required to wear a cockade for over a year, and the Femmes Sansculottes wanted this symbol of citizenship to be worn by all women as well. The difference between the fights the men had over the cockade³³⁴ and the fights that the women were having, according to reports, lay in its association with female militance. The secret agents of the Minister of the Interior reported that the women were fighting over the cockade itself because it represented the possibility of equal political rights for women, and “women say that people wanted to have them wear the cockade only in order to make them leave next for the front.”³³⁵

³³¹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 155.

³³² Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 155.

³³³ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 197.

³³⁴ The men had been legally required to wear the cockade since June 1792, and had disputed the location and style that the cockade should be for a long time after that.

³³⁵ Latour-Lamontagne, *Paris pendant la Terreur: Rapports des agents secrets du Ministre de l'Intérieur*, vol. II, ed. Pierre Caron, (A.N., F7 3688, September 21, 1793), 154, 155. in Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 200.

Roux was arrested. His demands for the Terror had made him too dangerous, and his riots were doing little to help contain the conflicts in the street. When his house was searched, there were letters found indicating that Roux wanted to mingle the women with the Sansculottes in order to swing the government further to the left.³³⁶ This is likely a reference to the building strength of the Femmes Sansculottes movement, who were not as well organized or known as the Société des Citoyennes but represented a more militant public face than the women's club. His letters only further support the theory that the militant women were building an alliance with him and other Enragés to gain power in the Convention. This relationship with Roux divided Société des Citoyennes women, further splitting their political schemes and preventing the united front that would be necessary to support the Price Maximum.

After Roux's arrest, the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires put forth legislation to force all women to wear cockades on behalf of the Femmes Sansculottes,³³⁷ their own initiatives to arrest the wives of *émigrés*,³³⁸ and a proposal to rehabilitate prostitutes.³³⁹ They supported the cockade petition for the Femmes Sansculottes, which became a requirement for women on September 21. The incentive to arrest the wives of *émigrés* and prominent women³⁴⁰ might have been guided by a desire to prove the importance and worth of women on the political stage, as well as a condemnation of counterrevolutionary activity which they were increasingly being associated with. The prostitution reforms were also a double benefit to women: it was an effort to remove women from situations in which they were under the control of men (pimps)³⁴¹ as well as an effort to change the perception of female criminals. In the end,

³³⁶ Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 33.

³³⁷ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 94.

³³⁸ Colin Jones, *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution* (US: Longman Pub Group, 1990), 44.

³³⁹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 153.

³⁴⁰ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 163.

³⁴¹ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 14.

the prostitution reforms were altered to protect “the eyes of young men [rather] than to fight prostitution,”³⁴² putting women in prison for their indiscretions, not rehabilitation centers.

The Complicated Attack on Lacombe

The turning point for the Société des Citoyennes came in September when Citoyenne Gobin proposed that the club should cut ties with the new leader of the Enragés, Jacques Leclerc, and make peace with the dominant Jacobin party.³⁴³ She argued that Leclerc was a counterrevolutionary and that it was only a matter of time before his actions would hurt their cause. This would have shifted the Société des Citoyennes into a position where they would be more useful to the most influential legislators of the Convention, and would have more power to have legislation for women passed. Citoyenne Gobin was married to an active member of the Jacobin party, and very likely had inside information about how the Jacobins were beginning to view the Société des Citoyennes as useful. However, Leclerc had been a roommate (and possibly a former lover) of Lacombe and was engaged to Léon, a cofounder of the Société des Citoyennes and leader in the loose Femmes Sansculottes, so the motion was rejected. Gobin was forced to leave the meeting and presumably went directly to her husband to tell him what had happened. Lacombe later accused Gobin of being a slanderer not only to Leclerc, but also to the Société des Citoyennes when she “denounced [them] to the Jacobins.”³⁴⁴ This forced Lacombe to publically state that the club was not going to abandon Leclerc, the Enragés, or any others who they believed were being unjustly accused of counterrevolutionary activity.³⁴⁵ This internal

³⁴² Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 15.

³⁴³ Claire Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe à la Société des Républicaines révolutionnaires, de ce qui s'est passé le 16 septembre à la Société des Jacobins, concernant celle des Républicaines révolutionnaires... et les dénonciations faites contre la citoyenne Lacombe personnellement*, (September 16, 1793), 2.

³⁴⁴ Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe*, 1-2.

³⁴⁵ Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe*, 1.

disagreement led to a very public confrontation about the Société des Citoyennes' political beliefs.

When Lacombe went to the Convention to continue an ongoing appeal for the rehabilitation of prostitutes later that month, she was personally scolded for the expulsion of Gobin.³⁴⁶ Her primary attackers were François Chabot and Claude Bazire, each of whom also had independent reasons to exact their rage on the women of the Société des Citoyennes. Chabot was a ex-Capuchin monk, who was “a foul-mouthed, dissolute, degenerate, sanguinary ultra-revolutionary”³⁴⁷ that had a reputation for being the worst kind of womanizer. He even addressed his reputation (and the Jacobins political fear of being bullied by Parisian women) as he attacked Lacombe, saying “I who am accused of being led by women... all the women on earth will never make me do anything except what I wish for public welfare.”³⁴⁸

Chabot's ulterior motives were not limited to his reputation as a sexual deviant. Chabot had been expelled from the Committee of Public Safety only two days before, along with Bazire, for their questionable banking habits – a punishment which some believed was a result of intrigue against him by radical enemies,³⁴⁹ who may have been associated with the Société des Citoyennes.

Lacombe was also accused of having housed the "noble" Theophile Leclerc and the recently arrested Roux.³⁵⁰ With the excuse of Lacombe attacking the innocent Citoyenne Gobin, the Convention attacked the Société des Citoyennes as a whole, which was "always making demands."³⁵¹ Chabot even threatened to have women's clubs closed altogether, but that subject

³⁴⁶ Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe*, 3.

³⁴⁷ Graeme Fife, *The Terror: The Shadow of the Guillotine: France 1792-1794* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2008) 7.

³⁴⁸ Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe*, 2.

³⁴⁹ Fife, *The Terror: The Shadow of the Guillotine*, 7.

³⁵⁰ This document calls it a present scandal, but by this time Roux was imprisoned. Prudhomme, “No. 213,” 150.

³⁵¹ Lacombe, *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe*, 5.

was dropped during the discussion. Lacombe was arrested for her association with Enragés soon after this confrontation, but when her house was searched and papers reviewed to discover counterrevolutionary sentiments, they only found documents “that breathed the purest patriotism.”³⁵² She would be let out of prison soon after, and returned to defend herself against the slanderous accusations against her.

It is important to review the internal conflicts in the Société des Citoyennes, because the political journals of the late eighteenth century would certainly not suggest that the men were being influenced by women's disputes. If Gobin went to her husband and complained about how the president of her club was maintaining a relationship with the Enragés that the other women did not support, it changes the tone of the attack on Lacombe by the Convention on September 16. Not only was there a woman who was seeking revenge for her expulsion from the club, but she was well connected to men who saw her as the champion of the Jacobins. Gobin had the motive, means, and opportunity to have Lacombe arrested in September, but she never gets credit for it.

Dames des Halles and their True Complaints

On September 21 a “group of women at Les Halles near Saint-Eustache”³⁵³ were demonstrating in support of the General Maximum, while market women attacked women in the section wearing cockades.³⁵⁴ The reports blame the *muscadins* for goading women to wear symbols of active citizenship of the republic, and goading market women to attack them – but it seems more likely that the Femmes Sansculottes were wearing the cockades as the law had just mandated that day, and were using their militancy to try to intimidate market women to adhere to

³⁵² Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 162.

³⁵³ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 199.

