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Women Editors Conducting Deliberative Democracy

A Transnational Study of Liberty, Equality, and
Justice in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals

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Proefschrift voorgelegd tot het behalen van de graad van Doctor in de Letterkunde
2020



Acknowledgements

When I wrote an email to Prof. dr. Guido Latré in early 2012, I did not expect it to be the starting point of such a beautiful adventure, which would lead, almost exactly 8 years later, to the completion of a doctoral degree at Ghent University. Prof. Latré introduced me to Prof. dr. Marysa Demoor, to whom I am so grateful for helping me so much along my way, but most of all for believing in me from the day I stumbled into her office with no precise idea of how I could find my place in a Belgian University and even more unsure of how to write a Ph.D. proposal. A few months later Prof. Demoor invited me to attend my first conference, at Ghent University, where I met my promoter, Prof. dr. Marianne Van Remoortel, whose support of my academic début eventually turned into an invitation to join her ERC project and integrate a team of international researchers.

I have been extremely fortunate to have such professional and generous supervisors, Marianne, Marysa, and Birgit, who have read and advised me on numerous drafts of this dissertation. My WeChangEd colleagues, Charlotte, Christina, Jasper, Julie, Maria, and Tom have been there all along, for help, advice, and friendship, as well as our colleagues of the English Studies Department, to whom I am indebted for all our pleasant meals, drinks, and animated discussions. I would like to thank especially those colleagues, friends, and family who have read and proofread my work, and helped me along the way, the entire WeChangEd team, Anna, Beatrijs, Cedric, Guido, Inigo, Koenraad, Leah, Melanie, Sophie, and of course my parents. My profound gratitude also extends to my aunt Anna for her wonderful cover drawing. An immense thank you to my husband Olivier for being so supportive, for patiently listening to countless detailed unfinished developments, and for taking the time to help me sort the mess in my head when I couldn't think clearly anymore. My final thoughts go to my three lovely daughters Madeleine, Eléonore, and Gwenaëlle, who had to put up with this fourth child and its many tantrums over the past four years.

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Introduction

‘Is there anybody in the whole world,’ said Hertha, astonished and wounded, ‘who can understand me and my errand, who will aid me in liberating the fettered and captive soul of women?!’ ‘Go to France,’ replied the matrons. ‘The French are the politest men in the world and are fond of revolutions. Try there. But it would be much better to stop at home and knit stockings. Between times you could go to church and attend lectures.’¹

In 1856, the Swedish novelist and female rights activist Fredrika Bremer (1801 – 1865) published *Hertha*, a novel that describes a woman’s struggle to free herself from the conventions imposed by nineteenth-century society. The heroine of the novel is a young lady living in a traditional Swedish provincial town. Her radical ideas as to the role of women in society are dampened by the tyranny of her father and the prejudice of her neighbours. The passage above is quoted from the fifth chapter of the novel, “Hertha’s dream,” a turning point in the story, and the epitome of Hertha’s thoughts, which broadens her struggle for women’s rights to a transnational context. Since *Hertha*’s time, the changes in women’s legal, economic and social status have enabled them to assert their presence in public life throughout the twentieth century until today. The question I address in this dissertation is how women made a difference in European society at a time when they were formally excluded from many aspects of public life, including politics.

Studies that have analysed the place of women editors, writers, and journalists in public life during the nineteenth century tend to limit themselves to single nations (Beetham

¹ ‘Finnes då ingen i världen,’ sade Hertha förvånad och smärtfullt, ‘som kan förstå mig och mitt syfte, som vill hjälpa mig att befria bundna och fångslade kvinnosjälar?!’ ‘Gå till Frankrike!’ svarade matronorna, ‘Fransoserna äro de artigaste män i världen och tycka om revolutioner. Försök der. Men bättre vore dig att sitta hemma och sticka strumpor. Deremellan kan du ju gå i kyrkan, samt besöka föreläsningar!’ Fredrika Bremer, *Hertha* (Stockholm: Adolf Bonniers Förlag, 1856), 107-108. Translation by Mary Howitt (London: Arthur Hall, virtue & co., 1856), 94.

1996, Nordenstam 2001, Gray 2012, Richardson 2013). Recent research in gender studies, however, especially as it relates to the construction of the European Union, underlines women's active participation in the processes of democratic life in the twentieth and twenty first centuries (Galligan 2012), and redefines, in this light, the notion of a "transnational public sphere" (Fraser 2014). By using, as feminist criticism does, the concept of deliberative democracy as a theoretical framework, this dissertation provides a missing link between these two perspectives; it looks back, through the lens of periodical editing, to the political role of women in the nineteenth century from a transnational perspective, to retrace the origins of their current position in public life.

Deliberative democracy is a form of democracy in which discussion and debate among citizens impacts political decision-making. Habermas claims that "the central element of the democratic process resides in the procedure of deliberative politics."² The expression "deliberative politics" points to the same meaning as "deliberative democracy," only in using the term "politics" Habermas places the emphasis on the medium, or process, through which deliberation occurs as opposed to a political system.³ In this dissertation, I combine periodical theory and political theory, with insights from feminist criticism into the notion of deliberative democracy, to explore the transnational collaborative work and professional networks of four women who edited periodicals, or influenced editorship, during the nineteenth century. The dissertation is based on three case studies that are rooted in three different national perspectives (France, Sweden, and Britain). Each of these case studies builds, from its respective national background, a transnational vision (respectively France/Britain, Sweden/France/Britain, and Britain/France). I consider the careers and legacies of Swiss-born political thinker, novelist, and *salonnière* Germaine de Staël during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Empire (1799 – 1814), of Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona, co-editors of the Swedish feminist periodical *Tidskrift för hemmet* in the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century (1858 – 1867), and finally of Rachel Beer, editor of the British weekly *Observer*, at the time of the Dreyfus affair (1897 – 1899).

² Jürgen Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996), 296.

³ I will be using both expressions.

