Revista Letras Raras
ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


# From exiled to female exiled: A sexed history of political proscription and beyond English Channel and beyond Atlantic Channel in the Second Empire / *Do exilado à exilada: uma história sexuada da proscrição política além-Mancha e além-Atlântico no Segundo Império*

Sylvie Aprile*
Professor of contemporary history at the University of Lille III.

**Received:** january 27th. 2020. **Approved**: february 12th. 2020.

**How to cite this article:**
APRILE, Sylvie. From exiled to female exiled: A sexed history of political proscription and beyond English Channel and beyond Atlantic Channel in the Second Empire. **Revista Letras Raras**, [S.l.], v. 9, n. 1, mar. 2020. p. Port. 77-93 / Eng. 75-88. ISSN 2317-2347.

ABSTRACT[1]
In the studies of exile and migration, we commonly find discussions that situate the subject of exile, represented by the universal male figure. However, in this article, we aim to demonstrate that, from the beginning of this social phenomenon, women also emigrated, even before exile became collective / family. The figure of immigrant women breaks the stereotype of a female who devotes herself to household tasks and highlights the female mobility (PERROT, 2000). Thus, we situate three categories of female figures, linked to the context of immigration, but which are invisible in their fight: the woman who remains but does not play a passive role; on the contrary, it ensures the financial scope of the family. We also highlight the figure of the woman follower, whose role is to participate in the maintenance of family networks; and finally the figure of the exile itself. The epistolary sources and the reparation dossiers of the law of 1881 authorize a broader analysis of what the judicial sources have so far privileged, namely, the male figure. The three figures we present here allow us to rethink the importance of female migration policies and also the gendered division of tasks, especially in the context of exile.
KEYWORDS: Exile; Exiled; Migration; Proscription; Female mobility.

*RESUMO*
*Nos estudos do exílio e da migração, comumente encontramos discussões que situam o sujeito do exílio, representado pela figura universal masculina. Contudo, neste artigo, temos como objetivo demonstrar que, desde o princípio desse fenômeno social, as mulheres também emigravam, mesmo antes que o exílio passasse a ser coletivo/familiar. A figura das mulheres imigrantes quebra o estereótipo de um feminino que se dedica aos afazeres domésticos e evidencia a mobilidade feminina (PERROT, 2000). Assim, situamos três categorias de figuras femininas, atreladas ao contexto da imigração, mas que são invisibilizadas em seu combate: a mulher que fica, mas que não desempenha um papel passivo; ao contrário disso, ela assegura o âmbito financeiro da família.*

* sylvie.aprile@gmail.com

[1] « *De l'exilé à l'exilée : une histoire sexuée de la proscription politique Outre-Mache et Outre-Atlantique sous le second empire.* » Translated from Portuguese by José Ribamar Carolino and reviewed by Mathilde Lendresse. Published for the first time in the Journal *Le Mouvement social*, n° 4, 2008, p. 27-38. In: https://www.cairn.info/revue-le-mouvement-social-2008-4-page-27.htm.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


*Destacamos, também, a figura da mulher seguidora, cujo papel é o de participar da manutenção das redes familiares; e, por fim, a figura da exilada propriamente dita. As fontes epistolares e os dossiês de reparação da lei de 1881 autorizam uma análise mais ampla sobre o que as fontes judiciárias privilegiaram até aqui, a saber, a figura masculina. As três figuras que aqui situamos nos permitem repensar sobre a importância das políticas da migração feminina e, também, sobre a divisão sexuada das tarefas, especialmente no âmbito do exílio.*
*PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Exílio; Exilada; Migração; Proscrição; Mobilidade feminina.*

## 1. Introduction

The great French figure of exile in the nineteenth century is a woman: Germaine de Staël, an emigrant during the Revolution and, above all, a victim of imperial power from 1802 to 1814. Her story, as well as her works, testify to the place of exile in her engagement with Coppet, as well as her reflections on Europe and nascent romanticism. However, the history of exile was not interested in the female figures of the ban, except perhaps Louise Michel. More than men, female figures seem to disappear after the repression of the 1951 and their disappointments after the fall of the republic, leaving them in anonymity and silence. Should we demarcate a specific place for women in exile? We can directly answer in an affirmative way, because this situation is no different from the one experienced by most of the exiled women of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, whose lives are exhumed in various colloquia[2]. It is from Nancy Green's analysis of women in migrations, that this reflection becomes necessary and possible, despite the relative silence of the sources, showing, once again, the interest of a comparatism that is not limited to a search for analogies (GREEN, 2002).