³⁵⁴ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, .

the Price Maximum. The reports focus on the cockades, but still include economic arguments between the women. The second half of the General Maximum was applied on 8 Vendémiaire an II (September 29, 1793,)³⁵⁵ suggesting a tie between the supposed war of the cockades and the actual protests about hoarding.

Landes describes the closing of the women's clubs as being related to the cockade issue,³⁵⁶ relying on Levy's translated reports which only describe cockade arguments from September. Landes writes:

In October 1793 the Revolutionary Republicans were attacked by market women in the streets after they attempted to enforce the law of the cockade. At the same time, the Society was escalating its demands for female revolutionary dress. Their campaign for a law to enforce the wearing of the Phrygian bonnet provoked further disturbances among women in the streets of the capital. Encouraged by hostile authorities, the market women stormed a meeting of the Revolutionary Republicans and abused and beat its members.³⁵⁷

At that time, it was the market women that were instigating the fights, not the Société des Citoyennes as Landes indicates.³⁵⁸ While Landes relies on the summaries of Applewhite, Levy and Johnson, their actual translation supports the theory that the non-militants and non-club women (usually collectively considered market women) were the ones who were starting fights over revolutionary garb.³⁵⁹ “[Marie-François Dorlet] ... took it upon herself to remove their caps, saying “Off with *les bonnet rouges*, because they are only for men to wear!”³⁶⁰ With Marie-François's testimony, the Comité de Surveillance Révolutionnaire reported that “this recent habit

³⁵⁵ The new calendar was officially put into place on September 22 of that year and so events before September 22 1793 retained their usual name, while those after were defined with the new revolutionary calendar. These dates will continue to be translated in the footnotes.

³⁵⁶ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 143.

³⁵⁷ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 142-43.

³⁵⁸ Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 142-43.

³⁵⁹ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 205.

³⁶⁰ A.N., F7 4774, dossier 1, case of LeSage-Landry. Trans. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 205.

of women wearing the *bonnets de police* can be regarded as a rallying sign or as an occasion for disorder.”³⁶¹

In reality, the cockade fights basically ended after a law was passed that all women had to wear them in late September.³⁶² The Société des Citoyennes was not escalating demands for revolutionary dress, and in fact they had an addendum to their club rules that specifically prohibited members from engaging in fights over revolutionary garb in the streets.

The *bonnet rouge* historiography is based almost solely on reports from male Jacobin spies who blamed the *muscadins* (dandies) for encouraging women. *Muscadins* were frequently blamed for inciting chaos, they represented bourgeoisie counterrevolutionaries who wanted to create disorder with the purpose of discrediting the revolution. They were like revolutionary boogey men who appeared whenever a woman took a political stance. These reports, and the historians who acknowledge them as reliable, disregard the economic arguments among women, the hoarding rumors within Paris, the forced receipt of payments in the markets for expensive basic commodities, the legalized home invasions of market women, and the public deliberative political disagreements - all in favor of the misguided notion that street fights were based on revolutionary garb.

Dominique Godineau interpreted the documentation of the discord of 7 Brumaire as being instigated by a misunderstanding by the market women about the intentions of the Société des Citoyennes concerning the red cap. Godineau argues that it was the Femmes Sansculottes who were policing the markets in *bonnets de police*. She believes that the market women recognized a shared membership with the club, which is why they went to the Société des Citoyennes meeting on Brumaire 7 to complain about the fighting in the streets. Godineau

³⁶¹ A.N., F7 4774, dossier 1, case of LeSage-Landry, 208.

³⁶² Levy makes a note that she could not find anymore reports of disturbances concerning the cockade after September 30, 1793.

overlooks the *bonnet rouge* as a point of distraction in reports, used to divert attention from the women's legitimate political complaints, instead viewing it as a feared marker of forced citizenship (and a harbinger of conscription) for the market women.³⁶³ Like other historians before her, the red hat has become a kind of red herring, a distraction from the serious financial difficulties that were being levied upon some market women whenever militant women set foot in Les Halles.

The market women called the red bonnet a *bonnet de police* (police cap)³⁶⁴ in reports of altercations on 7 Brumaire, which seems to be a direct accusation of militant women policing the markets to enforce the Price Maximum. Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, historians are easily distracted by reports of revolutionary clothing as the source of the fights among women. This convenient distraction implies that market women were actively working against women's rights, for fear of military conscription. Their excuses in reports were significantly suspicious, with market women saying that women "should be concerned only with their households and not with the current events,"³⁶⁵ or that the cockade should be reserved for men.³⁶⁶ These bowing statements are reminiscent of Roland's arguments against women's involvement in politics. It is a duplicitous argument coming from politically active women looking for a way to win public approval. The liberty hat drew even more extreme reactions, which may point to its symbolic representation of a woman's support of the Price Maximum. If

³⁶³ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 167.

³⁶⁴ A.N., F7 4774(20) d. Lesage and Laundry, F(7)4727 d. Godeau, F(7) 4728 d. Godot. in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 168.

³⁶⁵ A.N.F.(7) 3688(3), 14 and 19 September; DXLII no. 11, 13, and 8, 25 September, quoted in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 160.

³⁶⁶ A.N.F.(7) 3688(3), 14 and 19 September; DXLII no. 11, 13, and 8, 25 September, 160.

the hat was truly a “symbol of the Femmes Sansculottes,”³⁶⁷ then it is plausible that it symbolized their support of militant enforcement of the Price Maximum.

The Revenge of the Market Women

By late October, the Société des Citoyennes' popularity was in decline, and other “revolutionaries tried to distinguish themselves from the club.”³⁶⁸ The Cordeliers refused to be associated and the Fraternal Society of Patriots of Both Sexes asked the *Moniteur* to stop confusing them with the Société des Citoyennes.³⁶⁹ This had begun with the arrest of Roux in early September, and the women were aware of their precarious position. The Société des Citoyennes had been limiting their own radical petitions, but on 4 Brumaire (October 25, 1793) the hoarding paranoia led the Citoyennes to demand that they be allowed to search the homes of suspected hoarders in Paris.³⁷⁰ The militant women wanted to target the homes of the market women who they had been fighting in the street over the General Maximum legislation. These raids of the market women's homes might have been a retaliation, and certainly would have been a strong motive for continued violence.

Lacombe, the Société des Citoyennes president in October, had already announced the club was going to “expel those among them who committed violence against women” concerning the *bonnet rouge*.³⁷¹ The club women were aware of the danger, and Godineau suggests that the Citoyennes were very likely only wearing the caps in their meetings but may have limited their hat-wearing in the streets for the most part.³⁷² Since there was a shared

³⁶⁷ A.N.F.(7) 3688(3), 14 and 19 September; DXLII no. 11, 13, and 8, 25 September 166.

³⁶⁸ Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 164.

³⁶⁹ A.N.F.(7) 3688(3), 14 and 19 September; DXLII no. 11, 13, and 8, 25 September 164.

³⁷⁰ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, *Moniteur*, XVII, 229 and XVIII, 81, 217 per Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 164.

³⁷¹ B.N. Mss., NAF., 2713 f. 50. in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 167.

³⁷² B.N. Mss., NAF., 2713 f. 50. in Godineau, *The Women of Paris*, 167.

membership between the Citoyennes and the loosely formed Femmes Sansculottes, it is possible that there were also disagreements between these militant women concerning how to approach the confrontations with the market women. There were documented fights with market women centered on the maximum and the assignat, but why would there be fights concerning the *bonnet rouge* if the Société des Citoyennes actively avoided such confrontations?