Theories and Concepts

Democracy and the people

Aristotle defined democracy as a mode of governance by the people and for the people, although, to borrow Winston Churchill's words, he believed it the worst form of government, except for all the others.⁴ According to Aristotle, an ideal constitution that ensures the happiness of every individual would include the voice of every citizen. Yet he saw difficulties in realizing such a utopia. In the same empiricist line of thought as philosophers of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and David Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Du contrat social (The Social Contract)*, 1762) proposed to build a political community by binding the voice of every citizen in a social contract towards the common good. These thinkers had also noted, in different ways, how most individuals are wrapped up in visions of short-term self-interest, or, as Staël believed, the passionate nature of men tends to override their capacity to rule for the common good. When Staël examined the development of the French Revolution less than thirty years after Rousseau wrote *The Social Contract*, she first believed in the creation of a representative democracy. To Staël's mind, a governing body consists in elected representatives of the people, whose duty is to make collegial decisions that reflect the will and interests of the citizens.⁵ Yet she observed that those representatives destroyed liberty by bandying empty words before party politics wrecked their dreams of liberty.⁶

This difficulty is addressed by John Dewey in *The Public and its Problems* (1927). Dewey expands on Staël's observations by explaining that "there has been a machinery of government, but it has been employed for purposes which in the strict sense are non-

⁴ Speech at the House of Commons, 11 November 1947.

⁵ "La représentation c'est la combinaison politique qui fait gouverner la nation par des hommes élus et combinés de telle manière qu'ils ont la volonté et l'intérêt de tous." (representation is the political combination by which elected men govern the nation in a way that respects the will and the interest of all) Germaine de Staël, *Des circonstances actuelles qui peuvent terminer la Révolution et des principes qui doivent fonder la république en France* (Paris – Genève: Droz, 1979), 19. (On The Current Circumstances That Can End the Revolution and the Principles Which Must Establish the Republic in France, Chinatsu Takeda's translation for the title, my translations for the text).

⁶ "La terrible secte des Jacobins prétendit dans la suite établir la liberté par le despotisme; et de ce système sont sortis tous les forfaits." ("The dreadful sect of Jacobins pretended, in the sequel, to found liberty on despotism, and from that system arose all the crimes of the Revolution") Germaine de Staël, *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la Révolution française*, tome 1 (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1926), 281. English translation, Online Library of Liberty: *Considerations on the Principal Events of the French Revolution* (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008), 139.

political, the deliberate advancement of dynastic interests.”⁷ He then comes to his main point: the “problem of the public,” he claims, is that it needs to “achieve such recognition of itself as will give it weight in the selection of official representatives and in the definition of their responsibilities and rights.”⁸ When he explains that the public should retain a measure of influence on political decisions, Dewey establishes the premises from which the notion of deliberative democracy arises. The distinction between representative and deliberative democracy is that rather than placing the power only in the hands of official representatives, deliberative democracy empowers citizens through debate and discussion.

By pointing to the role of debate and discussion in public life, which is the formation of a public opinion, Dewey’s reflection called for a broader conceptualisation of public politics. According to Jürgen Habermas (*Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (*The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*), 1962), the existence and formation of public opinion defines the public sphere: a transitory power between private people and the government which has an influence on political and social decision-making. In *Faktizität und Geltung* (*Between Facts and Norms*, 1992), Habermas reworks the notion of public sphere as a place for public deliberation with a political calling. The public sphere becomes “an arena for the perception, identification and treatment of problems affecting the whole of society.”⁹

Deliberative democracy thus shifts the emphasis from the political decision to the debate that leads to the decision. One of the aims of this dissertation is to trace that debate through the nineteenth-century periodical press and its editorial practices. As Erik Eriksen and Jarle Weigard explain in *Understanding Habermas* (2003), deliberative democracy stems from the interplay between institutionalized governing bodies and formal and informal forums for discussion.¹⁰ Since the eighteenth century, private individuals would meet in public places, such as coffee houses and clubs, to engage in critical public debates and shape their opinion on them. These people had been made aware of these matters through the reading of periodicals such as, among others, the French *Mercure de France* (1672 – 1965), the Scottish *Edinburgh Review* (1802 – 1929) or its historic opponent the English *Quarterly Review* (1809 – 1967), which featured a variety of topics including literature, politics, economics, and society columns.¹¹ In the wake of Habermas’s work, scholars have recognized the key role of the rise of the periodical press, as a forum for discussion, in the construction of a public sphere in Europe.

⁷ John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 1991), 77.

⁸ Ibid., 77.

⁹ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 300.

¹⁰ Erik O. Eriksen and Jarle Weigard, *Understanding Habermas: Communication Action and Deliberative Democracy* (London: Continuum, 2003), 111.

¹¹ Habermas uses the example of Addison and Steele’s *Tatler* and *Spectator* in Britain.

Deliberative democracy: theoretical insights

Jürgen Habermas and John Rawls have greatly influenced deliberative democracy theory. Both their names are usually cited in political theory because although they agree on the overarching idea of deliberative politics, and both belong to the same school of thoughts as seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers Hobbes, Locke, Hume, and Rousseau, they have each prioritized a different angle of approach to map out their own models. Habermas proposes a binding moral contract between the principles of equality and liberty. He explains that a democratic system which accepts the participative effort of any citizen who wishes to contribute to public debate depends on what Becker calls “ethical subjectivism,” that is a “free act of consent” among citizens to respect each other and their opinions, “grounded on the Judeo-Christian understanding of the equality of each individual.”¹² In *A Theory of Justice* (1971), Rawls reconciles the principles of liberty and equality to recreate an “original position” from which stems his conception of “justice as fairness.”¹³ In this “original position” we are brought back to our condition of free and equal beings, unfettered by history and background (which may cause our judgement to be biased). We are thus placed behind a “veil of ignorance.”¹⁴ “Fair judgement” arises from the use of Rawls’s two principles of justice: equality and equity (“to everyone’s advantage” and “equally open to all”), which are chosen behind the “veil of ignorance.”¹⁵ To sum up, Habermas proposes a moral engagement, and supposes that this engagement must be strong enough to ensure free and equal deliberation among citizens, whereas Rawls looks further into the role of justice as a safeguard of liberty and equality.