Like the immigrant, the exiled contradicts the stereotypical image of an eternal female devoted to home and, consequently, to immobility (PERROT, 2000). This female mobility does not reverse the purpose that it is usually the man who seeks adventure, whether political or economic. However, from multiple individual trajectories, we can identify three major female figures, defined by the history of migration and applied here to exile. The first is the one of the wife, the woman who remains but is not passive, assuming partly the role of the man and sharing the reproach surrounding the exile. Sha the one who , like Lise Perdiguier, wife of the outcast Agricol Perdiguier, ensures the family's financial survival and manages remotely the economic heritage and political engagement. The second female figure that emerges is the one of the follower, which must be the term used by Nancy Green, whose role is also to reevaluate, in the structure and maintenance of family networks and, in this context, politics. The last one is the one of the exiled herself, a de facto emigrant, condemned or voluntarily outlawed, leaving alone, like single migrants. This figure is magnified by some iconic personalities, and like followers, they are often quoted but invisible in their combat.

2Exhuming the History of political exiled women", Brussels University Libre Colloquium, 10-11 May 2017, led by Anne Morelli. This, in introduction, recalls: "When speaking of exileds, of political emigrants, these terms spontaneously evoke the masculine spirit. However, many women have been engaged in the various waves of political emigration, either because of their personal action by militants, or because their fate was tied to that of a militant forced into exile. "

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


These three figures not only give the opportunity to rethink the political importance of female migration and the gendered division of tasks; They also allow us to question the categories of the temporary and the permanent, and the blurred boundaries that separate engagement and disengagement. They also invite us to multiply the glances and then the sources. Here, it is the epistolary sources and the reparation files of the law of 1881 that authorize to complete and nuance the analyzes that the judicial or police sources have so far privileged.

## 2 Penelope and Ulysses

Men outlawed after the 1851 coup d'état, in english, "stroke of state" or "blow against the state", especially in the early years, were going away alone, because of the obstacles of the clandestine passage, and because exile did not seem to last. Their women appear in letters as the guardians of the home. In their epistolary writings, they often ask the exile to come back, humiliating themselves and resuming their engagement. Refusal becomes the affirmation of a masculine posture, claimed as a form of engagement. The exile reflects, in terms of courage, the fact of putting his political situation ahead of material and affective difficulties his political situation, even in the face of material and affective difficulties endured by the family, which, in turn, must accept this sacrifice. The Brussels-based veterinarian Bergougnioux writes to his wife, saying she should not stand against the imperial authorities. From Jersey, later, he tells her that he wishes to stabilize before asking her to join him. He regrets the hardships she goes through, as does he, but does not allow her to look for a job, while himself only survives thanks to a print job offered by Pierre Leroux[3]. The ideal image of the caring couple, even in unhappiness, must be nuanced: Bergougnioux fears that his wife will come forward and then lecture her and then warns her. Thirty years later, she delivers her intimate letters to the administration and attaches them to her claim for compensation. She is then, on her own terms, “the one who cannot replace her widow's garment.”[4] She has not heard from her husband since 1855: the outlaw has disappeared, but has not been pronounced dead. It is exactly the image, somewhat stereotyped of Penelope, waiting for the return of Ulysses.

The correspondence between Agricol Perdiguier and his wife, who stayed in Paris, bears witness to a more balanced relationship at first sight, in which his wife must remotely manage family resources while maintaining a network of political relations in France (APRILE, 2004). She refuses to join him, thus marking both a certain form of autonomy and the need for her husband's return. We note that she relies, to justify her refusal, on her role as a daughter; indeed exile would force her to give up her care for her parents. The dialogue between the couple is always alive and Jean Briquet, who selectively published his

3He writes it in May 1952: “I make every effort to achieve a position that enables us to live honorably together.” National Archives (NA), 4046, Bergougnioux dossier.

4 « Celle qui ne peut revêtir ses habits de veuve ».

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


correspondence and apparently left aside on purpose a portion of these epistolary exchanges, which reflect the animosity of the outcast towards his wife and their reciprocity.[5] He concludes:

> She understood her husband, accepted most of his ideas, even though her life was not easy, but she managed miserably the household, the home where they survived. She must have to borrow George Sand, unbeknownst to her husband, who had to leave exile to avert a catastrophe. (BRIQUET, 1955, p. 390).[6]

This first case is more complex than it seems, because even if there is no female migration, the migratory project is constantly thought and negotiated by the couple. But this is not central, since the exile does not exist, therefore, the wife does not leave.

## 3 “It's beautiful to follow an exiled!

In the second case mentioned, the one of female followers, accompanying their husband represents a very strong demand, so that the departure happens in a forced way. The magnified image of the companion who softens the hardships of exile is the topos of the exile literature, but, on the contrary, the woman is always judged to be the most fragile, enduring much less the exile than the man. Material deprivation, but also separation from her family, causes nostalgia or even suicide. In “À vous qui êtes là”, a poem in the collection Les Contemplations, Hugo admires the “followers” and shouts, “It is beautiful to follow an exiled!”, evoking “the ivies of the ruins” and “the damned of love”. Former historian, Jean Bossu, reported in turn a whole series of portraits of these "brave women" who, like Anne Greppo in Belgium and England or the young Allix in Jersey, follow a husband or brother. Madame Sebert, a cigarette saleswoman in Brussels, embodies the feminine virtues that must prevail: devotion and hospitality. She takes care of the sick Gustave Tridon and organizes his funeral with the young man's mother, who came to watch over her son's last moments. Jeanne Sebert is considered a militant blanquist by the Belgian and French socialist historiography (LORIAUX, 2007).

