

Women and Militant Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris

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In revolutionary Paris, the political identity of women as *citoyennes* was made problematic not only by constitutional definitions but more generally by an exclusive, gendered political language. Notwithstanding legal, linguistic, and ideological limits and exclusions, women of the popular classes and smaller numbers of middle-class women claimed citizenship. Their practice of citizenship was shaped and limited by prevailing cultural values; but it also is true that their *citoyenneté* challenged and episodically recast or subverted these values.

The problem of women and citizenship—not only in revolutionary France but throughout the western world in an age of democratic revolutions—is the subject of a large and growing literature.¹ In the conclusion of her *Citoyennes Tricoteuses*, Dominique Godineau formulates that problem as a paradox: “When one studies the women’s revolutionary movement, isn’t one asking . . . : How is it possible to be a *citoyenne*? How is it possible to participate in political life without possessing citizenship in its entirety? How is it possible to be part of the Sovereign without enjoying any of the attributes [of sovereignty]?”²

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen held out the promise of a political coming of age for all humanity. However, the Declaration left indeterminate the question of whether universal rights of man were rights of woman and whether, or in what sense, woman was a *citoyenne*. The constitutions of 1791 and 1793 and the debates surrounding their acceptance presumably resolved the issue. Women were denied political rights of “active citizenship” (1791) and democratic citizenship (1793).

This constitutional exclusion can be related to neo-classical and Rousseauian formulations and representations of citizenship and civic virtue that pervaded revolutionary political culture—for example, the *langage mâle de la vertu* recently analyzed by Dorinda Outram. In this language of virtue, the citizen was defined as a public man imbued with “*un vertu mâle et répub-*

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licain," which prepared him for a life of service to the *patrie*. Women, the wives, sisters, mothers of citizens were depicted enclosed in domestic spheres and at best confined to roles as educators of future citizens. By the terms of these definitions, public man was a self-sacrificing hero, while women who assumed political roles in public arenas were "public women," courtisans and prostitutes.³

Neo-classical imagery is replete with these gendered representations of citizenship and civic virtue. In Jacques-Louis David's painting, "The Oath of the Horatii," two spaces are delineated. On one side of the canvas, we see a politicized space in which male citizens, three sons and their father, in an act of patriotic oath-taking, demonstrate physical fortitude and moral and political resolve—civic virtue, in short. On the other side, a private space is depicted. Here, daughters and wives, with their children, collapse in grief; they conspicuously display their physical incapacity along with their moral limitations—their inability to extend their allegiances beyond the home, the sphere in which their characteristic virtue, a narrowly circumscribed, private virtue, is expressed exclusively in loyalty and devotion to family members.⁴

Revolutionary power struggles between 1789 and 1793 created and multiplied opportunities for eluding or challenging and reworking these gendered formulations of revolutionary citizenship and civic virtue. Much of the time, revolutionary authorities were uncertain about how to react. They hesitated, they veered between co-opting, directing, and exploiting women's claim to a political identity and political power; they ridiculed it, symbolically recast it in order to defuse it, and repressed it.

In the spaces opened up by ambivalence and vacillation, women assumed political identities as *citoyennes*. Clearly, under the old regime, complex combinations of needs, customs, and opportunities brought women of all classes into the public sphere and facilitated their interactions with authorities at all levels as they organized and presided over salons, functioned as intermediaries at court, plied their trades, participated in or witnessed royal, municipal, or neighborhood ceremonies, or became involved in acts of *taxation populaire* and riots and other collective protests. Official strategies for controlling women's presence and involvement in public and political events were immensely complex. What can be said with certainty is that the repertory of responses did not include general policies of clean repression. Such policies simply would have been unthinkable, given the number, breadth, and scope of roles that women already were playing out in the public and political arenas.

Beginning with the royal decision of May 1788 to convoke the Estates-General, new political questions about elections, representation, constitutional rights, and political legitimacy urgently engaged the attention of all residents of the capital, women as well as men—and not only men with the properties that entitled them to attend electoral assemblies, but also the unenfranchised "Fourth Estate." Elections in Paris in April 1789 opened a revolutionary period of rapid institutional and ideological change, including the dislocation, collapse, abolition, and reconstitution of systems of justice, lawmaking, and administration. The proliferation of revolutionary journals, the establishment

of Paris districts, and later, sections, the formation of the National Guard, and the opening of political clubs and popular societies all created new opportunities for political involvement, for women as well as for men. Many women joined popular societies and clubs where they received a political education and established bases for political communication with local, municipal, and national authorities. They formed deputations to deliberative bodies to present petitions and demands for legislation, or intervened from the galleries, applying collective pressure upon constituted authorities. Women swore oaths of loyalty to nation, law, king, and later, the Republic, solemn declarations of patriotic allegiance, affirmations of the political responsibilities of citizenship, which later supported some of their most audacious claims to political rights. Women participated in this ceremonial dimension of citizenship in other ways, through roles in festivals and in patriotic gift giving. In revolutionary *journées*, women repeatedly applied insurrectionary force to test the legitimacy of executive and legislative power under successive regimes. In formally stated demands for equal political and civil rights, Etta Palm d'Aelders, Condorcet, and Olympe de Gouges in *Les Droits de la Femme* with its ringing declaration—"The law must be the expression of the general will; all female and male citizens must contribute either personally or through their representatives to its formation . . ."—all forced radical expansions in the conceptualization of citizenship to realize the promise of universality encoded in the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The de facto participation of women in the political life of the revolutionary nation through all these activities is what we are calling their practice of citizenship.⁵

We focus here on militant citizenship, practices of citizenship linked to the use of force. We are using the term to include women's claim to a right to bear arms, either in self-defense, or for purposes of offensive action against the nation's enemies—in its most radical formulation, a claim for membership in the sovereign nation. We also mean by militant citizenship women's threats to use force and their actual application of armed force in collective demonstrations of sovereign will and power.

Women's episodic empowerment through the use of armed force, their threats to use arms, and their claims to the right to bear arms, in conjunction with the confused, ambiguous reactions of revolutionary leaders, tended to blur or eclipse prevailing gendered definitions of citizenship and civic virtue, or to multiply competing and conflicting definitions and norms. By the fall of 1793, women's escalating claims and practices literally invited either a total reconceptualization of citizenship, or a radical repression of militant *citoyennes* as a threat to the political hegemony (and even the potency) of the Jacobin leadership and to the gendered vision of nature, society, polity, and ideology which that leadership finally fixed upon as the foundation of the new order.