Habermas, Rawls, and their followers propose a model of deliberative politics in which the successful combination of the principles of liberty, equality, and justice demands constant attention and moral engagement. The difficulty in preserving this equation is the key argument of this dissertation. Both Habermas and Rawls reconsider parts of their models in the light of particular circumstances, i.e. forms of power corruption, which are the result of political coercion, motivated by particular interests, exerted by a single person or a minority group on the entire population. In *Between Facts and Norms* Habermas discusses the existence of organised interest groups, or “decision-oriented deliberations.”¹⁶ As James Fishkin also explains, private interests “muffle or distort, providing a platform for special

¹² Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 291.

¹³ See Chapter Three.

¹⁴ John Rawls, *A Theory of Justice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 12. I use and explore the expression “veil of ignorance” in Chapter Three.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 61.

¹⁶ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 307.

interests to impersonate the public will.”¹⁷ In *Political Liberalism* (1993) Rawls moves from the ideal representation of deliberative democracy, which he develops in his earlier work, to adapt his principles to politically indoctrinated regimes. In this later work, he considers, for example, the “burdens of judgement” which befall political decision makers when the hypothetical “veil of ignorance” cannot be applied.¹⁸

As critics of deliberative politics point out, the issue that needs to be constantly negotiated is the expression of this potential or pre-existing coercive power that, as Chantal Mouffe explains, “entail[s] an element of force and violence that can never be eliminated and cannot be adequately apprehended through the sole language of ethics and morality.”¹⁹ Far from rejecting, as Carl Schmitt does in his political representation of “the other” as “the enemy,” the validity of a binding social (and moral) contract from which models of deliberative politics have been defined (*Der Begriff des Politischen* (*The Concept of the Political*), 1932), this dissertation combines political theory with periodical theory to argue that workable deliberative politics stem from a social contract that is not the product of a single moment, but is in constant negotiation.

Periodical theory in relation to history, time, and conflict

In “Towards a Theory of the Periodical” (1990), Margaret Beetham outlines the complex web of relations that exists between the periodical and its readers.²⁰ According to Beetham, the nineteenth-century press is not just a mirror of the past, but “each article, each periodical number, was and is part of a complex process in which writers and readers engaged in trying to understand themselves and their society.”²¹ Beetham sees periodicals of the nineteenth century as interactive objects of their epoch, when she distinguishes the information they provide from their role as a means of expression for their readers to both understand and

¹⁷ James S. Fishkin, *When the People Speak – Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 1.

¹⁸ John Rawls, *Political Liberalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 54 – 58.

¹⁹ Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (London: Verso, 2009), 130.

²⁰ The term “periodical” is used throughout the dissertation to describe any kind of periodic publication. This includes newspapers, magazines, literary reviews, etc. A distinction is made in the chapters when a specific publication is named, for example, I use the term “periodical” to qualify Adlersparre’s and Olivecrona’s home review because it is neither a magazine nor a newspaper. I use the term “newspaper” in Chapter Three to qualify the *Observer* as it corresponds specifically to that category of periodical.

²¹ Margaret Beetham, “Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre,” in: *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (New York: St Martin’s Press, 1990), 19 – 33, 20.

criticize the society they lived in. I use Beetham's theoretical insight in the dissertation to argue that periodicals of the nineteenth century were a favoured channel for public debate.

The crucial aspect of the periodical's interactivity is its relation to time. Beetham reminds us that "the most important characteristic of all is the way periodicals engages with its readers across time."²² In more ways than other literary forms, a contextual reading of a single article can provide information on its moment of publication and its impact on history. Bearing in mind the complex process emphasized by Beetham, periodical scholars can draw out specific articles, or the work of a specific editor, to understand how a journal made its history and how it impacted history. Most of all, the periodical is issued across time, which means that if one considers the periodical press as a forum for public deliberation, the outcome of the public deliberation is not the matter of a moment but a constant feed, which stretches from the first to the last issue of a given periodical, and beyond: as I also show in the dissertation, periodicals enter in dialogue with each other.

The periodical press accompanies its readers through moments and changes in history as journalists, writers, editors, and readers "struggle to make [their] world meaningful."²³ The "struggle" identified by Beetham is not only that of a personal relationship to the world, but also the result of the conflict of opinions which takes place in the pages of the periodical. She specifies: "I describe it as 'struggle' because in modern societies the processes of making meaning – both individually and socially – are difficult and cut across by conflict."²⁴ Considering the periodical's special relationship to time, conflict in the periodical press does not necessarily hinder democratic progress, as it is inscribed in an ongoing debate between contributors from the public (and editors). Rather, conflict in the periodical press can enhance public politics, as it develops into a dialogue during which opposing parties can be made to come to terms, while the editor steers the debate towards a particular outcome. As I demonstrate in Chapter Two, periodical editors can also stage a lively debate in order to pique the interest of potential readers and encourage public participation.

Periodical theory in relation to the periodical editor

While Beetham works towards a theory of the periodical, in its relation to the reader, Laurel Brake focusses more on the conditions of publication and the editorial structure of the periodical press. As she explains in *Subjugated Knowledges* (1994), "we need to keep the group

²² Ibid., 26.

²³ Ibid., 20.

