

2003

# The Feminist and the Socialist: Adele and Alphonse Esquiros

Naomi J. Andrews

*Santa Clara University*, [nandrews@scu.edu](mailto:nandrews@scu.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarcommons.scu.edu/history>



Part of the [Feminist, Gender, and Sexuality Studies Commons](#), and the [History Commons](#)

---

## Recommended Citation

Andrews, N. J. (2003). The Feminist and the Socialist: Adele and Alphonse Esquiros. In PROCEEDINGS-WESTERN SOCIETY FOR FRENCH HISTORY (Vol. 29, pp. 89-97). University Press of Colorado; 1998, 2003.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the College of Arts & Sciences at Scholar Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in History by an authorized administrator of Scholar Commons. For more information, please contact [rscroggin@scu.edu](mailto:rscroggin@scu.edu).

# THE FEMINIST AND THE SOCIALIST

## ADÈLE AND ALPHONSE ESQUIROS

*Naomi J. Andrews*  
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Among the many strands of political and intellectual dissidence during the July Monarchy, socialism and feminism must be counted as two of the most ephemeral and, paradoxically, the most enduring. Romantic socialism of the 1830s and 1840s saw a profusion of fantastical aspirations crushed by the failure of the revolution of 1848, and the brief flowering of feminism during the period was cut short by the social and political repression of the Second Empire. Their influence is still felt, though these original incarnations were short lived. For the duration of the July Monarchy and the Second Republic, however, both socialism in its romantic or “utopian” form and the feminism that it helped to produce engaged in a collaborative project to remake French society, and indeed, if their propagandists are to be believed, to remake all of human reality.

Feminism and socialism, originally closely intertwined, were each influenced spiritually and rhetorically by romanticism as well as by the ongoing project of remaking Christianity in the wake of the French Revolution. The men and women who defined and championed socialism and feminism during the July Monarchy were a varied and unusual group, many of whom are well known to us today, including groups such as the Saint-Simonians and the Fourierists, as well as a number of outstanding individual thinkers such as Pierre Leroux and Flora Tristan. In addition to the luminaries of the movement, there was any number of lesser known but still prolific writers, emblematic of the creativity and passion that marked the era.

Adèle Battanchon Esquiros (1819–1886) and Alphonse Esquiros (1812–1876) were among this cohort. Their marriage and professional collaboration illustrate several relevant themes in the intertwined histories of feminism and socialism during the July Monarchy, both the dismal side of this collaboration and the intellectual kinship of the movements. Particularly exemplified by the Esquiros’ life story

is the intense but short-lived passion with which socialism regarded feminism; the price that women and feminism paid for the idealism that underlay that passion; and finally the stark differences between men's and women's situation as intellectuals and activists in nineteenth-century France. These issues are the concerns of this paper.

Ironically, the chronology of Adèle and Alphonse Esquiros' marriage maps very nicely onto that of the revolutionary movement and its demise. Courting during the July Monarchy, married on the eve of the Revolution, fed, seemingly, on the dreams and ambitions of socialism and feminism, they remained married only for the duration of the Second Republic itself. Though it did not end definitively until Alphonse's departure for exile in 1851, their marriage was already tarnished, as was the republic, one might argue, by betrayal in 1848 and 1849. I do not wish to push this analogy too far; these are after all, real people with real lives whose relationship was certainly more complicated than this account will be able to demonstrate. Nevertheless the parallel is not entirely superficial. There was a personal dimension that affected significantly the intellectual production of socialists and feminists during this, as any, time. The life experiences of the men and women who made up the movements were implicated significantly in the way they articulated their visions of the good society, as I think the following account will illustrate.

Adèle Battanchon was the daughter of a medical student, Pierre François Battanchon, thirty-four, and a thirty-two year-old *rentière*, Rose Nouvion. They were legally married, in 1822, three years after Adèle's birth in 1819. Beyond that, little else is known about Adèle's childhood. She worked throughout her life as a writer and an *institutrice*, publishing variously poetry, novels and feminist polemics. She was an active member of the Club des Femmes founded in April 1848, and a colleague of Jeanne Deroin, Eugénie Niboyet, Désirée Gay in the Société de l'éducation mutuelle des femmes, founded in August of the same year.<sup>1</sup> Most notable among her works is her 1860 response to Jules Michelet, *L'Amour*.<sup>2</sup> A longtime member of the Société des Gens de Lettres, Adèle died in 1886, blind, paralyzed and in terrible poverty.<sup>3</sup>