Can the testimonies of these women exceed these representations? They produce their own invisibility, as they often write only when suffering at their most, years later to ask for help. Remaining in the United States with no resources and no children, Virginie Bisson and Victorine Bellard give no details of their thirty years away from France and produce only documents required to justify their widowhood:

---

5I am grateful to Cécilie Attalin, a descendant of Perdiguier, to whom she has devoted her research, for entrusting me with this recent information.

6Elle comprit son mari, épousa la plupart de ses idées, même si sa vie ne futpas facile, mais géra lamentablement leur ménage, le garni qui les faisaitsubsister. Elle dut emprunter, notamment à George Sand, à l’insu de sonmari, qui dut sortir de l’exil pour éviter la catastrophe. (BRIQUET, 1955, p. 390).

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


marriage contract and death of their husband. Julie Frond, who sends a letter containing about fifteen pages, replaces her husband, too sick to write. She first writes on her behalf, then the self becomes Victor Frond's. We know nothing of her existence, but that she is the mother of four children and therefore claims compensation. The parallel reading of her marriage certificate, however, gives room for reflection: she married Victor Frond in 1857 in Rio de Janeiro, but originates from Seine-et-Oise where her relatives live and from where they give their consent. On that date she is only 17 years old. How did this young girl find herself so far away, and how did she link her fate to a man who was equally engaged in the plots and overthrow of the imperial regime? The sources here are dumb. Nevertheless, they reflect voluntary mobility that contrasts with the image of the brave wife and mother.

The social situation of the outcast and his wife is an essential parameter. Hermione Quinet, to take just one example has a whole other activity and presence alongside her husband, creating an important female and male epistolary network, recopying Edgar Quinet's manuscripts. This situation is exceptional and material difficulties play a greater role, since working is normally forbidden to these exiled bourgeois women. Faced with the social decline of their fathers or husbands, often even without resources, they must use their knowledges to employ themselves as a French teachers or piano tutor.

The palette of professional experiences shows for most of them, from the sources of the 1881 reparation law, a greater adaptability than the exile narratives say. If we put aside the usual sources of proscription, usually police sources, to consult the yearbook of the French in Britain, such as the Hamonet guide, as well as the English yearbook, we find a lot professional activities accessible to women and then to exiled. Among the French, the washerwomen or fashionists are apart from teaching, accessible to women and therefore to exiled women. The silence of the Republicans in London about women does not mean their absence. Gillian Tindall, researching the outcast Martin Nadaud, found that his daughter Désirée had sought him in London, which his memoirs, published during the Third Republic, do not mention (TINDALL, 2001). The exchange of correspondence during her exile with her family in France attests to the presence of the young woman who attends the proscription elite, like the Chevassus family, then living on Saint Peter Street in Islington. Désirée Nadaud doesn't live with her father. She lives in a modest room near Soho, at Marie Nardin's home, a single Paris-born woman who makes artificial flowers; where it seems she was doing an apprenticeship.

Several women jointly endorse, wether in place of their husband or father, the change in social class due to exile. This is the case of Madame Berru, who became a printing press worker in Brussels, to allow her husband to follow his journalistic activities. Then the spouses share a hidden professional activity, as it is a bit unexpected: that of swimming tutors (HUGO, 1874). In her correspondence with her exile friends, Madame Julie Baune mentions, without other precision, a worker's work done in all her stays in France. The rules of sociability and bourgeois conduct must, however, be upheld at all costs: so they testify to the mundane rituals held in exile, which may seem vain. Madame Fleury and her daughters,

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


thanks to their correspondence to Hermione Quinet, have left a very accurate testimony to the difficulties of living these unprecedented situations. In 1862, Laure Fleury writes to her interlocutor that she and her daughters no longer attend Madame Didier's salon because, she says: “In anyway we have to stay in our place”[7] Madame Proudhon is thus doubly stigmatized because of her lack of education and because she is "sunk in domestic chores."[8]. This is close to Theodor Adorno's analysis in the context of German emigration during the 1930s:

> The measurement of all things is altered and the perspectives are distorted. Private life takes on a disproportionate importance, it becomes feverish and invasive, precisely because it no longer exists properly speaking and because it desperately tries to prove that it still exists. Public life takes the form of an oath of loyalty to conformism.[9] (ADORNO, 1991).