When women walked through Les Halles wearing the *bonnet rouge* on 7 Brumaire, the political women were attacked, the bonnets were torn from their heads, and they were dragged to the local Comité for judgment. There has been some disagreement among historians on the reports of the altercations. The translations by Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite and Mary Durham Johnson in *Women in Revolutionary Paris 1789-1795* provided reports of the women mocking the bare-headed market women and instigating the fight. A common woman named Marie-Françoise Dorlet reported to the Comité de Surveillance Révolutionnaire of the Regenerated Section (Faubourg Guillaume Tell) that she was standing in her doorway when some passing women insulted her for not wearing a red cap.³⁷³ She approached them, tore their *bonnets* from their heads and, according to the reports, proclaimed: “Off with *les bonnets rouges*, because they are only for men to wear.”³⁷⁴ The women responded that she should remove her own cockade for removing their bonnets – implying allegorically that the radical women do not believe in the patriotism of the market women because they fight against the equality of the French. Most of the reports are involving revolutionary clothing sprinkled with emblematic scenarios that reflect some political or social concept that was not necessarily a major concern of these groups. The market women could have come to see militant women as an immediate threat to their livelihood, and the *bonnet rouge* was what identified their political position.

³⁷³ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 205.

³⁷⁴ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*,), 205.

The Closing of Women's Clubs

On 9 Brumaire in a flourish of irony, André Amar argued that politics were “incompatible with the softness and moderation”³⁷⁵ of the female sex as six thousand women stormed the streets of Paris.³⁷⁶ Amar listed these Rousseauian expectations of feminine virtue in his report on the Les Halles violence to the Committee of Public Safety. It is hard to visualize the consistency with which these virtues were being attributed to women during the revolution while simultaneously accepting the accounts of women's overwhelmingly violent activities. They may have also considered the warning of Chabot to the Jacobins in September that the “revolutionary *bougresses* who cause all the riotous outbreaks...[have] made a revolution over coffee and sugar, and they will make others if we don't watch out.”³⁷⁷

The dissolution of the Société des Républicaines Révolutionnaires was announced at the National Convention, relying heavily on questionable reports and false evidence presented by women. The Société des Citoyennes was described as being run by women who called themselves “Jacobines” (the slanderous pejorative that the street women used to masculinize the militant women,) and “allegedly revolutionary.”³⁷⁸ It is during this announcement that the reports were read that women were fighting in the streets, and that market women had been insulted and attacked in the streets by militant *citoyennes* who were trying to force them to wear clothes they did not want to wear. The market women did not want to dress in a way “which they believed was intended for men,”³⁷⁹ and accused the Société des Citoyennes of being full of counterrevolutionaries. Femme Malcauze reported that during the fighting, they had been

³⁷⁵ Andre Amar via Andress, *The Terror*, 233.

³⁷⁶ Andress, *The Terror*, 233.

³⁷⁷ Chabot via Hufton, *Women and the limits of citizenship*, 35.

³⁷⁸ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, *Réimpression d l'Ancien Moniteur*, volume 18 1793, 298-300 trans. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 213.

³⁷⁹ Prudhomme, *Réimpression d l'Ancien Moniteur*, 213.

surrounded by many men, who were calling out, “Pull off their *bonnets de police*, because the only people who have them are prostitutes and women paid off by the aristocracy to wear them.”³⁸⁰

Most texts that examine militant revolutionary women explore Amar’s speech, which is used as the proof of the Jacobins misogynistic desire to take advantage of the fights between women in order to formally suppress women’s societies. Levy and Applewhite describe the action as “not...clean repression,”³⁸¹ because the men could not openly oppress so many politically active women in the Republic. Instead, some historians argue, the convention used the market women to justify the suppression of women's rights. Hufton both argues that the Jacobins wanted to close the clubs to end the discord in the markets, and that they created the discord in the markets. She also argues that many women were happy that the clubs were closed, because a “new breed of female militancy”³⁸² had risen up in the market place and the Law of Maximum was finally being applied. This is a fascinating observation of the result of club's closing, since that policing had been going on for months, and if anything, had enraged the market women to demand the closing of the clubs.

The radical militant politics of Parisian women had failed, and the ‘populism’ of women’s militance was exposed as being disjointed and unorganized. The women had not worked together towards common political issues, but isolated other women’s groups based on economic and political concerns. Historians such as Levy and Hufton have pointed to the black sheep of the revolution, the Montagnards, the Jacobins and the Sansculottes, and blamed them for the banning of women’s clubs; but this perspective denies that the militant women had the ingenuity to avoid being shut down. The Société des Citoyennes knew that they were in political

³⁸⁰ A.N., F7 4774, dossier 1, case of LeSage-Landry. trans. Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 207-208.

³⁸¹ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 80.

³⁸² Hufton, *Women and the limits of citizenship*, 38.

danger by October, and evidence shows that they were taking a few precautions to protect their club – but they were not careful enough. If they had abandoned their economic policies and convinced the unorganized Femmes Sansculottes to follow suit, they may have been able to form a more cohesive militant base and continued slow progress towards active citizenship.

Hufton argues that it was because the Société des Citoyennes was an extension of the Enragés that it was targeted by the Jacobins, and that the Convention seized the opportunity of the “split in the ranks of working women”³⁸³ in order to put women back in their homes and out of politics; a goal which the market women supposedly supported. In her account, the market women had been used by the “Robespierrists” to petition for the closing of the clubs. While she acknowledges that the market women had a legitimate complaint against the Société des Citoyennes, she sees this complaint as actually being against the Enragés, with the militant women acting as a proxy for punishment. In this way, Hufton argues that the Enragés controlled the women of the Société des Citoyennes and used them against the Jacobins, while the Jacobins controlled the market women and used them against the Enragés – with the ultimate goal of eliminating women from the political sphere.

The closing of the women's societies was not based on the political manipulations of the Jacobin club, but on the economic calculations of the destituted and abused market women. The evidence of the militant women's enforcement of the Price Maximum and the consequential bursts of violence in the market place is irrefutable. The market women's complaint to the convention that the militant women had tried to get them to wear the red hat does not match the court reports that it was the women who wore the “*bonnet de police*” who were attacked. The obvious concern was that women were policing the market, and there were reports of men

³⁸³ Hufton, *Women and the limits of citizenship*, 38.

encouraging the fights because "only men...should wear *bonnets de police*."³⁸⁴ Even with this (possibly doctored) report of men (*muscadins*) being cheerleaders for market violence, the violence was based on the policing of the market - which was an action that almost solely impacted the income of women. These same women took revenge, and set out to convince the Convention that women's clubs should be closed. It did not take a huge effort to convince the Jacobins, and the women's part in the petition was minimized as a shallow argument concerned with political appearances and citizenship, rather than a serious economic complaint.

³⁸⁴ Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 207.

Conclusion

Six days after the Convention closed women's clubs, a delegation of women came back to petition for their reinstatement. There was "no widespread protest"³⁸⁵ at the closing of women's clubs, but the women argued that the "law [was] obtained on the basis of false reports,"³⁸⁶ and they requested that the issue be reexamined. This petition was quickly rejected, and the women were described as "leav[ing] the bar hurriedly."³⁸⁷ It seems improbable that women would have brought this petition before the Convention if some of its leading politicians were known to be responsible for the suppression of the clubs, yet most historians continue to lay the blame for the closure on the Robespierrists. Why?

When a second delegation of women arrived two weeks later, Pierre-Gaspard Chaumette shut down their presentation and proposed that the Convention fully ban women's right to petition.³⁸⁸ Was this because the women's political activities had threatened the politics of the Montagnards? Or was it merely because the women, who had very little public support, had been a nuisance and a distraction from more pressing plans for the international war, contingency plans for the inevitable collapse of the *assignat*, and the reigning in of the bloody violence of the Terror?

Despite (or because of) the official closing of the Société des Citoyennes, former Citoyennes pursued hostile action against their one-time leaders. On 13 Germinal Year II (April 2, 1794,) Claire Lacombe was denounced "by former members" of the Société des Citoyennes

³⁸⁵ Olwen H. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution* (Canada: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1992), 38.