Alphonse Esquiros was a writer and politician whose career spanned the nineteenth century, beginning with his involvement in romantic literary circles, including that of Gerald de Nerval and his cohort in the *cercle du Doyenne*.<sup>4</sup> After 1838 he became increasingly involved in socialist and republican politics, writing in the major contemporary journals and penning as well several social documentary works on the state of women in contemporary society.<sup>5</sup> He was a close friend of the well know writers of his day, including Théophile Gauthier, Gerard de Nerval, and Théophile Thoré. Additionally, he carried on an extended correspondence with Victor Hugo.<sup>6</sup> His particular bent on the social struggle in France emphasized, with Lamennais and Michelet, the deification of the people, and posited Jesus as a worker-savior. His major contribution to this literature is *L'Évangile du Peuple*, pub-

lished in 1841.<sup>7</sup> After 1851 he went into exile in England, where he wrote on the UK, natural science, and republican politics. His early interest in women's and feminist issues seems to have been one of the casualties of 1848, as he ceased all writing on these subjects thereafter. When he returned from exile in 1859 he resumed his political activities, becoming a member of the *Sénat* under the third republic shortly before his death in 1876.

After marrying on 7 August 1847, Alphonse and Adèle lived together for only a few of the years they were legally married.<sup>8</sup> As early as the fall of 1848, after the social upheaval of the revolution and the June days, Alphonse spent several months in London. It was at this point that he evidently met the English woman, known only as Anne Esquiros in the record, with whom he lived most of his adult life. Death records indicate the birth of William Esquiros sometime during 1849, a year in which Alphonse and Adèle were still living together in Paris. It was not until 1851 that their addresses in Paris differ, and after the coup d'état of that year he went back to London, as did many of his contemporaries.<sup>9</sup> Although he returned to France under the amnesty of 1859, Adèle and Alphonse did not live together after 1851.

Adèle and Alphonse met sometime in the early 1840s while Alphonse was researching *Les Vierges Martyres*.<sup>10</sup> *Les Vierges Martyres* deals with the situation of working class women, and Adèle was his informant, at the time employed as an *institutrice* in Paris. During 1841, Alphonse spent several months in the prison at St. Pélagie, for the publication of his banned *Évangile du Peuple* and, in her first collection, *Le Fil de la Vierge*, published in 1845, Adèle included a poem which is written in his voice from within prison.<sup>11</sup> Her letters and poems indicate that in many ways he was her muse as much as she was his, and theirs seems to have been an intellectual as well as romantic pairing, at least in the beginning. To quote Alphonse's biographer Linden, "Adèle's love, far from being platonic, was a love of 'ecstasy, of delirium.'"<sup>12</sup>

To a certain extent, the marriage of Adèle and Alphonse Esquiros mirrors the problematic relationship between socialism and feminism during their time. When considered in the abstract, women were idolized and their emancipation deemed central to the remaking of society. When "la femme" became "les femmes," however, demanding equality of pay and parental rights, or the vote, women's presence became somehow less pivotal.<sup>13</sup> Prior to their marriage, Alphonse seems to have idealized both Adèle and women, composing poems for her and speaking in exalted terms about women's contribution to literature.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, prior to his marriage, much of his most passionate writing was on the subject of women's situation. As noted above, his interest ceased almost entirely after the end of his marriage and the Second Republic.

Alphonse's fascination with women may have had to do precisely with their remoteness. Testimony from Arsène Houssaye tells us that Alphonse was a peculiarly

innocent bridegroom, indicating that Adèle and Alphonse were not intimately acquainted prior to their marriage. Houssaye recounts a telling anecdote about Esquiros in which he planned to leave with his friend at the end of his wedding banquet, rather than go home with his bride.<sup>15</sup> Indeed Houssaye's portrayal of his friend emphasizes Alphonse's innocence in the face of the brazen sexuality of his bride.