²⁴ Ibid., 20. See also Margaret Beetham, "Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 22, no. 3 (Fall 1989): 96 – 100.

and the social dimension of journalism in view.”²⁵ Yet it is not until recently that any significant efforts have been made towards defining the role of the periodical editor. In “The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus” (2012), Matthew Philpotts uses a case study approach and draws on Bourdieu to conceptualise periodical editorship. He explores editorial habitus, “at the level of both the individual and the periodical” by establishing a set of typologies for the role of the periodical editor.²⁶ Based on the reputations, individual dispositions, professional competences, and professional outputs of a selection of periodical editors from the turn of the twentieth century, Philpotts defines a “charismatic editorship,” a “bureaucratic editorship,” and a “mediating editorship” (or a blend of the first two).²⁷ This categorization is established upon male editors whose behaviour or even idiosyncrasies developed within traditional circles of periodical editorship. These professional circles started to form at the end of the seventeenth century, especially in Britain, and were still dominant in the twentieth century and beyond. Philpotts’s three main case studies are drawn from this British male tradition (Ford Maddox Ford for the *English Review*, T.S. Eliot for the *Criterion*, John Middleton Murry for *Rhythm*, the *Athenaeum*, and the *Adelphi*).²⁸ Philpotts does not consider gender strategies. Yet, as this dissertation demonstrates, women have challenged this masculine order and created examples and even a tradition of their own. In Chapter One I explain how they could wend their way through the traditional structures and rules of nineteenth-century male-dominated periodical editorship networks. In Chapter Two and Three I show examples of how they could set out to create their own networks of influence and professional aptitudes. Moreover, my Swedish case study (Chapter Two) provides an example with different conditions from the British and the closely similar French cases, as Sweden, at the time, had no such strong periodical editorship traditions and ties.

Women editors in the nineteenth century: public, private and intimate spheres

Since the late 1980s, feminist historians (Landes 1988, Fraser 1990, Ryan 1992) have revised Habermas’s predominantly male view of public life. If gentlemen met in public spaces from which women were generally excluded, women created parallel spheres of their own: literary salons, networks of correspondence, or women’s magazines. These counter spheres are

²⁵ Laurel Brake, *Subjugated Knowledges Journalism, Gender and Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), 55.

²⁶ Matthew Philpotts, “The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus,” *The Modern Language Review* 107, no. 1 (January 2012): 39 – 64, 43.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 43.

²⁸ Philpotts also briefly discusses André Gide’s founding of the *Nouvelle Revue Française*.

considered “private” because they would only be open upon invitation, or subscription, regardless of whether those initiated to them would gather in private homes or through private networks. These private spheres enabled women to shape their own opinions, not only in domestic matters that were considered women’s domain, but also in current affairs in politics, economy or science – topics traditionally reserved to men.

From the end of the French Revolution and throughout the nineteenth century, as Europe saw an increased gendering of social roles and spaces, women fashioned a “feminised” space (Beetham, 1996) through the development of periodicals in which the feminine “heart” (morals) distinguished itself from the masculine “head” (intellect) to produce a socially acceptable voice of its own. This supported women’s claim to take part in world affairs because of the advent of “social politics” (Chalus, 2000) which addressed the moral issues at stake within the growing responsibilities of Empires. These feminist criticisms have thus demonstrated that women also developed ways to influence public opinion throughout the nineteenth century, but they often limit themselves to describing phenomena that challenge a male order (Asen 2000), with the public and private spheres presented as mutually exclusive.

The public/private dichotomy as a male/female attribute has been challenged (Richardson 2013). As I discuss in Chapter Two, Nordenstam also criticizes the dichotomy through her analysis of the periodical *Tidskrift för hemmet*, by reminding us of the existence of another, gender-balanced sphere. She argues that home is the “intimate sphere” in which women could effectively use their voice during the nineteenth century and discuss public matters with their husbands, brothers, or fathers in the intimacy of their family circle.²⁹ Women’s education and their influence at home gradually became accepted because eighteenth- and nineteenth-century domestic ideology established the crucial role of mothers in the education of children.³⁰

The “intimate sphere” was also that from which women editors took up their pen to edit their periodicals after having benefitted from the help and influence of men who were part of their closest family circle. This dissertation thus regards the work of women editors as a female initiative which does not exclude male participation. It builds on recent criticism of the public/private dichotomy by arguing that women editors influenced public opinion through channels which were both public, as their periodicals were accessible to all, and

²⁹ “Hemmet är den centrala plats i vilken bildning och förädling av kvinnorna först äger rum” (Home is the central space from which the education and culture of women was first recognized) Anna Nordenstam, *Begynnelse Litteraturforskningens pionjärvinnor 1850 – 1930* (Beginnings – the pioneer women of literature research 1850 – 1930) (Stockholm: Stehag, 2001), 61 (my translation).

³⁰ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Emile ou de l’Education* (1762) or Aimé Martin *Education des Mères de Famille* (1834) circulated widely and were translated in many European languages.

private, or even intimate, as they could be discussed at home or in private circles by both sexes.

Feminist criticism: gender democracy

Gender democracy is an expression coined in the late 1990s by the Polish feminist activist Halina Bendkowski. The concept has since then been reused in gender studies to propose an alternative to deliberative democratic theory. Gender democracy is described as a normative idea, as it exists in opposition to the male-traditionalist theories initially developed by Habermas. Gender democracy is therefore constantly re-adaptable to shifting societal and legal norms. In Yvonne Galligan's terms, gender democracy "envisages a democratic process in which the voices, interests, perspectives and representatives of women are fully integrated and accountable as equals in the deliberative decision-making process."³¹

The concept of gender democracy is appealing in the context of this dissertation; however, it traces a history of women and democracy that seeks to alter the perception of women's participation in politics in the nineteenth century, rather than suggest a reformatory model of deliberative politics. Indeed, Galligan emphasizes the corrective quality of the idea: gender democracy examines current or past examples of deliberative politics in the light of gender justice.