Here, we present three instances of women's practice of militant citizenship in revolutionary Paris: the women's march to Versailles in October 1789; women's participation in armed processions and their demands for the right to

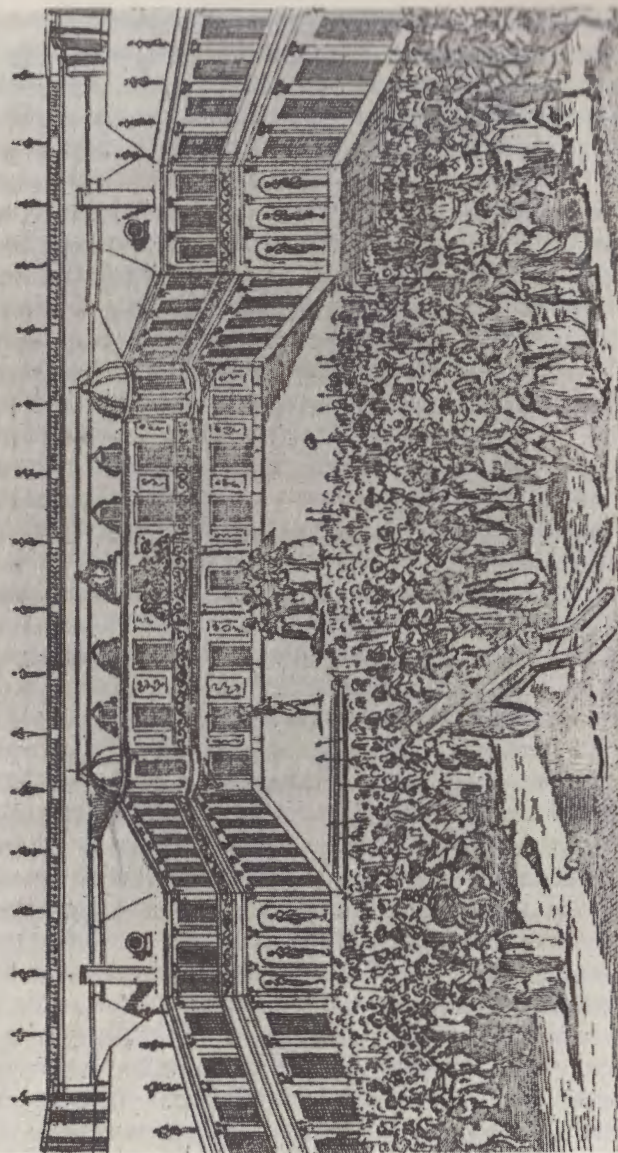


Figure 5.1 Anonymous, Depiction of events during the *journee* of October 6, 1789. Engraving from *Révolutions de Paris* (Vol. 1, no. 13, 3–10 October 1789). This engraving appeared with the following caption: “The National Guard of Paris and Versailles, numbering more than 20,000, not counting the more than 12,000 men and women, armed with various weapons, who complained to the King about the lack of bread in the capital, pressing the King to establish his residence in Paris.” Note that the artist has depicted women in large numbers, carrying pikes, as well as a group of women in the courtyard of the chateau, addressing members of the royal family who stand on the balcony above.

bear arms during the spring and summer of 1792; and the organized insurgency of women in the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women between the spring and fall of 1793.

On October 5, 1789, 7,000 women from the districts and faubourgs of Paris—fishwives, housewives, shopkeepers, peddlars—the *menu peuple*—rose in insurrection against the municipal government, the king and the National Assembly. According to a newspaper account, trouble started when a young market woman began beating a drum in the streets and crying out about the scarcity of bread.⁶ According to Loustalot, an editor of the *Révolutions de Paris*, “Women of the people, principally merchants from the central markets and workers from the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, took upon themselves the *salut de la patrie*.” They rounded up in the streets all the women they encountered there; they even went into houses to lead off all those who could add to the numbers in the procession; they went to the square in front of the Hôtel de Ville.⁷ An eyewitness recounted how the women invaded the Hôtel de Ville, denounced the Mayor, Bailly, and the Commander-General of the National Guard, Lafayette; snatched up papers and threatened to burn them; and mockingly, scornfully declared, as one observer put it, that “men didn’t have enough strength to avenge themselves and that they [the women] would demonstrate that they were better than men.” Having located and seized weapons, the women stated their intention of going directly to the National Assembly “to find out everything that had been done and decreed until this day, the fifth of October.”⁸

An extraordinarily acute observer, the Parisian bookseller Siméon-Prosper Hardy, noted in the entry to his journal for October 5 that the armed marchers, women and men, left for Versailles “allegedly with the design of . . . asking the king, whom they intended to bring back to Paris, as well as the National Assembly, for bread and for closure on the Constitution.”⁹

The women set off on the fourteen kilometer march to Versailles in a driving rain, armed with pikes, clubs, knives, swords, muskets, and other weapons; dragging cannon; led by one of the conquerors of the Bastille, and followed hours later by somewhere between eighteen and twenty-four thousand civilians in arms, and twenty thousand guardsmen with their Commander-General, Lafayette.

At Versailles, one detachment of this women’s armed force, backed by men with heavy artillery, including cannon, headed toward the chateau. There, the women threatened to open fire on royal troops; they insulted the king, and made scathing references to his failure to sign the Declaration of Rights; they demanded an interview. After a delegation of women was received and brought the king’s verbal promises of wheat supplies for Paris, the women waiting at the gate demanded the king’s commitment in writing—a clear indication that, for them, the image of the king as protector and provider was dissolving into the picture of an unreliable executive agent whose authority was limited at best, and who must be pinned down to signed contractual agreements.¹⁰

A second prong of marchers took over the national legislature, demanded a guaranteed supply of affordable bread, passed mock legislation, and also pressed the deputies into issuing decrees on subsistence. The following day, the marchers invaded the chateau; tens of thousands, women and men, military and civilians—many of them armed—crowded into the palace courtyard and forced the king to return with them to Paris, a captive monarch (see Figure 5.1). Eyewitness accounts and visual documentation of the procession depict women seated astride cannon—the world turned upside down, a *tableau vivant* of feminine empowerment; women marching with swords in hand, women waving the branches of trees, women threatening the captured royal bodyguards and fraternizing with the National Guardsmen who carried loaves of bread on the tips of their pikes; women shouting and chanting as they marched: “Courage my friends, we won’t lack bread any longer, we are bringing you the baker, the baker’s wife, and the baker’s boy”¹¹—dramatic demonstrations of the crowd’s demotion of the king from sacrosanct absolute authority, a patriarchal provider and protector, to a mere provisioner, a fundamentally untrustworthy baker who, like other suspected hoarders and profiteers, must be subjected to continual popular surveillance, backed by armed force.¹²

We narrow our focus to one episode of the October days, the women’s invasion of the National Assembly on the evening of the fifth. Initially, only a deputation was admitted to the bar; shortly afterward, crowds of women rushed in; some were armed with hunting knives or half-swords that hung from their skirts.¹³ They took over the hall of the legislature, milled about the floor, filled all the galleries, interrupted debate, pressured and intimidated the deputies, and demanded that they discuss subsistence problems in Paris.¹⁴ One journalist reported that two or three thousand women voted with the deputies on motions and amendments relating to legislation on the circulation and distribution of grains. “Thus, on this incomparable day, they exercised the functions of legislative and executive powers.”¹⁵

Observers noted the carnivalesque behavior of the “legislators” of the night of October 5: like role reversals—sitting in the president’s chair, voting on motions; impromptu farce—shouting, singing, declaiming; and personifications of the objects of their ridicule—chiding the deputy Mounier for his support of *Monsieur le Vêto, ce vilain veto*.¹⁶ However, on this rainy Monday, which clearly was not a carnival day, and in the middle of the National Assembly, this burlesque behavior merged into revolutionary dramaturgy—the marchers’ collective exploitation of a subsistence crisis inextricably bound up with a crisis of political legitimacy, a crisis over the locus of sovereign authority in the new political order.