Examining Alphonse's literary production concerning Adèle, it seems that the term "muse" is appropriate for the role that Adèle played in Alphonse's life up to the point of their marriage.<sup>16</sup> While Houssaye's account of their engagement raises questions about the extent to which romance rather than passivity was causal in his entering into the marriage, it still seems that he saw her in rosy terms. Houssaye and Linden describe Adèle as being passionate and romantic, devoted to the ideal of love from an early age. She writes in many places about a mysterious, handsome man, presumably Alphonse, with whom she was passionately in love.<sup>17</sup> Indeed it seems that they idealized each other, with both inspirational and ultimately disappointing results.<sup>18</sup>

If Alphonse was not a terribly worldly groom, prior to his marriage he was very interested in women as a social issue. His short works on women are thoughtful reflections on the impact of modernization, capitalism, the social structure and the legal system upon women's lot in society, and mirror the strong interest of many socialists of Alphonse's day in the situation of the poor and women. Alphonse documented his perspective with informants and also with eyewitness reportage, responding directly to the writings of Parent-Duchâtelet and other early sociologists in trying to understand the causes of prostitution and destitution among young women in Paris.<sup>19</sup>

In their collaborative work, as well, Alphonse and Adele articulated a thoughtful critique of patriarchal social structures. In *Histoire des Amant Célèbres*, which Adèle and Alphonse wrote in serial form for *les Veillés littéraires* in 1847–early 1848, they present an outspokenly feminist critique of ancient and foreign cultures.<sup>20</sup> The analogies between the ancient world and modern Europe are clear enough.<sup>21</sup> In chapter three, for example, the authors critique the patriarchal society of China, focusing on issues such as the confinement of women to the home, the overemphasis of feminine beauty to the detriment of women's health, and the lack of education and attendant boredom and stupidity of women that results. We are told the real reasons for the practice of foot binding, and the traditional explanation that it originates in courtly vanity and the idolization of the small foot of one historical princess are challenged forthrightly. Citing the reality of the Harem for said princess, Ta-kia by name, the authors suggest rather that foot binding was a deliberate plan to restrain the "locomotive power" of women in China: "It is thus that in China men have taken liberty from women through their feet."<sup>22</sup>

This passage is emblematic of the tone and style of the work as a whole; anecdotal, conversational, and full of personal memories of places and people,

the work is written in the first person. This is worth noting, because the biographical information included seems to indicate that Alphonse is that first person speaker.<sup>23</sup> Yet the strongly feminist tone of the work indicates that at the very least Adèle was closely involved. Worth noting as well is the difference between this work, written in 1847, and the introduction that Alphonse wrote, presumably in 1844–1845, to Adèle’s poetry collection, in which he comments of her writing and ambitions, “[t]he author of *Fil de la Vierge* claims only the right to sing her song to the sun, and to pluck the uncut fruit from the tree of poetry with her own hand.” She does not seek, “the glory in declaring” “the moral enfranchisement of the weak sex,” thereby opening herself, with “Madame Sand, to “the danger of ridicule.”<sup>24</sup> That Adèle was influential in the writing of *Les Amants* seems clear. As well, Alphonse seems to have evolved an explicitly feminist stance during his marriage to her, as he not only wrote *Les Amants* but was also a member of the same feminist political clubs as Adèle in 1848.<sup>25</sup> Indeed, in the years leading up to the outbreak of the revolution of February 1848, Alphonse’s feminism seems to have notably accelerated. As noted above, this was not the case with all of his fellow socialists!

Adèle and Alphonse appear to have had a fruitful intellectual relationship, one through which they learned, individually, and produced, collaboratively.<sup>26</sup> It was in the wake of the revolution that the relationship was definitively left, and, to continue the analogy, that feminist aspirations were largely shunted aside by socialists. From this perspective, the Esquiros’ marriage exemplifies as well the sharply contrasting possibilities for activist and intellectual women and men in the post 1848 era. Where Alphonse was able through the financial support of his friends to go into exile in England and avoid the reach of the Bonapartist government, Adèle was left behind in Paris, untouched by the law but also financially destitute.<sup>27</sup> Professional and political rebirth was possible for Alphonse, as socialism remained a political possibility, albeit underground or exiled until later in the century, while feminism did not.<sup>28</sup>

Scholars have recently begun to pay attention to the problematic gender identity of intellectual women in the context of patriarchal societies.<sup>29</sup> In societies in which intellectual production has traditionally been considered a male preserve, taking up the mantle of authorship is always a transgressive practice.<sup>30</sup> To the extent that women do this within certain realms, i.e., those of poetry and fiction, their femininity generally goes unquestioned. Alphonse recognized a role for women in writing early on, attributing to them the representation of sentiment in literature.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, in the same discussion, he also made clear that women’s role in literature is limited, “whether she loves God as did Saint Theresa, man as did Sappho [!], or humanity as George Sand, woman finds always her genius in her heart.”<sup>32</sup> Despite allowing for a definite, though limited, role for women in intellectual production, for Alphonse, and for French society around him, motherhood and the priorities of domesticity were paramount. In the end, Alphonse told

his friend Houssaye that he left Adèle because she “only put volumes into the world, and no children.”<sup>33</sup> Like Daumier’s caricatures of *les bas bleus* from the 1840s, Alphonse’s explanation for leaving Adèle aptly expresses the cultural attitude of the period toward educated, expressive women.