Case Studies

By drawing on the concept of deliberative democracy, this dissertation shows how women editors of the nineteenth century were agents of a transnational deliberative democratic movement, and pioneers of the gender balance evolutions which have materialized in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. This historical perspective, based on the exploration of case studies from three distinct periods during the nineteenth century, offers a constructionist vision of deliberative politics, as opposed to a theoretical or practical democratic model. Indeed, this dissertation does not aim to uncover an adequate model of gender democracy either, even though it builds on the ideas brought to light by feminist criticism. In this dissertation, I emphasize the place of women in deliberative politics, and the role of women in periodical editorship, as I show how the struggle to recognize the principles

³¹ Yvonne Galligan, "Justice, democracy and gender," in: *Deliberative Processes and Gender Democracy*, ed. Yvonne Galligan (Oslo: Arena, 2012), 1 – 21, 2.

that underpin a model of democratic politics is in constant negotiation. To this end, I show how the structure of political power was re-negotiated democratically, or reclaimed by the people, through the influence of the periodical press. Based on the assumption that the principles of deliberative politics, namely, liberty, equality, and justice (as defined in the Rawlsian sense of “justice as fairness”), need to be constantly defended and fortified in order to sustain the values of modern democracy, I argue that periodical editorship addresses both the problem of constant re-negotiation and the central idea of deliberative politics, i.e. popular sovereignty. With a chapter on liberty (Staël), a chapter on equality (Adlersparre and Olivecrona), and a chapter on justice (Beer), the three chapters of the dissertation both distinguish and bring together these principles, to highlight the fact that they need to be combined in a deliberative democratic movement, whose doctrine should not be taken for granted, but should be constantly re-articulated.

The collection of essays *The Foreign Political Press in Nineteenth-Century London* (2017), edited by Constance Bantman and Ana Claudia Suriani da Silva, shows how the aftermath of the French Revolution spawned underground political ideologies that spread throughout Europe.³² The conveyors of these ideals congregated in Britain, and especially London, where they could launch periodicals to circulate their ideas because the press was “reasonably free,” as opposed to other European capitals, where the press was monitored and restricted.³³ By focussing on France and Britain from a transnational standpoint, I trace the rise of deliberative politics through the expression of dissident voices within and across the two great imperial powers of nineteenth-century Europe. By focussing on women editors, I show how these dissident voices emerged from the fringes of imperial power to accompany a re-negotiation of power by and from the people in the periodical press. These women took others in their stride. The addition of Sweden stems from the assumption that European nations shared ties that were then explored by women editors: Sweden, France, and Britain were linked through political history. The Swedish people elected a French Crown Prince, Jean-Baptiste Bernadotte, in 1810. A decade later, liberal ideas from Britain started to make their way toward Scandinavia.³⁴ More particularly, with the transnational analysis that follows, I shed some light on why Sweden is now considered a model of social democracy, especially in matters of gender equality.

I have based my research on a close reading of periodicals, with a particular focus on articles written by Sophie Adlersparre, Rosalie Olivecrona, and Rachel Beer. Madame de Staël’s correspondence, her own literary work, and the memoirs written by her friends reveal

³² Constance Bantman and Ana Claudia Suriani da Silva, *The Foreign Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century London: Politics from a Distance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2018), 3. Bantman and Suriani da Silva have left out Scandinavia in their overview of Europe.

³³ *Ibid.*, p 3.

³⁴ See Helena Forsås-Scott, *Swedish women’s writing 1850 – 1995* (London: the Athlone Press, 1997).

information about her social interacting and her political thought which have helped me define her role and position in periodical editorship. My corpus covers both the women's and the mainstream press. More specifically, it comprises literary and political reviews (Staël), a magazine "dedicated to women" (Adlersparre and Olivecrona), and a national newspaper with a dominantly male readership (Beer). These three case studies focus on women with a complementary political vision, yet each case can be considered as a single object of study, or three separate academic essays with their own historical and cultural contexts.³⁵

I draw on the work of theorists of deliberative democracy to establish a theoretical framework for each of the three chapters. I use Habermas in Chapter One to shed light on Staël's ideas, from the latter's observation of the political public sphere in France to British periodical editorship. Chapter One discusses the role of periodicals as a mouthpiece for public opinion, and Staël's use of her transnational networks to liberate the politically corrupted public sphere. Staël's influence as a woman in a circle traditionally reserved to men is also important in this respect. Adlersparre and Olivecrona consolidated the presence of women in the political public sphere half a century later, in Sweden, by working hand in hand with the Swedish government to forward the legal rights of women. In Chapter Two I delve into the inner workings of periodical editorship and argue that Adlersparre and Olivecrona's periodical, *Tidskrift för hemmet*, is a model of deliberative politics from the point of view of the equal expression of public voices. Chapter Two combines political theory (Fishkin) with periodical theory (Beetham) to illustrate a key argument in the dissertation, which is the role of periodicals as a forum for ongoing debate. Finally, in Chapter Three, I show how the principles of "fair justice" can be negotiated in the periodical press from a transnational perspective. As Rachel Beer analyses the French Dreyfus case from a British point of view, I explain how her transnational judgement could unlock a political crisis. By drawing on Rawls's theory of "justice as fairness" and more particularly on his metaphor of the "veil of ignorance" which he develops in *A Theory of Justice*, I analyse Beer's use of another metaphor, a sponge metaphor, which circulated in the world press during the Dreyfus case. Chapter Three also illustrates the role of periodicals as conveyors of a transnational public opinion through the circulation and evolutions of the sponge metaphor in the world press.

Throughout Chapter One and Chapter Two I make use of graphic visualisations to support the development of my argumentation. I illustrate in the first case the political theory of Madame de Staël with diagrams of the people and their power relationships within

³⁵ Three separate articles have been conceived accordingly. Two have been published: Eloise Forestier, "Madame de Staël's literary career in England through the lens of periodical editing: Staël's politics of affect," *Les Cahiers Staëliens* 68, (November 2018): 123 – 137, and Eloise Forestier, "Rachel Beer, The Dreyfus Case, and the Observer: The 'Sponge Metaphor'," *Victorian Periodicals Review* 52, no. 3 (Fall 2019): 518 – 539. The third ("Constructive Conflict in Swedish Feminist Periodical Culture: A Critical Reassessment of Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona's 'Editorial Schism' in *Tidskrift för hemmet* (1859 – 1885)") is under peer review.

the political public sphere. In the second case I insert bar charts and tables with data collected from my close reading of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, which I use as an analytical tool to explore the content of the periodical. Chapter Three contains a single figure, a cartoon of the sponge metaphor, by caricaturist Henri-Gabriel Ibels, that circulated in the French press during the Dreyfus affair. The existence and circulation of this cartoon is part of my retracing of the metaphor and analysis of Beer's perspective.