³⁸⁶ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, "Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur," vol. 18, 350. Trans. Darlene Gay Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95*, (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 218.

³⁸⁷ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, "Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur," 218.

³⁸⁸ Louis-Marie Prudhomme, "Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur," 219.

and was arrested as she prepared to leave Paris to work in Dunkirk,³⁸⁹ and Pauline Léon was arrested the next day in Lafère.³⁹⁰ Their arrests were at the request of the Committee of Public Safety, but the proximity of the arrests and the documentation of denunciations by the club members in the case of Lacombe suggest that both women were denounced by their former friends. These denunciations imply a lasting animosity among militant women, stretching over six months past the closing of the clubs.

Though there were public disagreements between militant women and the women of Les Halles, historiography ascribes the closing of the women's clubs to the militant women's association with the Enragés as well as their public complaints about the Montagnards handling of the Price Maximum.³⁹¹ It is argued that this is why the Robespierrists manipulated the market women into calling for the closing of the clubs. However, this theory disregards the political climate of October, specifically that the Enragés had been imprisoned since September 1793, and that the Price Maximum was being actively defended in club meetings by the publicly supported Sansculottes.³⁹² There was no reason for the members of the Convention to actively pursue or manipulate anyone concerning a small and unsupported (though vocal) women's militant group.

The best explanation for the closing of the clubs is that the women of Les Halles used revolutionary clothing to distract from their real complaint of the popular enforcement of the Price Maximum. While the Sansculottes were supporters of enforcement of the Price Maximum,

³⁸⁹ Dominique Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1988), 390.

³⁹⁰ She was arrested with Leclerc, but there is no information as to whether he was arrested for his association with a denounced Citoyenne, or if there were separate complaints against him. Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 394.

³⁹¹ Every historian that has been referenced in this work who discusses the closing of the women's clubs makes some suggestion of the involvement of Robespierrists, Montagnards, the Committee of Public Safety, or just the general "men" in the events that took place in late October 1793.

³⁹² Collin Jones, *Paris: The Biography of a City*, (Viking Adult, 2005), 8.

they were focused on the grain merchants of the countryside and sectional granaries³⁹³ – not the women selling basic commodities within the confines of Paris. In this way, the politicians who were losing money because of the Price Maximum were being directly affected by the actions of the Sansculottes, and merchants of Les Halles were being directly impacted by the internal enforcement of the Femmes Sansculottes. Internal policing of markets was one of the main purposes of the women's militant group. They had even petitioned to search the homes of market women, to discover if they had been hoarding goods³⁹⁴ – an invasion which was not appreciated. Women who sold basic commodities in Paris were the only group who were losing financially because of the policing of the markets by Femmes Sansculottes and their allied club, the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires.

Historiography in Reflection

According to Carole Pateman's Sexual Contract Theory, in the Ancien Régime women experienced the world through the limitations of *civil subordination*. Women, she argues, lived in subjugation to men, just as most men lived in subjugation under the nobility within the system of the Estates. Pateman's *civil subordination* describes a coerced agreement between the sexes,³⁹⁵ which was not ameliorated within the patriarchic mindset of the revolutionary government. There was no way, she argues, to change women's political subjugation within a liberal system. This is because the "sexual...contract is the medium through which patriarchal right is created and upheld,"³⁹⁶ and Pateman argues that the "free relations [between the sexes]

³⁹³ Michael L. Kennedy, *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: 1793-1795* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2000), 115-116.

³⁹⁴ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 163.

³⁹⁵ Pateman believes that some of these agreements were coerced through threat of violence. Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1988), 7.

³⁹⁶ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, 187.

are impossible within the patriarchal opposition between contract and status, masculinity and femininity."³⁹⁷ And since the contract is based on the "repressed dimension of contract theory,"³⁹⁸ the social contract of the new revolutionary system would have to be deconstructed in order to rewrite the gender roles and rights. So Pateman's theory absolves women of the responsibility to define their own lives, since they would never be able to renegotiate their "contract" within the existing system. The blame is shifted from the disunity of the women's movement to a philosophical construct of sexism, and in this way Pateman's theory ironically disempowers women rather than extracting lessons from women's experiences in history. Instead of considering the options that could have helped women to improve their own position, Pateman lays the blame on the sexual constructs of a liberal ideological system which still was in its infancy.

Pateman describes the impossibility of a gender renegotiation within a liberal system, even though the newly forming liberal system of the French Revolution was itself a renegotiation of the social constructs of the Ancien Régime. Whenever the social concepts of the Ancien Régime appeared during the course of the birth of the revolution, the revolutionary politicians, journalists, and popular crowds would rise up and squash them - successfully performing a renegotiation of a class contract within the newly forming social contract. If the sexual contract was the base for the creation of the social contract, then so were the other subordination contracts within it. This strongly suggests that there was a way to accomplish a renegotiation of the sexual and then the social contract, but the women were unable to do it.

Joan Scott follows a similar logic, but underlines the fault of the patriarchal society for the continued subjugation of women during the Revolution. She blames women for continuing to

³⁹⁷ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, 188.

³⁹⁸ Pateman, *The Sexual Contract*, ix.

rely on traditionally positive gender stereotypes in order to highlight their worth to the newly formed constitutional system.³⁹⁹ The problem with Scott's criticism of the liberal construction and its negative impact on women's rights was that she never deeply examined the diversity of women's demands. Not all women wanted a right to vote, or to engage in a "masculine" career, or to carry guns. There was a great difference between market women who sold basic commodities, tradeswomen who sold luxury goods, and women who depended on reasonable prices at market to maintain their livelihoods. The complexities of the economic class of the market women are intricate enough to raise the question: What is Scott's reason for lumping this diverse group of market women under a single heading? Possibly it is because these women were documented as either disjointed, uninterested, or else negatively impacted by the political actions of their own sex and were clearly not unified in the pursuance of their own rights.

Scott believes that women's rights are not easily supported in a liberal system due to the paradox of their gendered position as "*self* and *other*,"⁴⁰⁰ a paradox explored by both Voltaire and Rousseau. In the general consideration of a theoretical self-examination, Voltaire put forth that men can get lost in a dream state when trying to exist as a potential and a reality at the same time.⁴⁰¹ Scott suggests that it is difficult to exist within gender expectations as well as within reality, as a human being with hopes for equality. Was the *otherness* of women's political clubs also a contributing factor to their eventual closing? It may have cost the women their civil rights when they lived up to the gender expectations of political men while they contradicted that expectation with public activity and militance.

³⁹⁹ Joan Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), x.

⁴⁰⁰ Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer*, 173.

⁴⁰¹ In *Candide*, Voltaire explores the various ways that an individual can consider himself and others, in light of experiences as well as expectations of the world. At one point, Voltaire has Candide watch one slave cry out "it is a Candide," followed by "the other" crying out "it is a Candide," which leads Candide to question his state of mind. "Do I dream...or am I awake?" This is also a question of his sanity. See Voltaire, *Candide* (Create Space Independent Publishing Platform, 1759, 2001), 152.

The women who were being harassed by the Femmes Sansculottes were not the same market women who had engaged in the soap riots in June. The washerwomen needed a price maximum in order to be able to afford soap and continue to practice their trade, and so they were heavily involved in popular movements to restrict prices. The women who worked with the basic commodities that were being limited by price controls (bread, salt, sugar) were less enthusiastic about economic legislation. These were the women who were barely making a living, and were forced into prostitution after they were forced to sell expensive items for less than their wholesale cost. Even that avenue was limited in early October when there was a law passed to ban public soliciting – which later led to the prostitute’s response pamphlet: “Will politics ever offer the same gratification as sex?”⁴⁰²

The militant women’s actions were based on a desire for equal citizenship, but the policies that they enforced were obviously not to the benefit of all Parisian women. Their fixation on appearing committed to revolutionary principles distracted them from an overall interest in equality for women and led to an overinflated sense of protection against the less revolutionary, economically challenged, diverse number of market women. This overconfidence led some of the militants to police the markets, violently enforcing the Price Maximum despite the negative impact it had on other women. The Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires was frequently blamed for policing the markets in revolutionary garb, even though it was technically the Femmes Sansculottes who were fighting with the market women in the streets.