Alphonse’s views notwithstanding, Adèle did live out her life as a writer, supported in her infirm and lonely old age by the Société des Gens de Lettres.<sup>34</sup> In her later writings she was very concerned with the situation of the “bas-bleu” – whether represented satirically in her *Histoire d’un vieux bas-bleu* or more poignantly in her short-lived newspaper, *La Soeur de Charité*, which proclaimed its purpose to unite the lonely and isolated women of France.<sup>35</sup> “There are poor women, who, dressed in coarse wool and with hooded head, take nothing but duty from life.”<sup>36</sup> It was these women, apparently like her, that the paper was to help. In the end she died without this help in “a solitude that would have become a poignant abandonment without the security of the government and the generosity of the Société des gens de lettres.”<sup>37</sup> Alphonse, on the other hand, lived out his life in relative prosperity and productivity, married, with children. When he died he was a senator in the Third Republic, respected by his peers, rehabilitated entirely from any taint of political whimsey that the July Monarchy and 1848 might have carried.<sup>38</sup>

It is nearly impossible, given the information available to us today about their relationship and personal lives to do more than speculate about the complexities that doomed Alphonse and Adèle’s marriage. Certainly personal proclivities, now lost to the historical record, played a significant role. However in their writings and the traces of their private world that they showed to the public one, we can discern some of the dominant themes of male-female relations of this time, as well as some of the convoluted and contradictory dynamics between feminism and socialism during the July Monarchy. The path traveled by Alphonse’s views on women, from distant idealization to passionate championing to silent abandonment, in many ways mirrors the path romantic socialism followed in its attitude toward the feminism it helped to develop. Similarly, Adèle’s popular literary production and her quixotic attempts at political journalism exemplify the difficulties faced by intellectual women during much of the nineteenth century.

Adèle lived ten years beyond Alphonse, though because of his public role under the Third Republic he exhibited little sympathy for her poverty-stricken plight. Just as latter day socialism shunned its early connection to feminism, Alphonse seems even to have taken steps to conceal Adèle’s connection to him, despite the fact that she still carried his name. He left her nothing in his will and she died penniless.<sup>39</sup>

#### NOTES

1. Alphonse Lucas, *Les Clubs et les clubistes: histoire complete critique et anecdotique des clubs et des comités électoraux fondés à Paris depuis la Révolution de 1848* (Paris: E. Dentu, 1851). Lucas

includes scathing accounts of the feminist activities of these two groups and of the other clubs in which Adèle and Alphonse were active. Adèle is listed with Alphonse in all of the clubs in which he was active, and in some in which he is not mentioned.

2. Adèle Esquiros, *L'Amour* (Paris: rue des Tournelles, 1860). For a detailed discussion of Adèle's feminism, see Anthony Zielonka, "Le féminisme d'Adèle Esquiros," *Studi Francesi* 32 (1994): 91–102.

3. There is little specific information about the latter part of Adèle's life, but Adolphe Racot's obituary, found in *Portraits d'bier* (Paris: H. du Parc, 1887) provides a moving account of her significance to the feminist and literary scene of her day and also of the end of her life.

4. Literary scholars count Esquiros among the "petits-romantiques." See D. G. Charlton, *The French Romantics*, 2 vols. (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984). See among other scholars, the works of Anthony Zielonka, *Alphonse Esquiros* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1985); Frank Paul Bowman, *Le Christ des Barricades* (Paris: CERF, 1987); Auguste Viatte, *Les Sources occultes du romantisme*, 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1928); Viatte, *Victor Hugo et les illuminés de son temps*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Montreal: Editions de l'Arbre, 1943); Paul Bénichou, *Le Temps des prophètes* (Paris: Gallimard, 1977).

5. *Revue de Paris*, *La France Littéraires*, *Revue des deux mondes*, and *L'Artiste*, are the best-known journals that Esquiros published in during this stage of his career. His books on women were: *Les Vierges Folles* (Paris: Le Gallois, 1840); *Les Vierges martyres* (Paris: Delavigne, 1842); *Les Vierges sages* (Paris: Delavigne, 1842). He was also one of the contributors to *Les Belles Femmes de Paris* (Paris: Au Bureau, 1839–1840).