We found the same fever in the exiled in London, studied mainly by Rosemary Ashton and Carol Diethe (DIETHE, 1986). But this comparison with other foreigners also shows that among French women, there are no figures of wives as emblematic as those embodied by Johanna Kinkel. Born in 1810, she became, after her first marriage, a composer in Berlin, where she lives from 1836 to 1839. Back in Bonn, she founds a literary circle, reunites with Gottfried Kinkel in 1843. She takes charge of Neue Bonner Zeitung when her husband is imprisoned in the spring period of the peoples. She makes him scape in November 1850 and they arrive in 1851 in London. The emigrants' mother, as they call her, was both greatly admired and much criticized. She and her husband were attacked and satirized, mainly by Marx. They are accused from attending the German aristocracy or upper bourgeoisie, which, it is true, open their doors and entrust the education of their children to the German refugees. The couple works hard: while her husband multiplies courses and conferences, she teaches music and singing and also publishes articles on musical life in London. Through her four children, she directs a keen eye on the education given in Britain compared to the German system. But it is above all the image of a woman very devoted to her husband and despised, that she left for posterity in her autobiography, disguised in the posthumously published novel, two years after her suicide in 1860*, Hans Abeles in London* (MARX-ENGELS, 1861). The plight of Johana Kindel, who fueled the coffee talks and the writings of the German outlaws, testifies to a transgressed and reinvested socialconformism in the political realm. The adultery of Nathalia Herzen, wife of the Russian writer, and the relationship between the French Challemel-Lacour and a married woman are also events that undermine the exemplary image that is intended to be passed on in this environment, whatever their nationalities.

7 BN Manuscripts, Naf 20788.

8 BN Manuscripts, Naf 20792, Correspondence by Hermione Quinet.

9La mesure de toutes choses est altérée et les perspectives sont faussées. La vie privée prend une importance disproportionnée, elle devient fébrile et envahissante, précisément parce qu’elle n’existe plus à proprement parler et qu’elle tente désespérément de prouver qu’elle existe encore. La vie publique prend l’allure d’un serment de fidélité au conformisme.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


It is also necessary, to be complete but not exhaustive, to evoke the mixed couples, Alphonse Esquiros and Louis Blanc, who both marry foreigners who are not mentioned. Are they really as erased as the biographies of their famous spouses say? What is known is that they do not belong to the same networks as their mates, French and German, and that they do not correspond with them, which would allow us to know their state of mind. They are the true silent women of exile. The portraits left by those we know best insist on the feminine values that allow them to endure the destiny, support their husbands, and relieve them with the care of the home. As indicated by a more recent success - the Chilean exile - Bénédicte Marques Pereira: "In exile, men have a family, women take care of them" (PEREIRA, 2007).

This sexual division of tasks gives women no political action: they do not write and, at best, copy the works of their spouses go to cafés or banquets. However, they are less watched, they are not subject to the same laws and can thus circulate freely between the country of exile and France. It's parly for those reasons they build a true transnational space for French proscription. It is then that their true political role appears, a role of mediator. They are discrete but regular emissaries. Céleste Madier de Montjau is torned between Brussels and Aix-en-Provence, where her family, Laure Fleury and her daughters, Nancy and Valentine, reside between La Châtre and Brussels, Julie Baune regularly goes to France and informs the proscription in Belgium on the situation in France. Madame Granger also periodically returns to Mans, her hometown, and, on her return to Jersey, gives her husband the narrative he expects and thus ensures that they expect his return (GUYON, 1905).

There is then, paradoxically, greater freedom of action or even of expression. Women's correspondence largely testifies to a constant interest in the republican cause. Works by Michelet and Quinet and are discussed, such as *La Révolution* that particularly outrages Madame Arnaud de l'Ariège "granddaughter of montagnard" (APRILE, 1997). This republican identity is strongly affirmed by Nacy Fleury, who wants to develop a republican teaching.[10] This educational mission is expressed above all within her family where they see a new generation of republicans forming. Céleste Madier and Montjau's correspondence with Hermione Quinet shows the difficulties[11]. The outcast Madier de Monjtau has, according to his wife's expression, the pain of not being "continued" by his son[12]. Raoul, however, receives a republican education: he is mentored by an outcast, Versigny. When the latter leaves for Switzerland, her mother prefers to return to France and focuses on her educational project that fills her entire existence. But his son shows a bad character, his results are mediocre, and he expresses no interest in politics. The return to Brussels in 1858 does not resolve father-son relationship, and it is at the boarding school in France that Raoul finishes his studies in 1860. Cutting almost all relations with his family, he then becomes a musician at the Paris Opera, one of the emblematic places of the imperial feast, to the disappointment of its parents.

10 BN Manuscripts, Naf 20788.
11 BN Manuscripts, Naf 20792.
12 BN Manuscripts, Naf 20792, fol. 95-96.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


The *follower* can also share even more her partner's engagement. This is the case of Marie-Louise David, also known by her name married name, Marie Huleck. As an outlaw's daughter, she first expirienced the exile in London, where her father took refuge. That's where she married Huleck. She is personally an active member of the Reform League and participates in large demonstrations organized by this organizationin Hyde Park in 1866-1867. She is elected, like her husband, a member of the general council of A. I. T. in 1868, and when they emigrate to the United States, she continues to advocate actively military within the international organization. She apparently regains her independence a few years later and separates from her husband. Her case seems, however, very quite exceptional, and few biographical news bear witness to a particular political identity; sometimes there is a shared engagement (CORDILLOT, 2002).