“Do what you are asked,” an insurgent ordered a deputy who had referred the Parisians back to their city government for decrees relating to price ceilings on meat and bread: “don’t fancy we are children you can play with; we have our arms raised.” Later, a group of women seized this deputy by the coat when he tried to leave the meeting hall. He repeated that the Assembly did not have the authority to grant their demands; at precisely that moment, a woman was occupying the president’s chair.¹⁷ Such role reversals can be read as the

women’s symbolic seizure of power from deputies whom they perceived to be either incapable of representing them, or unwilling to do so.

The women who marched to Versailles from their neighborhood bases in the districts and faubourgs of Paris did not formally state concepts of revolutionary sovereignty, entailing the people’s right to express and impose its will through collective applications of armed force. Rather, in deeds, they shattered the traditional authority and sovereignty of absolute kingship. They demonstrated how the people itself functioned as sovereign legislator. They enacted what the deputies and the radical publicists were calling popular sovereignty. They placed an armed force behind these acts. They forged links between the traditional priorities and values of their communities—especially guaranteed subsistence and the expectation of paternal benevolence from the king—and the revolutionary nation—its emblems, symbols, military force, and nascent ideology. In the context of revolutionary developments between the spring and fall of 1789, these acts mark a transitional moment in the transformation of subjects into a militant citizenry identifying itself as the sovereign nation.

For the *menu peuple* of Paris, especially for women, militant citizenship would continue to mean at least a politics of intimidation, unrelenting surveillance and control, practiced sometimes through legal means (like petitioning or forming delegations within popular societies), but also in insurrection. The power of insurrection is necessarily episodic and ephemeral, but it also is real. Perhaps most important, from the beginning of the revolution, radical publicists and polemicists appropriated and reworked this traditional popular politics of subsistence and surveillance, with its underlying assumption that the application of force is justified where it enforces the collective moral will of the community. They recast it in a Rousseauian language, legitimating insurrection as the arm of the sovereign nation, the most authentic embodiment and expression of the general will. In calculating the power of that general will, the revolutionary leadership continued, reluctantly, episodically, to include women; and women persisted in including themselves.

Some contemporaries who lived through the October days gave accounts of the events that carried radical, even feminist messages. One middle-class woman, a writer for the *Étrennes nationales des Dames*, cited women’s courage and enterprise during the *journées d’octobre* to support her case for women’s complete liberation from a state of “inferiority” and “slavery” to men.¹⁸ The author of a provocative brochure, *Requête des dames à l’Assemblée nationale*, appealed both to universal rights embodied in the Declaration of August 1789 and to the example of women’s militancy, their “martial courage” during the insurrectionary events of the summer and fall of 1789, to support demands for absolutely equal rights and an equal share of power for women as legislators, magistrates, ecclesiastic officers, and military officers.¹⁹ Under the old regime, such texts might have been passed off as deprecatory parody; in the context of the great hopes of 1789, the message could be read as ambiguous, at least, and positively radical, at most. In both documents, strong links were forged between women’s militancy on October 5 and 6 and remarkably broad demands for the political and military status and rights of female citizenship.

The meanings and impacts of women's militant citizenship emerge most clearly during the critically important period of revolutionary radicalization between the bloody repression of petitioners by National Guardsmen on the Champ de Mars in July 1791 and the legal exclusion of women from organized political activity in October 1793.

During these two years, women publicists, petitioners, demonstrators, and insurrectionaries claimed rights of militant citizenship and enacted them. When it suited their purposes, male revolutionary leaders enlisted or co-opted women for demonstrations of popular power. At the same time, they struggled to rein in behavior that threatened to blur definitions of appropriate gender roles. They invoked a political lexicon—nature, virtue, civic virtue—derived largely from Rousseauian and classical philosophy and gendered to define public and political roles for male citizens and exclusively domestic roles for women. As we noted at the outset, a body of recent scholarship interprets revolutionary political opportunities and outcomes for women as largely predetermined by this gendered political discourse and by the male-dominated hegemonies it supported and reflected. Our documentation of women's involvement in ceremonial, institutional, and insurrectionary politics suggests the need for a more complexly nuanced reading than these cultural determinisms encourage. Our interpretation of women's practice of militant citizenship cautions against reading back into the ever-shifting ideological constellations and power struggles in which women were caught up between 1789 and 1793 a repressive linguistic-political-military hegemony that the Jacobins established only in the fall of 1793, and even then, only incompletely.

The period between the autumn of 1791 and the overthrow of the monarchy on August 10, 1792, saw the radicalization of politics in Paris, that is, the accelerated mobilization of the "passive citizenry" in the sections and faubourgs and the intensification of constitutional crises pitting the king against the legislature and both against the organized masses. Radicalization accelerated a temporary but critically important empowerment of women and that power in turn contributed to the paralysis of repressive armed force and the triumph of republicanism.²⁰

On July 17, 1791, less than a month after the king's aborted attempt to flee France, National Guardsmen under the command of Lafayette fired on a crowd of thousands of men and women with their families, principally "passive" citizens who had gathered on the Champ de Mars in Paris to sign a petition asking for a national referendum on the future of the monarchy. The massacre of some fifty petitioners led not only to a general repression of pro-republican individuals and organizations but also to calls on the left for revenge and eventually to a reconstruction of the broken alliance between the people and the armed forces, particularly the National Guard.

Radical journalists reacted to the massacre with expressions of horror and sympathy for the victims that were calculated to provoke a powerful political response. Jean-Paul Marat, in his *Ami du peuple*, described the events on the Champ de Mars as a slaughter of innocents, a massacre of helpless victims, "poor old men, pregnant women, with infants at their breast."²¹ "The blood of

old men, women, children, massacred around the altar of the *patrie*, is still warm, it cries out for vengeance."²² This radical rhetoric became part of a political campaign developed by members of the Jacobin Club and other radicals to reunify a fragmented National Guard, rally the populace behind the Guard and other segments of the armed forces, and thereby reconsolidate the shattered alliance between the military and the people.

The campaign began toward the end of 1791 with plans to rehabilitate forty soldiers from the Swiss regiment of Châteaueux who had been condemned to the galleys off Brest as punishment for a rebellion against their commanding officer and then amnestied by the Legislative Assembly in December. In the spring of 1792, these soldiers were honored as revolutionary heroes in armed processions and fêtes organized to celebrate their release. Women played principal roles in these dramatic demonstrations of liberty, unity, and strength.

On April 9, 1792, women, children, and men from the sections and faubourgs of Paris—a "passive" citizenry—accompanied by battalions of National Guardsmen, participated in an armed march through the national legislature to escort and honor the forty soldiers from the Châteaueux regiment. These marchers, bearing arms and displaying a liberty cap on a pike and other revolutionary emblems and symbols, were arranged to give the appearance of a united family, which was at the same time a reunited militant citizenry, ready and able to resist oppression. The effect of the whole was to replace the publicists' calculated, provocative characterization of the people as *victim* with a moving picture of the people as *the nation in arms*. This demonstration suspended and, momentarily at least, superseded all other business. As they took over the Assembly, filling it with their shouts, their drumbeat to martial rhythms, their symbols, their weaponry, and the strength of their numbers, the marchers practiced popular sovereignty as a direct unmediated intervention in the legislative process.²³ Their acts forged links between popular sovereignty and militant citizenship which accelerated the consolidation of a section-based, democratically controlled armed force—a critically important phase of revolutionary radicalization.