6. See Anthony Zielonka's collection of Alphonse's correspondence,

7. Alphonse Esquiros, *L'Évangile du Peuple* (Paris: Le Gallois, 1840). Published anonymously.

8. There is some ambiguity in the record on the issue of their marriage. Adèle never stopped using Esquiros, and there is no record of a divorce, however Alphonse lived for many years with Anne Esquiros who seems to have been considered his legal wife.

9. The details of Alphonse Esquiros' life are to be found in J. van der Linden, *Alphonse Esquiros: de la bohème romantique à la république sociale* (Paris: Nizet, 1948). The bibliography on these two is not long. Anthony Zielonka did the most recent scholarship, in his study of Alphonse's writings: *Alphonse Esquiros: 1812–1876: A Study of His Works* (Paris: Slatkine, 1985) and in the article cited above. For further assessment of Alphonse's works, see also those of Frank Paul Bowman, noted above.

10. These books are in the mold of the urban explorer literature common in Victorian England, especially *Outcast London* by Andrew Mearns and the works of Charles Booth and W. T. Stead, and have been likened by Esquiros scholars to the writings of Eugène Sue. In comparison with other writings on women's situation by romantic socialists, especially those of Esquiros' lifelong friend, the Abbé Constant, these works are notable for their pragmatism, their clarity and their realism. Unlike many of the romantic socialist writers working at this time, Esquiros' works seem to have been researched in the real world, rather than the product of religious and philosophical speculation, or even fantasizing. Nevertheless, to quote biographer Linden, Esquiros was still subject to the "tendency to simplify things," as were many of his contemporaries in the socialist movement. Linden, *Alphonse Esquiros*, 47.

11. Adèle Battanchon, *Le Fil de la Vierge* (Paris: Victor Bouton, 1845), poem entitled "Alphonse Esquiros." Esquiros was not alone at Sainte Pélagie in 1841—his neighbors included Félicité Lammenais and his close friend the Abbé Constant, imprisoned for his *Bible de la Liberté* (Paris, 1841).



12. Linden, *Alphonse Esquiros*, 45.

13. This is exemplified in many ways by the history of romantic socialism, for example, that of the Saint Simonian movement, which began its “attente pour La Femme” while expelling all women from the organizational hierarchy of the Church. For details, see Sebastian Charléty, *Histoire du Saint-Simonisme (1825–1864)*, 2<sup>ème</sup> éd. (Paris: Paul Hartmann, 1931). For examples of the attitude of republicanism toward the feminists of 1848, see Daumier’s famous caricatures of that year. For a discussion of the reach and importance of republican misogyny, see Joan Scott’s chapter on Jean Deroin in *Only Paradoxes to Offer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996).

14. See Alphonse’s introduction to Adèle’s *Le Fil de la Vierge*, where he talked about women bringing sentiment to the realm of literature.

15. Houssaye, *Confessions*, 92–94. There is some reason to doubt the accuracy of this rendition, though Linden does not do so. In her 1994 book on women of letters in the Second Empire, *Die ‘femme de lettres’ im Second Empire : Juliette Adam, André Léo, Adèle Esquiros und ihre Auseinandersetzung mit dem weiblichen Rollenbild im 19. Jahrhundert* (1994), Sigrid Lambertz reproduces three vital documents from Adele’s life: her birth certificate, their marriage certificate, and her death certificate. There is a detailed discussion of the witnesses at the marriage, and Houssaye is not listed among them. Furthermore, Adèle and Alphonse list the same address for their own residences, indicating that they might have been living together already at the time of the wedding. Be that as it may, the relationship shows other signs of insufficient passionate attraction, particularly the lack of children produced by it. This was, again according to Houssaye, one of Alphonse’s reasons for leaving Adele. Linden, *Alphonse Esquiros*, 68.

16. Alphonse always had a more restrained style than Adèle, thus her influence is more to be inferred than demonstrated. Examples include his paean to women’s literary importance in the introduction he wrote to her first publication, *Le Fil de la Vierge*, and his thorough and in many ways romantic explorations of the situation of poor women, noted above.

17. See her repeated references to Alphonse in *L’Amour*, and her poems in *Le Fil de la Vierge*.

18. The bitterness of some of Adèle’s later writings indicates a extreme degree of disappointment with her muse. See among other sources, *L’Amour*.