Chapter 1

A Case for Liberty Madame de Staël (1766 – 1817)

*She who owes to the fact of being a woman the certainty that she could never step into anyone's light, nor be suspected of nursing any personal ambition would have some advantages for saying the truth.*¹

Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein

Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein, known as “Madame de Staël,” was considered a relatively minor figure in literature and politics from the middle of the nineteenth century, until a recent revaluation of her influence and her work, which started at the end of the twentieth century, and reached a peak in 2017, the bicentenary of her death. Her name has recently been associated with periodical studies. In *European Literatures in Britain, 1815–1832: Romantic Translations* (2018), Diego Saglia showcases the reviews of Staël’s work in British periodicals as a prime example of “A resurgence of critical debate in a European perspective and within an international arena of reciprocal translations and appropriations.”² Saglia shows, from the point of view of British periodical history, how Staël’s work contributed to the creation of an international “arena” of deliberation. More specifically, Saglia analyses how the British press adapted its own discourse to contemporary Continental criticism. He further notes the “awareness of British commentators” that “Madame de Staël’s *salon* and circle were at the centre of an unprecedented cultural phenomenon, one with both intellectual and political repercussions.”³

This chapter builds on Saglia’s initiative, to address an overlooked aspect of Staël’s legacy, namely her role in periodical editorship, as part of a transnational political enterprise.

¹ “Celle qui devrait à son existence de femme la certitude de n’inspirer aucun ombrage, de n’être soupçonnée d’aucune ambition personnelle, aurait quelques avantages pour dire la vérité.” Staël, *Des circonstances actuelles*, 4.

² Diego Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain, 1815–1832: Romantic Translations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 14.

³ *Ibid.*, 40.

As a woman, at the turn of the nineteenth century, Staël could not have had any official role in politics, nor in any power-related professional position. I argue that Staël created a position of influence for herself by using periodical editorship as a platform of deliberative politics. From this position, she orchestrated power relationships in the public sphere and furthered her literary career. In Saglia's study, Staël's influence is filtered through her literary work, and through the implicit geographical and cultural distance between the "British commentators" and "Staël's *salon* and circle."⁴ My argument is supported by a case study based on Staël's physical presence and personal agency in London. I show how, as a political exile, she sought to use her fame and influence in a country where the press remained "reasonably free."⁵ I claim that although Staël was never formally a periodical editor, she defied the early customary rules of periodical editorship by creating a transnational network of editors, publishers, journalists, writers, and intellectuals. By elucidating Staël's influence in the periodical press, and how she worked towards creating a horizontal platform of shared power, I challenge Matthew Philpotts's vertical and exclusively masculine hierarchy of power between the ("charismatic," "bureaucratic," or "mediating") editor and the network he governs.⁶

The chapter is divided into a theoretical part and a case study. I retrace Staël's intellectual progress, while she observed the development of French politics at the time of the Revolution and Napoleon's rise to power, to explain her infiltration of the power structures of the British periodical press. In the theoretical part of the chapter I develop Staël's understanding of public opinion within the structure of a political public sphere. I support my discussion of Staël's visions of political governance with a first series of diagrams that contrast the idealistic legacy of the philosophy of the Enlightenment with her observations of the emotional interferences that pervaded the French Revolution and the work of the *Assemblée Constituante*. From this comparison I argue that Staël used 'emotional strategies' to recreate the lost streams of communication between the people and political power. With a second series of diagrams, I argue that Staël anticipated both the virtuous and the perverse roles of periodical editing as a platform of political power. This investigation draws on Habermas's theory of public opinion and the bourgeois public sphere and the recent work of researchers Biancamaria Fontana and Chinatsu Takeda, which I contrast with Julia Kristeva's comments on Staël's emotional agency. Most of the diagrams (Figures 1, 3, and 4) follow the pattern of virtuous against vicious circles (*cercle vertueux* V. *cercle vicieux*) to show how the political public sphere works toward common good or common evil.

My case study illustrates the theoretical part of the chapter through an exploration of Staël's network strategies during her stay in London between 1813 and 1814, based on the

⁴ Ibid., 40.

⁵ See introduction, footnote 33.

⁶ See Introduction, footnotes 26 and 27.

hypothesis that periodical editing is a pivotal point between the development of her public persona and the development of her literary career. Staël's anticipated *entrée* in London in 1813 fascinated the British literary and social elites. She made friends, whose support she relied on for her introduction into English and British society and business circles, while she traded on her celebrity status and cultural capital with London's influential periodical editors. I show how she meddled with the internal structure of the periodical press through public and private dialogues with periodical editors and their collaborators, while the latter shaped her public image.

I explore Staël's approach to British circles of periodical editing, by looking into her works, her private correspondence, and the periodicals of a selection of three London-based publishers and periodical editors: John Murray, publisher, and owner of the *Quarterly Review* (1809 – 1967); Jean-Gabriel Peltier, publisher, and editor of *L'Ambigu* (1802 – 1818); and Henry Colburn, publisher, and owner, among other periodicals, of the *New Monthly Magazine* (1814 – 1884). On the one hand, I show the consequences of Staël's strategies in terms of career and public image, to shed some light on the evolution, transformation, and reception of Staël's public persona. On the other hand, I explain how Staël negotiated the personal and political networks and rivalries of periodical culture, to work towards her 'virtuous model' of periodical editorship as a platform of power and deliberative politics.

1.1 Staël's Emotional Strategies: from Public Opinion(s) to Periodical Editing

Anne Louise Germaine Necker was born in Paris on 22 April 1766, the only daughter of Swiss citizens Jacques Necker and Suzanne Curchod. From a very early age, she attended her mother's Parisian salon, where she listened to and conversed with d'Alembert, (Melchior) Grimm, Marmontel, Diderot, Buffon, the abbé Morellet, and other scholars, mathematicians, philosophers, writers, and encyclopedists who adorned the age of the Enlightenment. The company of such "men of a superior order" impressed the young Staël with the belief that their instruction and their influence partook in a compelling motion of human perfectibility.⁷ The experience of the French Revolution shaped Staël's early utopian political ideas into a republican ideal, in which chosen representatives are able to channel the emotional impulses of the people, towards the greater good of the nation. In this section I explore Staël's understanding of public opinion in the light of her appreciation of human emotions and

⁷ See footnote 8.