On the fifteenth, in a Festival of Liberty organized by commissioners from the Jacobin Club and paid for by the Paris municipal government, the sections celebrated the liberation of the Châteaueux soldiers. Observers noted that the breach between the National Guard and the people, which had been opened in July 1791 when the Guard fired on the Champ de Mars petitioners, was closed by the formation of the 1792 march, in which citizens and *citoyennes* were interspersed among the Guardsmen. ". . . the field of the massacre has become the field of fraternity and the scaffold of patriots has been renamed the altar of the *patrie*."²⁴ The helpless victims depicted by Marat nine months earlier were avenged here by a mighty populace embodying the nation, with the National Guard as its army.

Citoyennes were central to the organizers' work of reclaiming the National Guard for the people; observers noted their placement in the line of march and their prominent roles in symbolic representations of liberty.²⁵ A published plan described the first group of marchers as "citizens and *citoyennes* marching eight in a row; in their midst the Declaration of the Rights of Man will be carried."²⁶

In these two ceremonies, women bearing arms as they marched with the national armed forces, but also carrying their children (April 9), or unarmed, dressed in white, and marching arm-in-arm with national guardsmen and Châteaueux soldiers (April 15) created a picture of the sovereign people as a national family whose rights and liberty were linked inextricably to its armed force and whose strength was further augmented by the ceremonial transformations of rebel soldiers into victims of tyranny, champions of liberty, the people's kin, their protectors and defenders, their comrades in arms.

Clearly, revolutionary leaders responsible for the events deliberately programmed or included women in roles as pike-bearing *citoyennes*, patriot mothers, daughters, and wives. However, in so doing, and with or without full awareness of the subversive implications, they transposed the family into the political arena and imparted new symbolic and political significance and legitimacy to women as political actors, family members in arms, emblems of civic virtue, national unity, and sovereign power. Women armed with pikes, carrying "tricolor flags and other emblems of liberty," and marching through the Legislative Assembly, or parading arm in arm with the national armed forces, obliterated the gendered divide between the private virtue of women and the civic virtue of men. At least in ceremony, these women and men empowered a "powerless" and "passive" citizenry, publicly dramatized their militant citizenship—their sovereignty. These acts were symbolically charged. No matter how the organizers might struggle to control and direct them, they retained their subversive potential to blur or invert gender roles and beyond that, to link women's political identities as militant citizens to the life and fate of the sovereign nation.

Not all women who participated in these ceremonies were content to limit themselves to enacting roles officially prescribed for them as militant *citoyennes*. On March 6, 1792, Pauline Léon, an outspoken revolutionary activist, led a deputation of women to the Legislative Assembly and presented a petition with more than three hundred signatures demanding women's right to bear arms. Léon claimed for women the universal natural rights to self-protection and resistance to oppression guaranteed in the Declaration of Rights of 1789. "We want only to defend ourselves as you do," she told the legislators. "You cannot refuse, and society cannot deny, the right nature gives us, unless you pretend that the Declaration of Rights does not apply to women and that they should let their throats be cut, without the right to defend themselves." Léon also claimed for women the political and moral attributes of revolutionary citizenship, including civic virtue, and she based that claim partly on the evidence of recent revolutionary history. She represented the women's march to Versailles and their return with a king in tow as an event that fixed women's political identity, not least of all in the minds of the enemy. "For can you believe the tyrants would spare us? No! No!—they remember October fifth and sixth"—all the more reason to provide women with the means of self-defense. "We are *citoyennes*," Léon proclaimed; women's citizenship, their capacity for practicing civic virtue, now made it impossible for them to remain "indifferent to the fate of the *patrie*."

On behalf of the petitioners, Léon asked permission for women to arm themselves with pikes, pistols, sabres, and rifles; to assemble periodically on the Champ de la Fédération, or in other places; and to drill under the command of the former French Guards.²⁷

The response of the Legislative Assembly was ambiguous. The president invited the delegation to attend the session. One deputy voiced his concern that if the petition were honored, "the order of nature would be inverted." The delicate hands of women "were not made for manipulating iron or brandishing homicidal pikes." As serious motions crossed with parody—the petition should be sent to the Military Committee, no! to the Committee of Liquidation!—the Assembly decreed a printing of the petition and honorable mention in its *procès-verbal* and promptly passed to the order of the day.²⁸

One conservative journalist, Montjoie, was uneasy about the inconclusiveness of the Assembly's action and the precedents it might establish: "Perhaps in interpreting this decree, women will arm themselves nonetheless"; to avoid a dangerous confusion, he observed, the Assembly ought to have declared that there was no cause to deliberate on the matter in the first place.²⁹

Pauline Léon's address is a remarkably bold attempt to capture the discourse on militant citizenship and redefine and expand its parameters to include the military and political rights and responsibilities of women. Immediately, that discourse was challenged with a counter-definition of feminine nature in terms of women's fateful difference, an innate weakness and incapacity that made it unnecessary, and more, impossible, for revolutionary leaders to recognize their claims to universal rights of self-defense and a share of civic responsibility. The delicate hands of women "were not made for manipulating iron or brandishing homicidal pikes." The remark would seem to reflect a vision of a political culture structured by clear gender divides and narrowly defined roles for women. However, what is most telling is the Assembly's indecisiveness at this juncture, and more generally, the unwillingness of leaders either to sanction officially or deny categorically the claims of women to the right to bear arms, a right of militant citizenship. In the interstices that opened up in the midst of confusion and public debate over how to encourage the political, indeed, military mobilization of women without provoking their emergence as autonomous political actors, women persisted in discourses and deeds of militancy that proved progressively more unsettling and threatening to male revolutionaries.

Women's repeated demands for the right to bear arms through the spring and summer of 1792 strongly suggest that at a critical juncture in the revolution, as the nation mobilized for war, an emerging concept and practice of female citizenship was dissolving distinctions between active/passive citizens, male/female citizens, and public/private roles—without however, provoking the legal and constitutional revisions that would fix and guarantee their real, if precarious, *de facto* political standing. Arguments for women's natural and constitutional rights of self-defense buttressed the claim that political-moral imperatives, their civic virtue, an aspect of their identity, impelled them to protect and defend the *patrie*. In at least one image dating from this period, an anonymous engraving (see Figure 5.2), the artist inscribes the emblem and acts



Figure 5.2 Anonymous engraving, probably issued during the summer of 1792. The engraving bears the caption “French women [who] have become free,” and depicts a woman who boldly faces the viewer, conspicuously displaying on her hat the tricolor cockade, symbol of French liberty. She bears a pike inscribed with the motto: Liberty or Death. A medal attached by a tricolor band to her waist, is inscribed with the motto: “Libertas Hastata Victrix! 14 Juillet” (“Liberty [when she is] armed with her pike [is] victorious!” 14 July.). Contemporaries may have associated this figure either with Pauline Leon who had publicly expressed her determination to fight, pike in hand, during the *journée* of August 10, or with her equally militant friend, Claire Lacombe, whom the fédérés decorated with a tricolor sash for her role during this *journée*. Source: Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des estampes, B 1503.

of Liberty onto the costume of his female subject; imprints her weapon with the watchword of a militant, virtuous citizenry: “Liberté ou La Mort”; and by means of the title “Françaises devenues Libres” links female militancy to women’s revolutionary emancipation. In the light of these radical formulations, the women, armed and unarmed, who marched on April 9 and 15, not only symbolized a united national family in arms; they also dramatized principles of women’s militant citizenship. This massive mobilization of a “passive” citizenry, strengthened by myths of a united and mighty national family, inverted Marat’s images of families martyred on the Champ de Mars and contributed to consolidating the popular force that brought down the monarchy.