Dominique Godineau, like Scott, lightly groups many of the anti-Société women under the single title of female merchants of Les Halles – though she does distinguish between the types of women who operated within that section. She attributes some of their activities to

⁴⁰² Peter McPhee, *A Social History of France 1780-1880* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 66.

exploitation by the counterrevolutionaries,⁴⁰³ though she admits that they made no combined public declarations or petitions to support any counterrevolutionary activity. In fact, she incidentally describes more successful manipulations on the part of the fruit-mongers and *poissardes*, who would sometimes tout revolutionary principles for financial gain.⁴⁰⁴ Some fish selling women raised money, purportedly on behalf of the revolution, in order to make their wealthy ex-noble patrons appear more patriotic. Of course, these women kept the money that they raised. Tradeswomen who worked with luxury goods also had to walk a fine line and catered to the counterrevolutionary movement in order to stay in the good graces of their monarchist customers,⁴⁰⁵ while washerwomen protested to pressure the Convention to improve their own monetary gain. In an alternate interpretation of Godineau's evidence, it seems likely that the various factions of tradeswomen, market women, and militant women were the ones doing the majority of the successful exploiting, not the political men. Godineau admits that the seemingly counterrevolutionary sentiments of "female citizen merchants" had "originated in their given socioprofessional categories."⁴⁰⁶ Their behaviors are defined by their own economic needs, not their malleable or easily influenced natures.

While Scott argues that the women's movement of the Revolution had "Only Paradoxes to Offer," Carla Hesse proposes that there was a women's Enlightenment which allowed these "others" to "acquire the capacity for self-constitution and for participation in public reasoning."⁴⁰⁷ In Hesse's view, the inherent sexism of revolutionary France had less to do with a

⁴⁰³ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 254.

⁴⁰⁴ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 253-254.

⁴⁰⁵ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 254.

⁴⁰⁶ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 356.

⁴⁰⁷ Carla Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), xii.

political “conception of citizenship”⁴⁰⁸ than a misconception of the natural biological abilities of women.⁴⁰⁹ She argues that women were undervalued by a pre-existing prejudice which could only be resolved through women’s actions. The women of the revolution knew this, which was why they frequently used their own names in publications: to resolve the “normative stereotypes that circulated about them.”⁴¹⁰ This was especially important because the revolution brought with it the “triumph of the power of the written word over the spoken word in public affairs.”⁴¹¹ The theory of biological prejudice, in the case of the deliberative actions of militant women, would clarify why their probable method of twisting political concepts to gain civil rights was, at large, unsuccessful. When these militant women asked repeatedly for the legal rights to carry arms, they were turned down because they were considered physiologically inferior. They were attempting to use deliberative politics to achieve a politically justified armed status, which would lead to a legalized active citizenship; but they really needed to change the meaning of their *physical* status. With this wrong approach, mixed with the lack of cohesion among women, it is not a surprise that their political status declined in 1793.

Lynn Hunt argues on behalf of a sociopolitical basis for the structuring of the revolution, pointing out that “the values, expectations, and implicit rules that expressed and shaped collective intentions and actions”⁴¹² were what formed the political structure. In this same way, she would weigh in against those who might argue that political theories can explain away the struggles that women went through in order to improve their social status. Though Hunt lightly points to the misogyny of the Revolution to explain the closing of the clubs, specifically to the

⁴⁰⁸ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, xiv.

⁴⁰⁹ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, xv.

⁴¹⁰ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, 44.

⁴¹¹ Hesse, *The Other Enlightenment*, 30.

⁴¹² Lynn Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution* (California: University of California Press, 1984), 10.

introduction of the Hercules iconography,⁴¹³ she illuminates (through duality) the necessity of cohesion for success in Revolutionary France. As far as mainstream politicians were concerned, Hunt argues that it was necessary for the spirit of unity for revolutionaries to hold “common values and shared expectations of behavior.”⁴¹⁴ It can be supposed that this was at the root of the problem for militant women. Women like Lacombe and Léon were trying to use their militant strength to encourage a change in social politics; but they were ignoring their impact on other women when they became involved in political legislation.

The problem with applying this political approach to sexist legislation in revolutionary Paris is that it implies that sexism might have been resolved by deliberative actions. In order to resolve philosophical disagreement, there needs only to be a legitimate debate. It requires a physical response to change a physiological concept. Women's petitions always had more success when they were backed by popular violence. The problem that the militant women had in Paris was not that they were militant, but that they misapplied their militant policies.

When it came to social legislation, marriage was one of the arenas that women gained new liberties in the beginning of the revolution. Suzanne Desan believes that the political changes in marriage were wrought through social changes during the revolutionary era. She found that before 1793 women were gaining an unprecedented level of freedoms within their families. Desan considers this social reaction to Enlightenment principles as the cause of the passing of laws which heavily legalized divorce,⁴¹⁵ “egalitarian inheritance legislation,”⁴¹⁶ and

⁴¹³ Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 104.

⁴¹⁴ Hunt, *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*, 10.

⁴¹⁵ “Some forty to fifty thousand divorces occurred during the revolution,” according to Suzanne Desan, “Making and Breaking of Marriage: An Overview of Old Regime Marriage as a Social Practice,” in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*, ed. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick (Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 19.

⁴¹⁶ Suzanne Desan, “Reconstituting the Social After the Terror: Family, Property and the Law in Popular Politics,” *Past & Present* 164 (1999): 92.

also made it easier to become separated.⁴¹⁷ The philosophies of the revolution were based on a concept of freedom that was incompatible with strict matrimonial laws,⁴¹⁸ and after the Terror was over this reform legislation would become overturned because they were considered radical "laws of passion and circumstance."⁴¹⁹ These laws were also extremely beneficial to women, and it seems too coincidental that these laws came to be when militant women were highly organized, and were overturned when women were most heavily repressed as a political entity. The limiting of family reform after 1793 only highlights what the Société des Citoyennes risked by not cultivating stronger ties with the Assembly and the Jacobin club.

Militarized Protest was a Haven for Female Politicians

It was because of the way that the revolution progressed that militancy became appealing to women. The power of the "crowd" was paramount, at least in the early phases of the revolution, and deliberative politics were dependent on brute strength to back legislation. The right to bear arms was technically limited to active citizens, but the radical women of 1793 perfected the art of adopting practices which were meant to be denied to them. In many ways, the evolution of men and women's politics was very similar at the start of the revolution in 1789. At that time, the use of legislation, petitions, and written pamphlets were popular outlets. Written arguments continued to be an important aspect of the revolution, but the tone of this medium would slowly escalate into confrontational attacks. In the years leading up to 1793, Paris became an uncomfortable place for those who advocated moderation and direct democracy through national deliberations, and instead supported those who advocated radical politics. However, men were able to successfully operate within both the deliberative and the militant fields

⁴¹⁷ Desan, "Making and Breaking of Marriage," 19.

⁴¹⁸ Desan, "Making and Breaking of Marriage," 19.

⁴¹⁹ Desan, "Reconstituting the Social After the Terror," 91.

throughout the revolution, using clubs as the intermediary, because they were careful not to offend those who were politically powerful and were able to unite behind their shared goals more effectively. Women who wanted to be citizens within the new system found that they had the largest success at attaining greater support within the clubs when they maintained a militant presence in the streets and in the assemblies. This is most strongly represented with the women's anti-Girondist militant presence in the halls of the assembly in May 1793, which may have led to the concession of inheritance rights to children born out of wedlock in late June;⁴²⁰ but it can also be seen in the washerwomen's militant stance in the assembly in February 1793 to demand price controls, which they also won concessions to within the year.