## 4 The voice of women

Finally, there is a third figure, the one of the exiled who, restless for equality with men, on the morning of December 2nd, leave to settle abroad and are susceptible to the same sentences than men. The national reparations law recognises for some of them the same rights as men to get a personal pension[13]. This is the case of Jeanne Deroin, like other anonymous women, such as Susannah Claye, born in London, aged 45 when she was captured on 5th December 1951 in Agen[14]. She is sentenced to deportation to Cayenne. Her sister obtained her freedom on the condition that she leaves France. She then settled in San Sebastian, where she lives teaching until the amnesty in 1859.

Is the situation more serious in the case of exile than that of a simple migration? On one side the mother, the sister and especially the wife and the daughter and on other other the heroine, the militant? They often mix and even transmute in the pantheon established by of proscription. Hugo recites, on Louise Julien's tomb, the long list of women who have sacrificed themselves:

> Pauline Roland in Africa, Louise Julien in Jersey, Francesca Ma Maderspech in Temeswar, Blanca Teleki in Pesth, many others, Rosalie Gobert, Eugénie Guillemot, Augustine Péan, Blanche Clouart, Joséphine Prabeil, Elisabeth Parlès, Marie Reviel, Claudine Hibruit, Anne Sangla, Combescure widow, Amandine Huet, and many others, sisters, mothers, daughters, wives, proscribed, exiled, transported, tortured, oh, poor women. (HUGO, 1875)[15]

13AN, F15 4049. She receives a pension of 800 francs.

14But the compensation Jeanne Deroin gets from the reparation law is presented as "a pension that the old comrades of exile got to her."

15Pauline Roland en Afrique, Louise Julien à Jersey, Francesca Maderspech à Temeswar, Blanca Teleki à Pesth, tant d'autres, Rosalie Gobert, Eugénie Guillemot, Augustine Péan, Blanche Clouart, Joséphine Prabeil, Elisabeth Parlès, Marie Reviel, Claudine Hibruit, Anne Sangla, veuve Combescure, Amandine Huet, et tant d'autres encore, soeurs, mères, filles, épouses, proscrites, exilées, transportées, torturées, suppliciées, ô pauvres femmes. (HUGO, 1875).

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


He does not separate the follower and the militant.

Amédée Saint-Ferréol, another outcast, makes a list of women killed during the proscription, distinguishing those who died abroad from those who died in France. What matters "is that the woman rests close to her family "[16] (SAINT-FERRÉOL, 1870).

It is also a case study that can restore the complexity of these feminine situations. The documents accompanying the claims in the dossier of the Bonnard outlaw allow us to come back to come back to Marie Nardin, this Parisian settled in London who welcomes the daughter of Martin Nadaud. Exiled voluntarily, imprisoned in 1852 for nine days, she then left for London without being bothered by The police as she herself writes. In 1881, she doesn't claims anything on purpose, for reasons that, she says, are "it's own business" . She calls herself an outcast, but no longer wants to hear about it. Her speech was collected in London after she hardly accepted to testify in favor of an outlaw accused of being an informer[17]. Her testimony is the only piece produced and presented in the dossier and applies to the outlaw as a means of being released from this charge. This example is tiny and his narrative is the fruit of a particular series of circumstances, but this source shows a continuity, even fidelity, to a network of friends and/or politicians through these connections with Nadaud and his will to break or to secrecy in the name of a disengagement that is not made explicit.

Historians have not left out the militant and Jean Bossu points out that the repression of the coup d'état has fallen uniformly on men and women. He evokes Jeanne Deroin (BOSSU, 1947) as an emblematic figure. But this feminine itinerary symbolizes, in his eyes, the failure of an action proper to women or, at least, sanctions a failed attempt. It is true that Jeanne Deroin, exiled in Great Britain, refrained from writing after publishing two issues of her Almanach des femmes and seems more interested in spirituality than in politics. Jean Bossu pays more attention because she seems to be more integrated in her journey, in her attempt to found a fraternal society of outcasts, as well as in the experience of her pension for refugee children. In this brief biography, the memory of Pauline Roland and Louise Julien follows through the works of Hugo. We join these two representations of free women: Marie de Solms, qualified as a friend of Lammennais and Eugène Sue, and Malwida von Meysenbug who is a typical foreigner. Jean Bossu only follows his sources: it is based on more informed and authoritative male testimonies such as those of Ténot, Saint-Ferréol and the newspaper L'Homme that he built this image of the female exile. Closer to us, in the excellent work that Michel Cordillot published, L*a sociale en Amérique. Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis,* we can note the distinct way in which women are presented. We do not escape a sexed look: even an autonomous

16 « C'est que la femme repose auprès de sa famille ».(SAINT-FERRÉOL, 1870).