Women enacted principles of militant citizenship once again on June 20, 1792, two months after the declaration of war against Austria and during a constitutional crisis, which erupted when the king dismissed his Girondin ministry and vetoed decrees that radical deputies considered vital for the safety of the nation.

During the *journée* of June 20, impressive numbers of armed women marched in a procession involving tens of thousands of people, most of them from the working class faubourgs of Saint-Antoine and Saint-Marcel (see Figure 5.3). This armed force passed through the halls of the Legislative Assembly, into the Tuileries Gardens, and then through the king’s residence in the Tuileries palace, symbolically reclaiming and reconsecrating these spaces for the work of executing what their spokesmen were calling the general will of the sovereign people.

In earlier work, we closely documented women’s involvement in the insurrectionary dramaturgy of this *journée*.³⁰ Here, we limit ourselves to brief comments on the failure of authorities to repress a frontal challenge to executive and legislative powers, which presaged and prepared the collapse of the constitutional monarchy and the proclamation of a republic. Our documentation suggests that the massive involvement of women in some measure was responsible for the paralysis on the twentieth of authorities of all sympathies who had been charged with controlling or preventing insurrections.³¹ Their hesitation, and in the end, their failure to fire on crowds filled with armed women and children, especially after events on the Champ de Mars in July 1791 and the campaign by radicals to represent those events as a massacre of innocent families, fueled the myth that the sovereign people was irrepressible and gave further impetus to radicalization. During a summer of intense political power struggles, the insurrectionary involvement of women in arms made a historically significant difference for the outcome of events.

Furthermore, the enlistment of women by revolutionary leaders, coinciding with women’s escalating claims to the rights of militant, democratic citizenship, especially the right to bear arms, tended at least at that juncture, to blur and even subvert classical and Rousseauian models of appropriate gender roles and to superimpose a language of women’s rights and responsibilities upon the *langage mâle de la vertu*, enlarging fields of political discourse and multiplying available repertoires of political-military action.

Eventually, a victorious republican leadership encoded legal and constitu-



Figure 5.3 Anonymous, "Celebrated Journée of 20 June 1792." Engraving from *Révolutions de Paris* (Vol. 12, No. 154, 6–23 June 1792). The accompanying caption reads: "Reunion of Citizens from the Faubourgs St. Antoine and St. Marceau en route to the National Assembly to present a petition, followed by another [petition] to the king." Women armed with swords and pikes are shown marching with their families and neighbors in arms and accompanied by National Guardsmen.

tional definitions of citizenship that democratized and "universalized" political rights of citizenship for men—access to political office, the suffrage, the right to bear arms in the National Guard and other armed forces—while underscoring women's political "passivity" and further validating the gendered models of nature, citizenship, and virtue that rationalized it. In 1792 and for more than another year, these exclusive definitions coexisted with behaviors that occasionally all but cancelled them out; in any case, this discourse did not have a decisive impact on women's escalating militancy.

The militant citizenship we have traced through women's acts and words in revolutionary Paris between 1789 and 1792 was institutionalized most fully and practiced in its most radical form in the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, a political club exclusively for women. The society was founded by Pauline Léon and Claire Lacombe in May 1793, at a time when the nation was wracked by internal war, international war, economic dislocation and crisis, and intense factional division between Jacobin and Girondin deputies and other rival

political groups. No complete memberships lists survive, but several members of the society whom we have been able to identify were socially marginal, actresses and workers in the luxury trades, for example, rather than market women.

On May 12, two days after registering with the Municipality of Paris, several members of the new society appeared at the Jacobin Club where they stated that their principal intention was to form an armed body of women to combat "internal enemies." "We have resolved to guard the interior while our brothers guard the frontiers."³² The women embedded in this language a determination to expand the scope of their activities beyond the domestic sphere of their homes to embrace "the interior" of the nation, its welfare and its safety.

Principles of militant citizenship were encoded in the society's printed regulations of July 9, 1793. The preface stated that the recognition of "one's social duties" was the necessary condition for "fulfill[ing] one's domestic duties adequately"; and that the society had been formed to provide *citoyennes* with every opportunity to master and practice their civic responsibilities. Article I read: "The Society's purpose is to be armed to rush to the defense of the patrie: *citoyennes* are free nonetheless to arm themselves or not." And Article XV stipulated that all "newly received *citoyennes*" swear an oath to defend the *patrie*: "I swear to live for the Republic or die for it."³³ The society's regulations emphatically formulated the members' rights and responsibilities as citizens of a republic. Women's right to bear arms and their civic responsibility "to live for the Republic or to die for it" were inextricably linked in this understanding of militant citizenship and placed at the center of women's political self-definition. This recasting of political identities carried the Revolutionary Republican Women far beyond certain earlier revolutionary behaviors (for example, marching and petitioning—acts that, although transformed by revolutionary circumstances and ideology, nonetheless may have been more readily tolerated by revolutionary leaders because they replayed roles deeply rooted in the popular culture of the ancien régime). By the summer of 1793, the Revolutionary Republican Women were laying full claim to wartime rights and responsibilities of citizenship; in fact, they proclaimed that the performance of a patriotic duty was a precondition for fulfilling one's domestic duty as wife and mother.

In the aftermath of the insurrection of May 31 to June 2, 1793, (the ouster of Girondin moderates from the National Convention, which the *républicaines révolutionnaires* had done so much to engineer),³⁴ Jacobin leaders as well as sans-culotte section officials lauded the members of the society—for the proofs they had given of "the purest civic mindedness"; for their propagation of good principles," which had contributed to "the holy insurrection of the thirty-first of May and the second of June"; for their powers of patriotic persuasion and their effectiveness as keepers of law and order and agents of an unremitting surveillance.³⁵ At this point, it was not the Jacobins, but Girondin leaders, the deputy and journalist A.-J. Gorsas, for example, who experienced the armed militancy of the society as an overwhelming threat: "Some women meet, undoubtedly excited by the furies; they are armed with pistols and daggers; they make public declarations and rush to all the public places of the city, bearing before them the

standard of license. . . . These drunken bacchanalians . . . what do they want? What do they demand? They want to 'put an end to it'; they want to purge the Convention, to make heads roll, and to get themselves drunk with blood."³⁶

By the end of the summer, another tone and a real ambivalence toward militant women permeated Jacobin speech. At the Festival of Reunion on August 10, marking the first anniversary of the downfall of the monarchy, Jacobin organizers acknowledged, celebrated, but also conspicuously reworked and defused the revolutionary antecedents of women's militant citizenship under the republic. In this *fête*, imagery, dramaturgy, and discourse functioned to integrate militant women into the united ranks of the sovereign. At the same time, the organizers subsumed, if they did not quite bury, women's militant acts under a rigid conceptualization of appropriate gender roles in a republic.