Of course, not all women agreed with the militant movement. There were moderate women who professedly believed that women should not be visibly involved in politics at all, and those women that were impacted by the Maximum who were more concerned about economic policy than gender policy. In the end, militancy was only a haven for radical women and revolutionary tradeswomen, and their inability to form cohesive policies concerning mainstream issues would make militancy more of a bane than a remedy.

Deliberative politics had been a somewhat useful outlet for women's aims, but it did not allow for the kind of rapid change that men were achieving. They were also practicing benefits of citizenship which were not allowed to them, specifically voting. While they were not officially permitted to vote, they continued to be an active part of section meetings and later would offer approval to the sitting assembly for any motions that were being passed.

⁴²⁰ Matthew Gerber, *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 184.

Women had No Strong Political Allies to Fortify their Position

While the popular violence of the streets gave the Sansculottes a voice and powerful allies in the various revolutionary governments, the militant women did not have an effective sway over the common Parisians and were unable to retain reliable political allies. This absence was significant. Without an active voice in government discussions, any women's delegation had an equal political voice. The outcome of any argument that women had amongst themselves would be subject to the changeable mood of the male politicians on the day of a petition, and not heavily influenced by allies in the Convention as it would be in the case of the Sansculottes.

When Lacombe was reprimanded by the Jacobins on September 16, 1793 for expelling Gobin from the club, it was evident that as a wife of a Jacobin member, Gobin was more supported by the Jacobin Assembly than Lacombe and the Société des Citoyennes were; but only a couple of weeks later, the Hommes Libres Society of August 10 asked the Assembly to stop women from "form[ing] any separate society henceforth"⁴²¹ and they were refused. This was only a little less than three weeks before the Société des Citoyennes was closed, which has been blamed on the Assembly looking for an outside club to demand it.⁴²² So, the mood of the Assembly and the Jacobins was free to change when it came to the Société des Citoyennes, because there was no Assembly ally that could anchor political perception. The Assembly was not taking advantage of an outside party's demand for the closure of women's clubs, because the Assembly had no strong political opinion either way.

⁴²¹ *Moniteur*, XVIII, 62, 69 quoted in Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 165.

⁴²² Hufton believes that it was the Paris commune that worked to get the Société closed, because the Société was policing the markets and preventing the commune from keeping the markets well supplied. Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, 37.

However, there are theories that the Montagnard's were plotting against the Société des Citoyennes because of their association with the Enragés.⁴²³ After all, Lacombe was arrested for her association with Roux and Leclerc. There has been much debate among historians concerning the influence of the Enragés over the women's militant movement in Paris. The Enragés were a loose gathering of men with similar political ideals, and they individually had connections with some of the members of the Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires – but not unanimously on either count. The Citoyennes publicly rejected Jacques Roux at a Cordeliers club meeting in late June,⁴²⁴ along with Marat and Collot d'Herbois. Roux forgave them and spoke on their behalf a few months later, but it is symbolic of the kaleidoscopic relationship between them. The radical men were being picked off by stronger political cannibals every day, and sometimes club women were available to assist in their destruction. This does not support the theory that there was a strong alliance between the Enragés and the Société des Citoyennes. It does support the already strong evidence that there were a variety of personalities within the women's club who sometimes made personal alliances with, or vendettas against, the members of the Convention. This made the Société des Citoyennes seem schizophrenic in its decisions, which was also a bar to solid alliances.

Historians have sometimes overlooked internal conflicts within the Société des Citoyennes, or described the disagreements in passing, perhaps because such evidence runs counter to the political agendas embedded in their theses. The Société des Citoyennes Républicaines Révolutionnaires was the lone place in Paris where women who believed in militancy could gather *and publicly debate* political issues, and there was more debate than unification on plans to propel women into active citizenship. The women continued to attend

⁴²³ See Hufton, *Women and the Limits of Citizenship*, Joan B. Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), Levy et al., *Women in Revolutionary Paris*,

⁴²⁴, and Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 140.

club meetings despite the constant fighting because it was “the only women’s club in the capital,”⁴²⁵ the only place where they could publicly discuss politics without the interference of men. In the general assemblies of the sections of Paris, there were usually reserved galleries for women to watch deliberations,⁴²⁶ but women were only permitted to become involved in arguments of the general assembly during times of crisis.⁴²⁷ Though it was not permitted, women frequently debated the topics of the day from the galleries,⁴²⁸ where they likely privately organized militant reactions even though they were excluded from the debate.

There were reports from Société des Citoyennes members (after the closing of the Société) that Lacombe was an authoritarian president who did her best to force the group to accept her policies regardless of the internal consensus.⁴²⁹ Considering the cycles of policy within the club, it may have been that the entire direction of the group was, by necessity, determined by whichever member was leading the club that month. This could have led to the club appearing to be cohesive when it was actually just being dragged behind a transient leaders political desires. Whatever the case, critics of the club attempted to discredit it by accusing its leaders of despotism, anticipating the charges that would soon be brought against Robespierre and the Committee for Public Safety.

Why were the women of the militant movement unable to find reliable political allies in the Convention? Though the women’s militant movement was not large, it did have a voice and was publicly recognized. Perhaps, despite what Joan Landes argues, the Société des Citoyennes

⁴²⁵ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 150.

⁴²⁶ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 198.

⁴²⁷ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 199.

⁴²⁸ Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 199.

⁴²⁹ A.N. F(7) 4756 d. Claire Lacombe in Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 150-151.

did fit under the feminist rubric.⁴³⁰ This is not to say that the men of the Convention avoided allying themselves with the militant women's movement because they were opposed to women's citizenship, but because the militant support would always be tempered by a desire to further women's rights as well as an overall aim for popular sovereignty. There was a difference between the Sansculottes' concept of popular sovereignty and the popular sovereignty supported by militant women, which was mostly based on their own limited citizenship in France. The Sansculottes could legally elect representative officials, though they may have preferred to use their sections to guide the actions of the government, and could rely on both deliberative and militant politics to pass initiatives. The Femmes Sansculottes, when petitioning for popular sovereignty, had no reliable voice in section meetings⁴³¹ and had no political power in elections. The entirety of their power came from their military presence, which was minimal, and it was difficult to obtain allies when all they had to offer were radical demonstrations that the majority of France did not support. The political opinions of the Société des Citoyennes were also not internally cohesive, and so they could not offer reliable backing to any Assembly member; they had no typical political stance on which to base their potential future alliances.

Conclusion

Historians somewhat recently began to delve into women's contributions to the French Revolution, which was directly in response to the burgeoning global feminist movement of the 1960s. As modern feminist philosophy has evolved, the historian's perception of the limiting of women's rights in 1793 has followed suit - but there has not been enough consideration of the

⁴³⁰ Landes argued that the Société was not technically fighting for women's rights in Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere*, 141.

⁴³¹ Women did have a surprising amount of influence at some section meetings in Paris, sometimes holding important positions and successfully influencing the direction of the petitions. This was not true at all sections, and was certainly not reliable.

events through the perspective of Third Wave feminism. There was not only one class of women actively working for their own survival, there were many classes of women with a variety of goals and strategies for their separate success. To be fair, most of the women who made up the complex group of market women were either uninterested in producing written documentation of their perspective or else were forced to pay others to write and print any claims they wished to present to the public.⁴³² Unfortunately, whenever women tried to unite behind a single feminist issue, there were disagreements on how to win the argument. These disagreements and poor decisions led to confrontations and the limitations of women's rights, a reality that illuminates the complexity of the downfall of the women's club.