Rousseau's concept of "general will," to mark the progression between Staël's evolving visions of the political public sphere.

1.1.1 The Enlightenment and the French Revolution: Staël's Approach to Public Opinion

Rousseau's "general will" and the interplay of emotions: from a utopian to a realistic vision of politics

Only a year before the French Revolution broke out, Staël published a critical treatise on the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, in which she proposes a politics that abolishes the hereditary absolute monarchy established in France at the time, and any other form of autocratic regime (*Lettres sur les ouvrages et le caractère de J. J. Rousseau*). In this treatise, Staël pays a tribute to Rousseau by conjuring the image of a meritocratic society ruled by a handful of wise men:

How agreeable would it be to see in every age that league of genius against envy! What sublime example would men of a superior order, who should take upon themselves the defence of others of the same class by whom they had been preceded, give to their successors!⁸

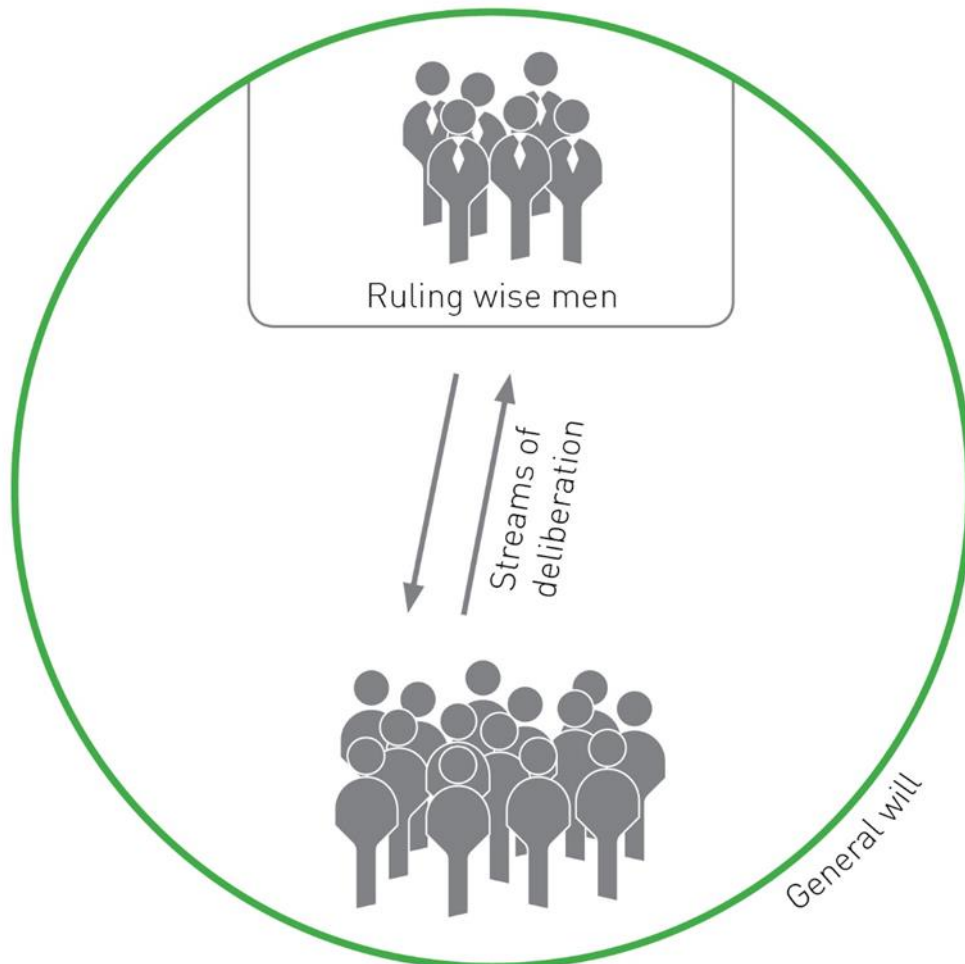
Staël evokes a mode of governance that is rooted in rational dialogue and deliberation ("should take upon themselves the defence") and prefigures constitutionalism. Staël's wishful thinking anticipates her realistic approach to politics. She highlights the Hobbesian stepping-stone upon which her society would function: a common adherence, through the expression of the free will of the people, to a contract, or a constitution, which ratifies the existence (and, in her realistic version of governance, the appointment) of ruling wise men, to regulate the emotional impulses of the people. Indeed, in Staël's utopian vision, "envy" is subdued by genius in a cyclic, meritocratic system, in which ruling wise men undertake the defence of previously ruling wise men: the idea of a rational general will defeats the impulses of human desire. Staël thus embraces Rousseau's central concept of the "general will," which she works into a virtuous politics of continuous deliberation to ensure that the ruling wise men are constantly mindful of what kind of governance would be best for the people.⁹

⁸ Staël, *Letters on the Works and Character of J. J. Rousseau* (London: G. G. J. and J. Robinson, 1789), 133. "Qu'il seroit beau de voir dans tous les siècles cette ligue du génie contre l'envie! Que les hommes supérieurs, qui prendroient la défense des hommes supérieurs qui les auroient précédés, donneroient un sublime exemple à leurs successeurs!" Staël, *Lettres sur les ouvrages et le caractère de J. J. Rousseau* (Paris: Charles Pougens, 1798), 157.

⁹ The general will (or in French "la volonté générale") is what a community of people would unanimously do for their own welfare, by using reason and judgment.

Figure 1

Utopian vision of politics inherited from the philosophers of the Enlightenment



The population is symbolised by the group of people, who communicate with the ruling wise men via streams of deliberation (the grey arrows representing information that is processed and transformed into virtuous political measures). The green circle represents the binding general will in a contract which is implicitly agreed upon by both the population and the ruling wise men.