At the second of five stages in the procession, Hérault de Séchelles, President of the National Convention, addressed a group of women selected to represent the "heroines of the fifth and sixth of October 1789." As programmed by Jacques-Louis David, the architect of this *fête*, these "heroines" were seated on their cannons, under a commemorative triumphal arch, which bore the inscription "they chased the tyrant before them, like a vile prey." The orator began by mythologizing an historical event, the march to Versailles and the women's return with a captive king. "*Quel spectacle! La faiblesse du sexe et l'héroïsme du courage.*" He attributed to the miraculous interventions of an abstract "Liberty" the deeds of seven thousand women backed by thousands of National Guardsmen and armed civilians. Liberty had ignited "in the heart of several women this courage which caused the satellites of tyrants to flee or fall before them." Making use of the "delicate hands" of women, Liberty had caused the cannons to roll—these "mouths of fire" whose "thunder" forced the king to capitulate to the people. Only after this rhetorical reconstruction, complete with a *dea ex machina*, "Liberty," were the "heroines of October" authorized to "reunited themselves with the sovereign"—but not before having been instructed by Hérault to play their true part in an ongoing revolutionary drama, the people's conquest of tyrants. They should confine themselves to giving birth to "a people of heroes" and nourishing them with breast milk to develop their martial virtue.³⁷

In the late summer and fall of 1793, in alliance with the *enragés*, a group of radical democrats, the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women began calling for systematic terror against hoarders and aristocrats, maximum prices for subsistence commodities, and related legislation—what Albert Soboul called a "popular program of public safety."³⁸ The *républicaines révolutionnaires* moved among political institutions at all levels—popular societies, section assemblies, the Cordeliers Club, the Jacobin Club, the city government, the National Convention—practicing a politics of confrontation, intimidation, and abuse, which Jacobin leaders experienced as an intolerable political, social, psychological, and physical threat to the new revolutionary republican order.

The final defeat of the society was provoked in September and October by clashes between Society women and hostile market women over women's obligation to wear the tricolor cockade and the liberty cap—emblems of repub-

lican citizenship. On 8 Brumaire, the market women brought the dispute before the National Convention. They were concerned, for one thing, about the society's policing of markets to enforce price ceilings on foodstuffs; the surveillance was destroying their trade. But they had a more basic concern. They demanded a decree abolishing the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women. Their spokeswoman, referring directly to a point made in their petition, stated that a woman had caused the misfortunes of France and had just atoned for her heinous crimes. The market women's thinly veiled reference to Marie-Antoinette linked a treasonous queen to a treacherously radical women's political club and hinted at the appropriateness of an identical fate for both. The deputies, after further discussion, decided to postpone a vote on the future of the society until after they had heard the report of an investigation conducted by the Committee of General Security. The market women, however, would brook no delay. Their spokeswomen returned to the bar to demand once again the abolition of all "*sociétés particulières de femmes.*"³⁹

The Jacobins, now firmly in control of the National Convention, seized the opportunity created by this clash between market women, concerned for the stability of their trade, and the Revolutionary Republican Women, determined to escalate surveillance and enforce the terror. Taking up the attack on the society, the Jacobin deputy Fabre d'Eglantine focused attention on links between society members' early demands for the right to wear cockades, their recent demands for the right to wear the liberty cap, and their predictable escalation of demands to display emblems of citizenship into calls for laws authorizing them to wear military accoutrements: ". . . soon they will demand belts, complete with pistols . . ."; soon you would see armed women marching in military formation to get bread "the way one marches to the trenches." Fabre found this image so intolerably explosive that he had to defuse it with the unintentionally revealing observation that men probably were behind women's demands for arms; *men* would use the arms in which women decked themselves out; women did not even know how to fire them! Fabre proceeded to instate models of public and private spheres and rigidly defined gender roles directly at the center of the Jacobin vision of the revolutionary order—a vision that finally had become perfectly clear. Fabre characterized members of women's societies as "species of adventurous women, errant cavaliers, emancipated girls, female grenadiers." He distinguished them from mothers of families, young girls at home, sisters caring for younger siblings. He relegated militant *ciotennes*—precisely the *républicaines révolutionnaires* whose acts the Jacobins had just recently validated and exploited—to the rank of aberrant political, moral, and sexual beings.⁴⁰

The following day, 9 Brumaire, André Amar, speaking for the Committee of General Security of the Convention, reported on his committee's investigation of the market brawls. He also raised two more general questions: "(1) Can women exercise political rights and take an active part in the affairs of government? (2) Can they deliberate together in political associations or popular societies?" Amar's answers were negative in both cases.

Women lacked the requisite moral qualities and physical strength to partici-

pate in politics—that is, to govern, debate, legislate in the public interest, and resist oppression. Nor could there be any question of women's meeting in political associations, like clubs, the purpose of which was to unveil enemy maneuvers, to exercise surveillance over authorities, to provide examples of republican virtue, and to enlighten through "in-depth discussion." Women were "destined by their very nature," in all its expressions—biological, psychological, intellectual, moral—to engage in "private functions" (like caring for their households, supervising their children's education, counseling their husbands). "Each sex," Amar explained, "is called to the kind of occupation which is fitting for it; its action is circumscribed within this circle which it cannot break through because nature, which has imposed these limits on mankind, commands imperiously and receives no law." In a detailed comparison of the two sexes, Amar depicted the strength, energy, audacity, robust constitution, and courage of man, and above all, his aptitude for "profound and serious thinking which calls for great intellectual effort and long studies." In contrast, he brought into relief "women's softness and moderation." And he exposed their overall fragility. "Women are disposed by their constitution to an over-excitation which would be deadly in public affairs"; women "are ill-suited for elevated thoughts and serious meditations."

On the basis of Amar's report, the Convention decreed the prohibition of clubs and popular societies of women. This proscription was followed on 27 Brumaire by legislation prohibiting deputations of women to the Paris Commune.⁴¹

The Jacobin repression of 9 Brumaire is an extreme political response to the militant citizenship that women had been practicing since 1789. The Jacobins rationalized this repression with a full-blown gendered interpretation of nature and its laws that read women out of the polity: women's "nature" and revolutionary citizenship were defined as mutually exclusive. Strength, reason, endurance, and an aptitude for civic virtue—the qualities of man's nature, prepared him for citizenship. Timidity, modesty, weakness, susceptibility to over-excitation, ineptitude for elevated thoughts and serious meditations, determined women's natural incapacity for political life.

The repression of October 1793 is overdetermined. Here we expose three strands of thinking that fed into it. First, the Jacobins, compelled to rein in a popular, grass-roots regulationist *économie politique* as they struggled to mediate among conflicting economic interests in a period of an international war, had come to perceive the *républicaines révolutionnaires* as absolutely ungovernable—Fabre's "adventurous women, errant cavaliers, emancipated girls, female grenadiers"—ungovernable perhaps in part because their organized and relentless practice of a politics of subsistence and surveillance, unlike the politics of sans-culotte men, could not be regulated through the usual mechanisms of political coercions, co-optations, and controls. Women were not part of the political system—they did not hold office, they did not vote, they did not sit in assemblies or on committees. Second, the Jacobin leadership perceived the society's institutionalized practice of militant citizenship as threatening to the stability of the family, and above all, to the formative roles