17 See The Annuaire Commercial or Guide Hamonet, Paris, Hachette, 1884 and the Post Office Register of 1881. AN, F15 4082, Copy of the Conversation between Marie Nardin and the Outcast Auduc, letter of 31 January 1882: 'je ne veux rien signer '.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


personality like Marie-Louise David is described physically, which is exceptional for men; it is mentioned that in a newyorker demonstration she raised the red flag that she herself had embroidered[18]. [19]

These female itineraries deserve another reading, however, which does not overestimate the approach of some women in relation to others, requalifying and not disqualifying the situation of followers and followers and militants women.

Jeanne Deroin's biography in England is also symptomatic of this genderedlook that forgets women because they have chosen other ways of expression themselves. Jeanne Deroin fails, according to the Republican historiography of the Third Republic, in the activities to which the exile led her. Their political abstention is presented as a consequence of their material difficulties and not as a refusal of the way men have made politics, and still do, after the failure of the year 1848-1851. Michèle Riot-Sarcey in *La démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes* retraced her pathalong with those of Dérisée Gay and Eugénie Niboyet. It gives another explanation for this exclusion that follows their intrusion into political life and conforms to a voluntary detachment from it (RIOT-SARCEY, 1989). In *L'Almanach des femmes*, Jeanne Deroin is not concerned, as she often writes, with the occultism, not even with spirituality, she defends what she calls "the skyward eland to escape slavery."[20]. She writes:

> If it is necessary, in fact, that this title of wife and mother be a ground for exclusion and a stigma of civil and political unworthiness, it cannot be strange that women take refuge in Christian sentiment and, seeing their outraged human dignity in herself she wants to strip herself of human nature and clothe herself with angelic nature to emancipate herself from man's brutal domination and humiliating servitude. (DEROIN, 1854)[21]. [22]

Jeanne Deroin's silence is then strong and explicit. From 1852 she openly renounces all dialogue with the Republicans, whom she considers as accomplices and leaders of the new regime. *L'Almanach des femmes* is then exclusively interested in the artistic, scientific, religious and pacifist performances of women from around the world. This reflection on the regeneration of the world by women is the result of an exclusion that leads them, as Michèle Riot-Sarcey says, to take refuge in a deferential femininity,

18« Arborait le drapeau rouge qu'elle avait elle-même brodé ».

19 Political couples are best represented in the utopian engagement of the Fourierist and Cabetist communities (followers of the Fourier and Cabet doctrines, respectively).

20 « Élan vers le ciel pour échapper à l'esclavage ».

21S'il faut, en effet, que ce titre d'épouse et de mère soit un motif d'exclusion et un stigmate d'indignité civile et politique, l'on ne peut trouver étrange que la femme se réfugie dans le sentiment chrétien et que, voyant la dignité humaine outragée en elle, elle veuille dépouiller la nature humaine et se revêtir de la nature angélique pour s'affranchir de la brutale domination de l'homme et d'une humiliante servitude.

22*L'Homme,* le 8 février 1854, publie un article de Jeanne Deroin sur la transmigration des âmes. Dans le numéro précédent, on trouve un article de C. Pecqueurqui porte sur l'immortalité de l'âme et qui, lui, n'est pas stigmatisé. Voir aussi *L'Almanach des femmes*, mai 1855 : *Women's Almanach for 1853 (1854),* published by Jeanne Deroin, Londres.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


outside the imposed values, far from political practices and, above all, tagainst the doctrines male. This leads Jeanne Deroin to integrate politics into a religious perspective. She defines socialism as:

> [...] the social religion which is based on dogma solidarity, that is, mutual responsibility, universal brotherhood, and by worship, solidarity work, that is, the work of all members of the social family, united in purpose to honor God in his works. [...] Finally, the moral of socialism aims at the regeneration of humanity and the triumph of brotherhood and universal harmony, in other words, the kingdom of God on earth. (PRIMI, 2005, p. 129).[23]

It is these similar expressions that Louise Otto-Peters uses in Germany when she defines democracy as a religion. It is not a resignation, but rather a rupture that marks the last part of this outcast, rather than exiled, woman's life.[24] We point out that Almanach is the only bilingual publication of the French press in exile. Most of these figures of militants highlight this circulation of ideas between France and the seemingly easier Anglo-Saxon world, at least practiced without distrust or an annexist practice among women.