19. Zielonka provides a detailed and thoughtful assessment of these works in his book on Esquiros.

20. Alphonse et Adèle Esquiros, *Histoire des Amants Célèbres de l’antiquité* (Paris: Au Bureau de la Société Fraternelle de l’Intelligence et du travail réunis, 1849).

21. This collaborative work by the Esquiros raises interesting, and as yet, unexplored, issues about the role of the foreign “other” in discourses about the metropole in the nineteenth century. The text reads as a nineteenth century *Persian Letters*, using a hyperbolic foreign situation to critique the European one, however it is worth exploration to discover the extent to which this discussion also bore on the colonial situation already developing.

22. Esquiros, *Histoire des Amants Célèbres*, 251.

23. In the opening passages of chapter 3: “L’Amour en chine,” the speaker recalls his youth and student days living on the île Saint-Louis, where Alphonse was educated and spent many years of his young adulthood. In addition, references are made to an educational experience seemingly unavailable to young women during this time.

24. Battanchon, *Le Fil de la Vierge*, intro., 8.

25. Lucas, *Les Clubs et les Clubistes*. Linden notes the only paper that mentions Alphonse's candidacy for the national assembly is the *Opinion des femmes*.

26. In addition to the collaborative work *Les Amants* discussed above, they also wrote a series of songs published together in pamphlet form under the title "Souvenirs d'Enfance, Jalousie, Regrets. Consolation" (Paris, s.d.).

27. *Alphonse Esquiros, 1812–1876 : choix de lettres, textes réunis, présentés et annotés* par Anthony Zielonka (Paris : Champion; Genève: Slatkine, 1990). See in particular Alphonse's letter to his friend Arsène Houssaye asking for money in order to leave the country in 1851.

28. The best account of the renewal of the socialist cause is found in Edward Berenson, *Popular Religion and Left-Wing Politics in France, 1830–1852* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). After the failed Second Republic, socialism took a variety of new forms, none of them notably friendly to feminist claims for inclusion; the "scientific" socialism of Marxism and Proudhon's renowned theories on women's possibilities are the most notorious examples.

29. See particularly Whitney Walton, *Eve's Proud Descendants* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2000).

30. William Reddy's chapter on the Condottieri of the pen in *The Invisible Code* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997) makes this point, as does Walton's book, cited above.

31. Battanchon, *Le Fil de la Vierge*, 6.

32. *Ibid.*, 6–7.

33. Houssaye cited in Linden, *Alphonse Esquiros*, 68.

34. Zielonka makes nice use of her letters to this society in his article, "Le féminisme d'Adèle Esquiros . . ."

35. *La Soeur de Charité* (53, rue d'enfer, Paris). Date mark is sometime in the 1850s, the masthead says that subscriptions are available, not by the year, but by the issue, which in the end was 1. In connection with this effort of Adèle's, it is worth noting the fate of other early feminists who sacrificed everything to live consistently with their ideals, see for example the stories of Pauline Roland and Claire Demar, two early Saint Simonian feminists. See Edith Thomas, Pauline Roland, *Socialisme et féminisme au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Marcel Rivière, 1956); Claire Goldberg Moses and Leslie W. Rabine, *Feminism, Socialism and French Romanticism* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1993).

36. *Ibid.*, *La Soeur de Charité*, 1–2.

37. Racot, *Portraits d'hier*, 309.

38. It appears that almost as soon as the Second Republic itself ended the disavowal of the more eccentric elements of romantic socialism and feminism began. For instance, see Lucas' disdainful treatment of the clubists of the extreme left; also see Alexandre Erdan's *La France mystique: Tableau des eccentricités religieuses de ce temps*, 2e ed. (Amsterdam: R.C. Mijer, librairie étrangère, 1858), and the writings of Charles Yriarte, *Les cercles de Paris, 1828–1864* (Paris: Dupray de la Maherie, 1864) and *Paris Grottesque; les célébrités de la rue, Paris (1815 à 1863)* (Paris: Dupray de la Maherie, 1864). These were all written under the Second Empire and address the kooks, so to speak, with disdain. Another useful source on this is Berenson's *Populist Religion and Left Wing Politics in France*, which deals with the way in which the socialists and republicans of the Second Republic remade themselves politically under the Second Empire and made their return to power after 1870 possible.

39. See her obituary by Racot, *Portraits d'hier*, for details. Also, see Linden's biography of Alphonse for details on the end of their lives.