The revolutionary experience of women between 1789 and 1793 is a story of disunity and selfish political activism leading to personal limitations. It was impossible for the women of the revolution to obtain more rights in that time period, because of their educational limitations and their separatist mentality on general political positions - despite the revolutionary ideological claim for equality under citizenship. Perhaps it was because the women were not allowed to unify as active citizens of Paris that they remained divided for so long. Contemporary women are similarly separated by various waves of feminist philosophies. The feminist movements have become analogous to the economic divisions among women during the revolution, which indicates a future of political failure for the women's movement until feminists begin to make internal concessions. The largest obstacles that women have ever faced have been those created by their own gender.

⁴³² Godineau, *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*, 253-254.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Amar, Jean-Baptiste. "Discussion of Women's Political Clubs and their Suppression, 29-30 October 1793." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. Accessed April 2012. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/294/>.

Barré, Marie-Rose . "October Days: Deposition of a Marcher." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. Accessed 2012. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/388>.

"Beware the Wealthy Bourgeoisie." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. Accessed April 11, 2010. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/371>.

D'Aelders, Etta Palm. "Discourse on the Injustice of the Laws in Favor of Men, at the Expense of Women." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/476>.

d'Eglantine, Fabre. 29 October 1793. *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*. trans. Lynn Hunt. New York: St. Martin's, 1996.

"France: Change in the Ministry." *The Times*. Wednesday, July 15, 1789; pg. 2; Issue 1206; col D.

"France: Confinement of the King, Queen and Royal Family, and The Attempt to Murder the Queen." *The Times*. Monday, Oct 12, 1789; pg. 2 ; Issue 1280 ; col C.

"France: His Majesty's Speech on the Opening of the States General. *The Times*. Thursday, May 14, 1789; pg. 3; Issue 1154; col A.

"France: The States General." *The Times*. Wednesday, Jun 24, 1789; pg. 3; Issue 1188; col C.

Lacombe, Claire. *Rapport fait par la citoyenne Lacombe à la Société des Républicaines révolutionnaires, de ce qui s'est passé le 16 septembre à la Société des Jacobins, concernant celle des Républicaines révolutionnaires... et les dénonciations faites contre la citoyenne Lacombe personnellement*. September 16, 1793.

Maillard, Stanislas. "Stanislas Maillard Describes the Women's March." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. Accessed April 2012. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/386>.

Marquis de Ferrieres. "The Réveillon Riot." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. Accessed April 2012. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/377>.

Prudhomme, Louis-Marie. "No. 213, 46. de la Convention Nationale." *Révolutions de Paris*. 23 Brumaire an deuxième de la république française. Paris:1793.

"Rebellion and Civil War in France." *The Times*. Monday, Jul 20, 1789; pg. 2; Issue 1210; col C.

"Revolutions in France." *The Times*. Friday, Jul 31, 1789; pg. 4; Issue 1219; Col A.

Roussel, Pierre-Joseph-Alexis. "Session of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, Meeting in the Ossuary of the Church of Saint-Eustache." *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*. <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/482>.

Séance des Jacobins no. 412. May 10, 1793.

"The Capital of France." *The Times*. Saturday, Oct 10, 1789; pg. 2 ; Issue 1279 ; col A.

"Tranquility." *The Times*. Monday, Jul 13, 1789; pg. 3; Issue 1202; col C.

Secondary Sources

Abray, Jane. "Feminism in the French Revolution," *The American Historical Review* 80 (1975): 43-62.

Andress, David. *The French Revolution and the People*. London: Hambledon and London, 2004.

———. *The Terror: The Merciless War for Freedom in Revolutionary France*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005.

Andrews, Richard Mowery. "Social Structures, Political Elites and Ideology in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-94: A Critical Evaluation of Albert Soboul's "Les sans-culottes Parisians en l'an II." *Journal of Social History* 19 (1985): 100.

"Assata Shakur." Accessed on October 14, 2012. <http://www.assatashakur.org/axioms.htm>

Bosher, J.F. *French Finances 1770-1795: From Business to Bureaucracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1970.

Bouton, Cynthia A. *The Flour War: Gender, Class, and Community in Late Ancien Régime French Society*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993.

Chartier, Roger. *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution: Bicentennial Reflections on the French Revolution*. Trans. Lydia G. Cochrane. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1991.

Christofferson, Michael Scott. "An Antitotalitarian History of the French Revolution: François Furet's "Penser la Révolution française" in the Intellectual Politics of the Late 1970s." *French Historical Studies* 22 (1999): 557-611.

Clifford, Dale Lothrop. "The National Guard and the Parisian Community, 1789-1790," *French Historical Studies* 16 (1990): 850.

Cobban, Alfred. "An Age of Revolutionary Wars: An Historical Parallel." *The Review of Politics* 13 (1951): 131-141.

———. *The Social Interpretation of the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 1964.

Cockburn, Cynthia. *In the Way of Women: Men's Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations*. Great Britain: Macmillan Press, 1991.

- Collins, James. *The State in Early Modern France*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Cook, Bernard A. *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopedia from Antiquity to Present*. California: ABC-CLIO, INC, 2006.
- Crowston, Clare. *Fabricating Women: The Seamstresses of Old Regime France, 1675–1791*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.
- De Baecque, Antoine. *Glory and Terror: Seven Deaths Under the French Revolution*. New York: Rutledge, 2001.
- Desan, Suzanne. "Constitutional Amazons: Jacobin Women's Clubs in the French Revolution," in *Re-Creating Authority in Revolutionary France*, ed. B. T. Ragan Jr. and E. A. Williams. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- . *The Family on Trial in Revolutionary France*. Berkley: University of California Press, 2006.
- . "Making and Breaking of Marriage: An Overview of Old Regime Marriage as a Social Practice," in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*, ed. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick. Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009.
- . "Reconstituting the Social After the Terror: Family, Property and the Law in Popular Politics." *Past & Present* 164 (1999): 81-121.
- . "The Role of Women in Religious Riots During the French Revolution." *Eighteenth Century Studies* 22 (1989): 451-468.
- DiCaprio, Lisa. *The Origins of the Welfare State: Women, Work, and the French Revolution*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007.
- Dickens, Charles. *A Tale of Two Cities*. San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006.
- Doyle, William. *The Oxford History of the French Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
- Duke of Brunswick. "Brunswick Manifesto." *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*, ed. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.
- Dunne, John. "Fifty Years of Rewriting the French Revolution." *History Today*, 1998. Accessed May 26, 2012. <http://www.historytoday.com/john-dunne/fifty-years-rewriting-french-revolution>.
- Edelstein, Dan. *The Terror of Natural Right: Republicanism, the Cult of Nature and the French Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Kindle Version.
- Edmonds, Bill. "A Study in Popular Anti-Jacobinism: The Career of Denis Monnet." *French Historical Studies* 13 (1983): 215-251.
- Fife, Graeme. *The Terror: The Shadow of the Guillotine: France 1792-1794*. New York: St. Martins Press, 2008.
- Friedland, Paul. *Political actors: representative bodies and theatricality in the age of the French Revolution*. New York: Cornell, 2002.

Garrioch, David. "The Everyday Lives of Parisian Women and the October Days of 1789." *Social History* 24 (1999): 231-249.

———. *The Making of Revolutionary Paris*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

Gerber, Matthew. "On the Contested Margins of the Family." in *Family, Gender, and Law in Early Modern France*. ed. Suzanne Desan and Jeffrey Merrick . Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009 .

———. *Bastards: Politics, Family, and Law in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Godineau, Dominique. *The Women of Paris and their French Revolution*. California: University of California Press, 1988.

———. "Masculine and Feminine Political Practice during the French Revolution, 1793-Year III," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*. ed. Harriet Branson Applewhite and Darline G. Levy. Michigan: University of Michigan, 1990.