Jenny d'Héricout also contradicts the idea of a women's silence in 1848. She is not condemned or persecuted after the stroke of state, but she chooses exile in 1864 after having published *La femme affranchie*. She disappears in the proper sense of the term, and it was the historian Karen Offen who found her tracks and published an article reconstructing her itinerary from an autobiographical text, published on May 8, 1869 in The Agitator, a women's edited newspaper in Chicago ( OFFEN, 1987). His autobiography concludes as follows:

> Since *La femme affranchie*, Madame d'Héricout has not published anything about the issue of women. The cause is so well served everywhere now that she thinks it no longer needs her. She certainly wouldn't refuse a new task in this direction, but she expects that task to claim her, she would not seek it for herself. For five years now, she has been in America with us, and she will stay for a few years, probably still if they do not call her in France, her real utility ground. (OFFEN, 1987, p. 95).[25]

---

23[…] la religion sociale qui a pour base et pour dogme la solidarité, c'est-àdire la responsabilité mutuelle, la fraternité universelle, et pour culte le travail solidaire, c'est-à-dire le travail de tous les membres de la famille sociale, unis dans le but de rendre hommage à Dieu dans ses oeuvres. […] Enfin la morale du socialisme a pour but la régénération de l'Humanité et le triomphe de la fraternité et de l'harmonie universelle, c'est-à-dire le règne de Dieu sur la terre.

24La figure du paria est ici proche de celle de l'exilée. Cf. le colloque Le paria, une figure de la modernité ; organisé par Eleni Varikas et Marianne Leibovici, Paris, 17-18 octobre 2002.

25Depuis la femme affranchie, Mme d'Héricourt n'a rien publié sur la question des femmes. La cause est tellement bien servie partout maintenant qu'elle pense qu'on n'a plus besoin d'elle. Elle ne refuserait pas, certainement, une nouvelle tâche dans cette direction mais elle attend que cette tâche la réclame, elle ne la chercherait pas elle-même. Depuis cinq ans, elle est en Amérique parmi nous, et va y rester quelques années encore probablement si on ne l'appelle pas en France, son vrai terrain d'utilité.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


The detachment anchors the former French activist in an international feminist movement, as a mediator of relationship between American, such as Elisabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Kate Doggett, and the French. She delivers a speech at the Equal Rights Association in New York on the same date, where she proposes the creation of an international women's league. If Jenny d'Héricourt's situation is clearly less than that of an exile, she points out, as for Jeanne Deroin, a radicalization of women's engagement and the vitality of this first international women's movement of France and Germany of women in exile. As Bonnie Anderson writes: “they consider the evils of the world, slavery, capitalism, war, political conservatism sustained by religion, to a large extent due to the exclusion of women from the public sphere.” (ANDERSON, 2002).[26]

These women alone witness in their own way, forms of discontinuity with their engagement in the Republican way. They find other ways of acting that seem more urgent to them at the time of the 1848 negative balance. This attitude gives a more universal and less national view.

Is this lack of visibility their own? Is the attitude really gendered here?

A sociopolitical study of exile, based on more quantitative research, crossed with the analysis of individual trajectories, invites, in fact, to seal together the fate of a good number of men and women in the proscription. Political disengagement is one of the major components of exile. The duration, material difficulties, isolation, or rejection of the structures of exile politics cause a mutation in the outlaw to immigrant. This passage is facilitated by the absence of roles, characterizing the refugee situation and the absence of a constituted asylum right. The immigrant's anonymity perhaps neutralizes the refugee's situation, whatever the gender.

## Final considerations

At the end of these trajectories, some reflections are necessary. The first refers to the need to cross data and multiply glances. This not only has the effect of exhuming female sources or documents about women, but also leads to a more social rather than political rereading of a history of proscription that retained only heroic figures and courageous postures. Through these women, it is the mass ban that appears in their daily lives, but also in their questions about the construction of a policy of exile and its effectiveness. The second refers to the complex forms of political engagement, marked here by forms of sorority rather than fraternity between French and foreign militants. Finally, proscription leads through this double quality of excluded foreigner from her country and the political life lived by women, to question the fragility and porosity of the border between the refugee and the economic migrant, built here on gender, but which must be connected with the social condition, the time and places of exile. Does the male look on

26Elles considéraient que les maux de leur monde, esclavage, capitalisme, guerre, conservatisme politique soutenu par la religion, étaient dus, dans une large mesure, à l’exclusion des femmes de la sphère publique.(ANDERSON, 2002)

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


women change with exile? The tutelary figure of Madame de Staël is invoked, but to evoke the nostalgia she experiences; and her stance is more condemned than praised: she is in a lonely and personal combat, where male outlaws claim collective practices and caring organizations.

Female and male sources do not show a mutation of glances. This does not occur; resembles a median political radicality. The successions of the outcasts, the Communards, do not appear to have treated their exile companions differently. Lucien Descaves in *Philémon, vieux de la vieille* devotes a passage to the refugees women of the Commune. He lists female activities that are gendered: "Gustave Lefrançais's wife was embroidering, Madame Arthur Arnaud sold poultry"[27] (DESCAVES, 1913, p. 84) and their virtues are always courage and devotion. The couple are also magnified: Philemon takes care of his wife's with devotion, just as the outcast Baune takes care of his wife twenty years earlier. (Quinet, 1869). At the burial of Madame Cournet (widow) in August 1881, Eudes portrays the civic virtues of the deceased who sustained her husband and children in exile.[28]

The twentieth century has not provided counterexamples, but has provided situations with which the comparison is fruitful. They translate a hierarchy of tasks, but also changes in social and political classes that touch men and women differently and can spark new militancy as common disengagements. We see that the issue of the sexes deserves to be discussed and we must stop naturally to consider the "universal exiled" as well as the universal migrant as a male character (FALQUET; GOLDBERG-SALINAS; ZAIDMAN, 2000).