within the family of mothers—producers and reproducers of values and virtues capable of softening and moderating the necessarily hard, cold, and inflexible civic virtue of male citizens.⁴² Third, women exercising politico-military powers and grounding their claims to these powers in declarations of natural rights were women who, in point of fact, had broken through both classical and Rousseauian definitions of femininity as weakness, lack, and incapacity. In the most fundamental sense, the threat the *républicaines révolutionnaires* posed to the Jacobins may have been a threat of castration or impotence—hence the fixation of Fabre d'Eglantine on women with pistols; and hence the obsession of the Jacobin deputy Chaumette with getting male and female physiology absolutely straight once and for all. Chaumette's sorting out of anatomies and political destinies in the body politic took place at a meeting of the Paris Commune on 27 Brumaire Year II at which a deputation of women wearing red caps of liberty—presumably the prohibited *républicaines révolutionnaires*—made an appearance. "It is horrible, it is contrary to all the laws of nature for a woman to want to make herself a man . . . Well! since when is it permitted to give up one's sex? . . . Is it to men that nature confided domestic cares? Has she given us breasts to breast-feed our children?" [A crying question remained unasked by the speaker: Has nature given women penises?] "No," Chaumette exclaimed, "she has said to man: Be a man: hunting, farming, political concerns, . . . that is your appanage. She has said to woman: Be a woman. The tender cares owing to infancy . . . the sweet anxieties of maternity, these are your labors . . ."⁴³

Most interpretations of women's citizenship in revolutionary Paris have centered on the historical significance of the repression of the fall of 1793. As the Jacobins wrested political power from their antagonists and tightened their control over revolutionary discourse, they also consolidated a republican regime based upon deeply gendered definitions of revolutionary principles like civic virtue, liberty, equality, and citizenship. These definitions were perpetuated in the patriarchal institutions, laws, and language of later regimes.

However, we also see that in a relatively fluid and malleable situation between 1789 and 1793, even where gendered definitions of citizenship were encoded in constitutional law and in cultural representations, women nonetheless practiced militant citizenship as they integrated themselves into the political nation, participated in grass-roots democratic institutions, marched armed in ceremonies as members of a united military force, a national family in arms, led or participated in revolutionary *journées*, and in the case of the Society of Revolutionary Republican Women, policed markets, mobilized support among radicals within section organizations, and exercised surveillance over the National Convention. Through all these activities, they identified themselves as members of the sovereign body politic—*citoyennes* notwithstanding their exclusion from codified political rights of citizenship. In strident discourse, spokeswomen like Pauline Léon self-consciously linked women's practices of militant citizenship to principles. As they demanded the right to bear arms, they invoked universal laws of human nature (like the capacity for rational

thought) and universal rights of nature codified in the Declaration of the Rights of Man (the right of self-preservation and self-defense, the right to resist oppression). They also insisted on women's innate capacity for acting on moral/political imperatives—for practicing civic virtue—and, in short, for assuming precisely the full responsibilities and the rights of citizenship that the Jacobins were recasting as “universal” political prerogatives—of male citizens exclusively. During this period, gender roles became one focus of political power struggles, including struggles for control of the revolutionary vocabulary, with its definitions of virtue, vice, and the parameters of citizenship. As part of that struggle, women repeatedly challenged, eluded, or subverted cultural constructs that dictated rigidly defined gender roles and limits (including those based on a presumption of women's innate or socially determined incapacity for assuming political identities). In discourse and act, they forced real, if short-lived and incomplete, transformations and expansions of the meaning and practice of citizenship and sovereignty.

Notes

1. See, for example, Harriet B. Applewhite, Darline G. Levy, eds., *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Ann Arbor, 1990); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York, 1988), 46–50.
2. Dominique Godineau, *Citoyennes tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française* (Aix-en-Provence, 1988), 352.
3. Dorinda Outram, “Le langage mâle de la vertu: Women and the Discourse of the French Revolution,” in Peter Burke, Roy Porter, eds., *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge, Eng., 1987), 120–35.
4. For one analysis in this vein, see Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, 1988), esp. chap. 5.
5. For our earlier documentation and interpretation of women's political participation in revolutionary Paris, see Darline Gay Levy, Harriet Branson Applewhite, Mary Durham Johnson, eds., *Women in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1795* (Urbana, Chicago, London, 1979, 1980); Levy and Applewhite, “Women and Politics in Revolutionary Paris,” in Renata Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz, Susan Stuard, eds., *Becoming Visible. Women in European History*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1986), 278–306; Levy and Applewhite, “Responses to the Political Activism of Women of the People in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1793,” in *Women and the Structure of Society. Selected Research from the Fifth Berkshire Conference on the History of Women*, ed. Barbara Harris JoAnn McNamara (Durham, N.C., 1984); Levy and Applewhite, “Women of the Popular Classes in Revolutionary Paris,” in Carol Berkin, Clara Lovett, eds., *Women, War, and Revolution* (New York: 1980), 9–35; Applewhite and Levy, “Ceremonial Dimensions of Citizenship: Women and Oath-taking in Revolutionary Paris,” in *Proceedings of the Fifth George Rudé Seminar*, Department of History, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, August 26–29, 1986). We are presently preparing an expansion and synthesis of our previous work, tentatively titled *Gender and Citizenship in Revolutionary Paris, 1789–1793* (forthcoming, Duke University Press). For the citation from Olympe de Gouges, *Les Droits de la Femme*, see Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 90.

6. *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 2, no. 70 (October 10, 1789):25.
7. *Révolutions de Paris* 1, no. 13 (October 3–10, 1789):9.
8. *Extraits de la procédure criminelle instruite au Châtelet de Paris sur la Dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789 . . .*, witness no. 81, reproduced in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 2:538.
9. Siméon-Prospér Hardy, “Mes Loisirs,” October 5, 1789, in Bibliothèque nationale, MSS fr., no. 6687, fol. 502. Unquestionably, the idea of returning the king to Paris was in the air. Only a fortnight before the march to Versailles, an individual who had made that very suggestion had been indicted for treason. See J. M. Thompson, *The French Revolution* (New York, 1966), 101.
10. This discussion of the October days is drawn from our unpublished paper, “Gender and the Politicization of Space in Revolutionary Paris: Beyond the Public/Private Dichotomy,” Seventh Berkshire Conference of Women Historians, Wellesley College, June 1987. Testimony by the king's bodyguards concerning confrontations with armed women marchers in front of the chateau at Versailles can be found in Archives Nationales, C.222, 160¹⁵⁷. For instances of testimony on demands for an interview with the king, see letter of M. d'Albignac, lieutenant of the king's bodyguard, January 10, 1790, *ibid*; De Maleden, *Par Qui, comment, et pourquoi les gardes du corps ont été assassinés à Versailles le 5 octobre 1789* (n.p., n.d.), *ibid*. Re the women's demands for written commitments from the king concerning his promises of bread supplies for Paris, see report of M. de Huiller, Lodge Marshall, Scottish Company, n.d., *ibid*; letter from the Colonel de l'Artigue, March 7, 1780, *ibid*.
11. For descriptions of the procession from Versailles to Paris on October 6, see, for example, testimony of Noël-Joseph Madier de Montjau, in “Extraits de la Procédure criminelle,” in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, no. 170:568–69; *Chronique de Paris* no. 45 (October 7, 1789):178; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 13 (October 3–10, 1789), p. 22. For the quote, “Courage my friends, we won't lack bread any longer . . .,” see *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 2, no. 72 (October 12, 1789):44.
12. This interpretation owes much to Steven Kaplan's pioneering study, “The Famine Plot Persuasion in Eighteenth Century France,” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 72, part 3 (Philadelphia, 1982). Kaplan, however, does not argue, as we do here, that the crowd's designation of the king as a baker is indicative in itself of a shattering of popular trust in his ability to function as royal father-provider. See *ibid.*, 66–67.
13. *Journal de Paris*, no. 281 (October 8, 1789).
14. *Journal de Paris*, no. 281 (October 8, 1789). See also Jean-Félix Faydel's testimony in “Extraits de la Procédure criminelle,” in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 2:560 ff.
15. *Révolutions de Versailles et de Paris, Dédiées aux dames françoises*, no. 1 “du samedi 3 octobre au 7” (Paris, 1789), 1.
16. *Journal de Paris*, no. 281 (October 8, 1789). Jean-Joseph Mounier, *Exposé de la conduite de M. Mounier dans l'Assemblée nationale et des motifs de son retour en Dauphiné* (Paris, 1789), 75.
17. Testimony of Jean-Félix Faydel, in *Procédure criminelle, instruite au Châtelet de Paris, sur la Dénonciation des faits arrivés à Versailles dans la journée du 6 octobre 1789* (Paris, 1790), witness no. 148.
18. *Etrennes nationales des Dames*, no. 1 (November 3, 1789), 1.
19. *Requête des dames à l'Assemblée nationale* (n.p., n.d. [end of 1789, following the October days]), in *Les Femmes dans la Révolution française* [ed. Albert Soboul], 2 vols. (Paris, 1982), 1, no. 19.