Grindon, Leger. "History and the Historians in "La Marseillaise." *Film History* 4 (1990): 228.

Guillon, Claude. *Deux Enragés de la Révolution : Leclerc de Lyon et Pauline Léon*. Quimperlé : Éditions La Digitale, 1993.

Haft, Daryl M. "Female Masters in the Ribbonmaking Guild of Eighteenth-Century Rouen." *French Historical Studies* 20 (1999): 4.

———. *Women at Work in Preindustrial France*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007.

———. "Women at Work in Preindustrial France." Penn State PSUPRESS.ORG. Accessed July 19, 2012. <http://www.psupress.org/justataste/justatastehaft.html>.

Harris, S.E. *The Assignats*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930.

Hawtrey, R. G. "The Collapse of the French Assignats." *The Economic Journal* 28 (1918): 301.

Hesse, Carla. *The Other Enlightenment: How French Women Became Modern*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Howe, Patricia Chastain. *Foreign Policy and the French Revolution: Charles-François Dumouriez, Pierre LeBrun, and the Belgian Plan, 1789-1793*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008.

Hufton, Olwen H. *Women and the Limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*. Canada: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 1992.

Hunt, Lynn and George Sheridan. "Corporatism, Association, and the Language of Labor in France, 1750-1850." *The Journal of Modern History* 58 (1986): 837.

Hunt, Lynn. *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*. Berkley: University of California Press, 1992.

———. *Politics, Culture, and Class in the French Revolution*. California: University of California Press, 1984.

Jones, Colin. *Paris: The Biography of a City*. Viking Adult, 2005.

———. *The Great Nation: France from Louis XV to Napoleon*. New York: Penguin Books, 2002.

———. *The Longman Companion to the French Revolution*. US: Longman Pub Group, 1990.

Kaiser, Thomas E. and Dale K. Van Kley. *From Deficit to Deluge: The Origins of the French Revolution*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2011.

Kates, Gary. "The Powers of Husband and Wife Must Be Equal and Separate," in *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*, ed. Harriet Branson Applewhite and Darline G. Levy. Michigan: University of Michigan, 1990.

Kennedy, Michael L. *The Jacobin Clubs in the French Revolution: 1793-1795*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2000.

Kromm, Jane. "“Marianne” and the Madwomen." *Art Journal* 46 (1987): 302.

Landes, Joan B. *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988.

———. *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.

Lefebvre, Georges. *The French Revolution from 1793 to 1799*. trans. John Hall Stewart and James Friguglietti. New York: Columbia, 1964.

Levy, Darlene Gay, Harriet Branson Applewhite and Mary Durham Johnson. *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789-95*. Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979.

Levy, Darlene Gay, and Harriet Branson Applewhite, "Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris," in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*, ed. Sara E. Malzer and Leslie W. Rabine. Oxford University Press: Oxford 1992.

Mason, Laura and Tracey Rizzo. *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*. Houghton Mifflin Company: Boston, 1999.

Maza, Sarah. "Luxury, Morality, and Social Change: Why there was no middle-class consciousness in prerevolutionary France." in *The French Revolution: Recent debates and New Controversies*. ed. Gary Kates. New York: Rutledge, 2006.

McPhee, Peter. *A Social History of France 1780-1880*. New York: Rutledge, 1992.

———. *Robespierre: A Revolutionary Life*. New York: TJ Press. Padstow. LTD, 2012.

Monsieur de Durler, "Relation de Monsieur de Durler, capitaine au régiment des Gardes-Suisses, et commandant environ 500 hommes qui se sont défendus sur l'Escalier de la Chapelle et dans l'Intérieur du Château, le 10 Août 1792." *The English Historical Review* 2 (1887): 357.

Ngairé Heuer, Jennifer. *The Family and the Nation: Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary France, 1789-1830*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca 2005.

Osipovna Sokolnikova, Galina. *Nine Women, Drawn from the Epoch of the French Revolution*. New York: Books for Library Press, 1932.

Ozouf, Mona. "Terror in French Revolutionary Discourse (1792-1794)." *The Journal of Modern History* 56 (1984): 579-597.

Pateman, Carole. *The Sexual Contract*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1988.

Popiel, Jennifer J. *Rousseau's Daughters: Domesticity, Education, and Autonomy in Modern France*. New Hampshire: University of New Hampshire Press, 2008.

Rapport, Michael. *Nationality and Citizenship in Revolutionary France: The Treatment of Foreigners, 1789-1799*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Roche, Daniel. *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancien Régime*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Rose, R.B. *The Making of the Sans-culottes: Democratic Ideas and Institutions in Paris*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983.

Rothschild, Emma. "Condorcet and the Conflict of Values." *The Historical Journal* 39 (1996): 683.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *His Educational Theories Selected from Émile, Julie, and other Writings*. New York: Baron's Educational Series, Inc, 1964.

Rudé, George. *The Crowd in the French Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.

———. "Georges Lefebvre as Historian of Popular Urban Protest in the French Revolution," in *The Face of the Crowd: Selected Essays of George Rudé*. ed. Harvey J. Kaye. New Jersey: Humanities Press International, Inc., 1988.

———. *The French Revolution: It's Causes, It's History, and It's Legacy after 200 Years*. New York: Grove Press, 1988.

Scott, Joan. "A Woman Who Has Only Paradoxes to Offer." in *Rebel Daughters: Women and the French Revolution*. ed. Sara E. Malzer and Leslie W. Rabine. Oxford University Press: Oxford 1992.

———. "French Feminists and the Rights of 'Man': Olympe de Gouge's Declarations." *History Workshop Journal* 28 (1989): 17-18.

———. *The Fantasy of Feminist History*. North Carolina : Duke University Press, 2011.

———. *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man*. Cambridge: President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1996), 18.

Sewall, William Hamilton. *A Rhetoric of Bourgeois Revolution: The Abbé Sieyès and What is the Third Estate*. New York: Duke University Press, 1994.

Sieyès, Abbé Joseph Emmanuel. "What is the Third Estate." in *The French Revolution: A Document Collection*. trans. Laura Mason and Tracey Rizzo. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1999.

Slavin, Morris. "Jacques Roux: A Victim of Vilification." *French Historical Studies* 3 (1964): 525-537.

———. *The Making of an Insurrection: Parisian Sections and the Gironde*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1986.

Soboul, Albert . *The Parisian Sans-Culottes and the French Revolution, 1793-94*. Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing, 1979.

———. "The French Revolution in the History of the Contemporary World," in *The French Revolution: Recent debates and New Controversies*. ed. Gary Kates. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Sokolnikova, Galina Osipovna. *Nine Women, Drawn from the Epoch of the French Revolution*. New York: Books for Library Press, 1932.

Tackett, Timothy. "Conspiracy Obsession in a Time of Revolution: French Elites and the Origins of the Terror, 1789-1792." *The American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 691-713.

Tilly, Charles. "Local Conflicts in the Vendée before the Rebellion of 1793." *French Historical Studies* 2 (1961): 209-231.

Unger, Harlow Giles. *Lafayette*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2002.

Voltaire, *Candide*. CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 1759, 2001.

Walzer, Michael. *Regicide and Revolution: Speeches at the Trial of Louis XVI*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1793.

Whitaker, G.B. *The History of Paris from the Earliest Period to Present Day*. Paris: A&W Galignani, 1827.

Wrigley, Richard. *The Politics of Appearances: Representation of Dress in Revolutionary France*. New York: Berg, 2002.

Ziskin, Rochelle. "The Place de Nos Conquêtes and the Unraveling of the Myth of Louis XIV." *The Art Bulletin* 76 (1994): 147-162.

Zizek, Joseph. " "Plume de fer": Louis-Marie Prudhomme Writes the French Revolution." *French Historical Studies* 26 (2003): 637.