## References

ADORNO, T. W. *Minima Moralia. Réflexions sur la vie multilée.* Paris : Bayard, 1991.

APRILE, S. Bourgeoise et républicaine, deux termes inconciliables ? In : CORBIN, A. ; LALOUETTE, J. ; RIOT-SARCEY, M. *Femmes dans la cité*. Paris : Chéaphis, 1997.

APRILE, S. Exil et éloignement : la famille comme recours ». In : CHAUVARD, J. F. ; LEBEAU, C. (dir.). *Éloignement géographique et cohésion familiale* (XVe-XXe siècle). Strasbourg : Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2004. p. 31-49.

BISILLIAT, J. Migration féminine comme parcours initiatique : la conquête d'une nouvelle identité (São Paulo, Brésil). *Cahiers du Cedref*, n° 8-9, 2000, p. 69-85.

BOSSU, J. Les républicaines sous le Second Empire », 1848 : *revue des révolutions du XIXe siècle*, printemps-automne 1947.

BRIQUET, J. *Agricol Perdiguier, compagnon du tour de France et représentant du peuple* (1805-1875). Paris : Étiditions de la Butte aux cailles, 1955.

DIETHE, C. Keeping busy in the waiting room : German women writers in London following the 1848 revolution. In : FREITAG, S. Exiles. Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1986.

27« La femme de Gustave Lefrançais brodait, madame Arthur Arnaud vendait des volailles » (DESCAVES, 1913, p. 84).

28 Archives de la préfecture de police, 211 BA.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643

ISSN: 2317-2347 – v. 9, n. 1 (2020)


FALQUET, J. GOLDBERG-SALINAS, A. ZAIDMAN, C. *Femmes en migrations. Aperçus de recherche.* Cahiers du Cedref, n° 8-9, 2000 ; A. Goldberg-Salinas, « Brésiliennes en exil : de femmes migrantes à féministes étrangères », ibid., p. 43-68 ; J. Bisilliat, « Migration féminine comme parcours initiatique : la conquête d'une nouvelle identité (São Paulo, Brésil) », ibid., p. 69-85.

FALQUET, J. ; GOLDBERG-SALINAS, A. ; ZAIDMAN, C. Femmes en migrations. Aperçus de recherche. *Cahiers du Cedref*, n° 8-9, 2000.

GOLDBERG-SALINAS, A. Brésiliennes en exil : de femmes migrantes à féministes étrangères. *Cahiers du Cedref*, n° 8-9, 2000, p. 43-68 ;

GREEN, N. *Repenser les migrations.* Paris : PUF, 2002.

GUYON, L. *Une évasion: troisième et dernière partie de l'étude historique sur Charles Granger.* Le Mans : Librairie Saint-Denis, 1905.

HUGO, C. *Les hommes de l'exil*. Paris : Hetzel, 1874.

HUGO, V. *Actes e paroles II.* Pendant l'exil. Paris : Michel Lévy, 1875.

LORIAUX, F. Les femmes en exil au temps de la Première Internationale, communication au colloque *Exhumer l'histoire des femmes exilées politiques*. Ulb, 10-11 mai 2007.

MARQUES PEREIRA, B. L'expérience de l'exil chez les femmes leaders chiliennes. Exhumer l'histoire des femmes. *Exhumer l'histoire des femmes exilées politiques*. Ulb, 10-11 mai 2007.

PERROT, M. Intervenção no colóquio "Et pourtant eles bougent! À propôs des mobilités des femmes », *Jornada de estudos,* IRESCO, 8 de junho, 2000.

PRIMI, A. « Die Frauen-Zeitung et L'Almanach des femmes, dernières tribunes des "femmes de 1848" », *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, janvier-mars, 2005.

QUINET, E. Portrait de madame Baune. *Mémoires d'exil*, Paris, Librairie internationale, 1869.

RIOT-SARCEY, M. *La Démocratie à l'épreuve des femmes*. Trois figures critiques du pouvoir 1830-1848, Paris, Albin Michel, 1994, et « Une vie publique privée d'histoire : Jeanne Deroin ou l'oubli de soi », Cahiers du CEDREF, n° 1, 1989.

SAINT-FERRÉOL, A. *Les proscrits français em Belgique ou la Belgique contemporaine vue à travers l'exil*. Bruxelles : C. Muquardt, 1870. L'autre *topos* de celui qui ne peut « fermer les yeux de sa mère » et assister à son enterrement.

TINDALL, G. *Le voiyage de Martin Nadaud.*Monaco : Éditions du Rocher, 2001.

http://dx.doi.org/10.35572/rlr.v1i9.1643