20. For our detailed analysis of women's participation in ceremonial and insurrectionary politics during the period between July 1791 and August 1792, see Darline G. Levy, Harriet B. Applewhite, "Women, Radicalization and the Fall of the French Monarchy," in Applewhite and Levy, eds., *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution* (Ann Arbor, 1990). See also Levy and Applewhite, "Women and Politics in Revolutionary Paris," *Becoming Visible*, 293-98. We wish to thank the University of Michigan Press and Houghton Mifflin Company for permission to cite and paraphrase material from these chapters.

21. Jean-Paul Marat, *Ami du peuple*, no. 529, Wednesday, August 10, 1791, 1-2.

22. Jean-Paul Marat, *Ami du peuple*, no. 524, July 20, 1791, 2.

23. For a complete description of the armed march of April 9, see Levy and Applewhite, "Women, Radicalization and the Fall of the French Monarchy," in Applewhite and Levy, *Women and Politics in the Age of the Democratic Revolution*. See also *Archives parlementaires*, First Series, vol. 41, April 9, 1792, 387-91.

24. For a general description of the fête of April fifteenth: *Archives parlementaires*, First Series, vol. 42, April 15, 1792, pp. 682-97. See also *Révolutions de Paris*, no. 145, April 14-21, 1792, p. 100. The quote is from this issue of the *Révolution de Paris*. For another account [Mme. Rosalie Jullien], see *Journal d'une bourgeoise pendant la Révolution, 1791-1793*, ed. Edouard Lockroy (Paris, 1881), 65-68.

25. See for example, Mme. Jullien, *Journal d'une bourgeoise pendant la Révolution*, 65.

26. *Courier français*, no. 97, April 6, 1792.

27. *Archives parlementaires*, First Series, vol. 39, March 6, 1792:423-424.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Montjoie, *Ami du Roi*, no. 58, Thursday, March 8, 1792, 270, reporting on a session of the Legislative Assembly on Tuesday evening, March 6, 1792.

30. Levy and Applewhite, "Women, Radicalization, and the Fall of the French Monarchy."

31. For the position of the mayor of Paris, who was sympathetic to the marchers and their leaders, see Jérôme Pétion, "Conduite tenue par M. le maire de Paris à l'occasion des événements du 20 juin," in *Revue retrospective*, 2me série, I, 221-34. For discussion by hostile officials in the Department of Paris, see *Extrait des registres des délibérations du Conseil du Département de Paris, 6 juillet 1792* (Paris, 1792).

32. Cited in Godineau, "Les Femmes des milieux populaires parisiens pendant la Révolution française (1793-Messidor An III)," 3 vols., doctoral dissertation, University of Paris I, 1986), vol. 2, 455. Aulard refers to this deputation in *La Société des Jacobins*, vol. V, 186. In the published version of her dissertation, *Citoyennes tricoteuses*, 395, no. 2, Godineau indicates her source for citations from the Society members' address to the Jacobins as *Journal des débats et de la correspondance des Jacobins*, no. 412.

33. *Règlement de la Société des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires de Paris* (n.p., n.d.), trans. in Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 161-65.

34. For further discussion, see Marie Cerati, *Le Club des citoyennes républicaines révolutionnaires* (Paris, 1966), chap. VII.

35. "Extrait du procès-verbal de l'Assemblée générale des commissaires des autorités constitués du Département et des sections de Paris, tenue en la Salle de l'Evêché, le dimanche 30 juin 1793, l'an seconde de la République française une et indivisible," signed Dupin, secrétaire. This extract appears along with an address by L. P. Duforny, President of the Assemblée générale, on a poster titled *Département de Paris. Les Autorités constitués du Département de Paris & les commissaires des sections, aux*

Républicaines Révolutionnaires (Paris, n.d. [1793]). The document is included in a packet of posters published with *Les Femmes dans la Révolution française* [ed. Albert Soboul].

36. A. J. Gorsas, *Précis rapide des événements qui ont eu lieu à Paris dans les journées des 30 et 31 mai, premier et 2 juin 1793* (n.p., n.d.), trans. in Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 154-55.

37. "Discours prononcé par Héault, Président de la Convention nationale lors de la cérémonie qui a eu lieu pour l'acceptation de la Constitution," in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 17:367. Godineau, "Les femmes des milieux populaires parisiens" 11:517; Jacques-Louis David's report to the National Convention on July 12, 1793, on plans for the fête of August 10, 1793, in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, vol. 17, 119-21, reproduced in Marie-Louise Biver, *Fêtes révolutionnaires à Paris* (Paris, 1979), 183-87.

38. Albert Soboul, *Les Sans-culottes parisiens en l'an II. Mouvement populaire et gouvernement révolutionnaire, 2 juin 1792-thermidor an II* (Paris, 1958), 150.

39. *Archives parlementaires*, Series I, vol. 78 (October 29, 1793), 20, 21; *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur*, vol. 18, 290.

40. Paule Marie Duhet, *Les Femmes et la Révolution, 1789-1794* (Paris, 1971), 149-50. See also *Archives parlementaires*, Series I, vol. 78, 22; *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 18:290.

41. Session of the National Convention, 9 Brumaire Year II, in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 18:298-300, trans. in Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 213-17. Session of the General Council of the Paris Commune, 27 Brumaire Year II, in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 18:450-51, trans. in Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, 219-20.

42. For discussion of this theme, see William H. Sewell, Jr., "Le citoyen/la citoyenne. Activity, Passivity, and the Revolutionary Concept of Citizenship," in Colin Lucas, ed., *The Political Culture of the French Revolution* (Oxford, 1989), 105-23.

43. Session of the General Council of the Paris Commune, 27 Brumaire Year II, in *Réimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur* 18:450-51, trans. in Levy, Applewhite, Johnson, *Women in Revolutionary Paris*, 219-20.