There is, however, at the heart of Staël's political vision, an acute awareness of the interference of human emotions, hence the conditional tense she employs in the previous

quote.¹⁰ Staël analysed the effect of human passions on rational behaviour.¹¹ More specifically, she observed that emotional interference broke down the “general will” into a multiplicity of public opinions, thus evolving from a common, virtuous opinion, to multiple, disruptive ones. In order to explain and visualise Staël’s realistic vision of politics, we need to explore her understanding of public opinion.

In *Germaine de Staël: A Political Portrait*, Biancamaria Fontana attempts to define “public opinion” from Staël’s perspective through a systematic reading of the author’s works:

Here, as in the rest of Staël’s oeuvre, ‘public opinion’ was used to describe a variety of somewhat different objects: the views expressed by the elite of enlightened writers and intellectuals, the expectations and sentiments of the population at large, and their real or imagined interest; it applied equally to short term reactions and to the long term disposition of the public.¹²

At first view, it seems that Staël does not have a coherent definition to offer. Yet the “variety of somewhat different objects” points to the multiplicity of opinions which Staël observes and analyses in her oeuvre. Staël was fascinated with the fickleness of individual opinions (“expectations and sentiments” or “real and imagined interest”), and how these individual opinions contrast with what Fontana calls a “relevant” public opinion. She similarly employs multiple terms to describe the common view of Rousseau’s “general will.” Staël calls this shared opinion “the true public opinion,” or the “general will,” or sometimes simply (and confusingly) “public opinion.”¹³

Staël describes the ‘true’ public opinion as a link that must be maintained between the people and the power (or represented in Figure 1 by the green circle): “The true public opinion, which rises superior to faction, has been the same in France for twenty-seven years; and every other direction given to it, being artificial, could only have a temporary influence.”¹⁴ According to Staël, the true public opinion prompted the Revolution but was lost in the subsequent emotional wrangling. Staël searched for the “signs of the opinion of the majority of the nation” by looking, past the distraction of emotional display, at the cluster of

¹⁰ Staël’s use of and interest in emotions has been amply researched. See for example *Staël’s Philosophy of the Passions: Sensibility, Society, and the Sister Arts* ed. Tili Boone Cuillé and Karyna Szmurlo (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2013).

¹¹ In *De l’influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus et des nations* (The Influence of the Passions Upon the Happiness of Individuals and of Nations) (1796), Staël treats the subject of emotions with intellectual detachment and justifies her political reasoning through the exploration of a list of specific human passions. I use the term “passion” in this sentence to refer to Staël’s analysis.

¹² Biancamaria Fontana, *Germaine de Staël: A Political Portrait* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 213.

¹³ I will use the expression “the true public opinion” in the following pages.

¹⁴ Quoted in Fontana, *Germaine de Staël*, 214.

individuals who represented the people at the Assemblée Constituante.¹⁵ As the wife of a Swedish diplomat, Erik-Magnus de Staël-Holstein, Staël was entitled to attend their debates.

Emotions and realistic vision of politics: “A quels signes peut-on connaître quelle est l’opinion de la majorité de la nation?”

In her first political article, entitled “A quels signes peut-on connaître quelle est l’opinion de la majorité de la nation?” (1791) Staël shows how human emotions split the true public opinion.¹⁶ Staël’s unsigned article was published in *Les indépendans* in April 1791 by her close family friend Jean-Baptiste Suard. It is based on her observations of the deputies of the Assemblée Constituante (1789 – 1791), the first republican assembly in France, appointed to write the first liberal Constitution in French history. The deputies were meant to embody the will of the nation, and had, according to Staël, France at their mercy.¹⁷

Staël dramatizes the performance of the deputies to denounce a show of feelings.¹⁸ She sees the Assemblée Constituante as a body adrift from the rest of the population. The twelve hundred deputies of the Assemblée Constituante came from every class of the French population. They had demands, grievances and suggestions; they wanted their voice to be heard in the name of the people, whom they claimed to officially represent.¹⁹ As Staël explains, the love of their own voices and the enjoyment of the eloquence of their own speeches took precedence over the representative duty of the deputies. As the speeches of the deputies had neither sustainable footing nor realistic objective, they were willfully misunderstood by the population, with dire consequences for the country:

¹⁵ See article below.

¹⁶ Staël, “A quels signes peut-on connaître quelle est l’opinion de la majorité de la nation?” *Œuvres complètes de Madame de Staël* tome 17 (Bruxelles : Louis Hauman, 1830), 252 – 260. Fontana translates the title of the article as follows: “From what signs can we tell which is the opinion of the majority of the nation?” The article has not been, to my knowledge, translated into English; the passages quoted from the article are my translations.

¹⁷ See Staël, *Considerations*, 128: “The Third Estate, and the minority of the nobility and clergy, formed the majority of the Constituent Assembly; and this Assembly disposed of the fate of France.”

¹⁸ “Rien n’était plus imposant que le spectacle de douze cents députés, écoutés par de nombreux spectateurs, et s’enflammant au seul nom des grandes vérités qui ont occupé l’esprit humain depuis l’origine de la société sur la terre” in Staël, “A quels signes,” 258. (Nothing was more impressive than the show of twelve hundred deputies, heard by many spectators, whose words would soar in the name of the great truths that have occupied the human spirit since the beginning of society on earth).

¹⁹ In Staël’s analysis, only Mirabeau could potentially fight against the tide of theatrics and keep in touch with the people: “Cet homme qui brava souvent l’opinion publique mais soutint toujours la volonté générale,” (this man who often stood against public opinion but always supported the general will). The example of Mirabeau enables Staël to mark the difference between public opinion(s) and general will.

The democratic declamations which obtained success in the assembly were transformed into actual outrage in the country; country-seats were burned in fulfillment of the epigrams pronounced by the popular speakers, and the kingdom was thrown into confusion by a war of words.²⁰

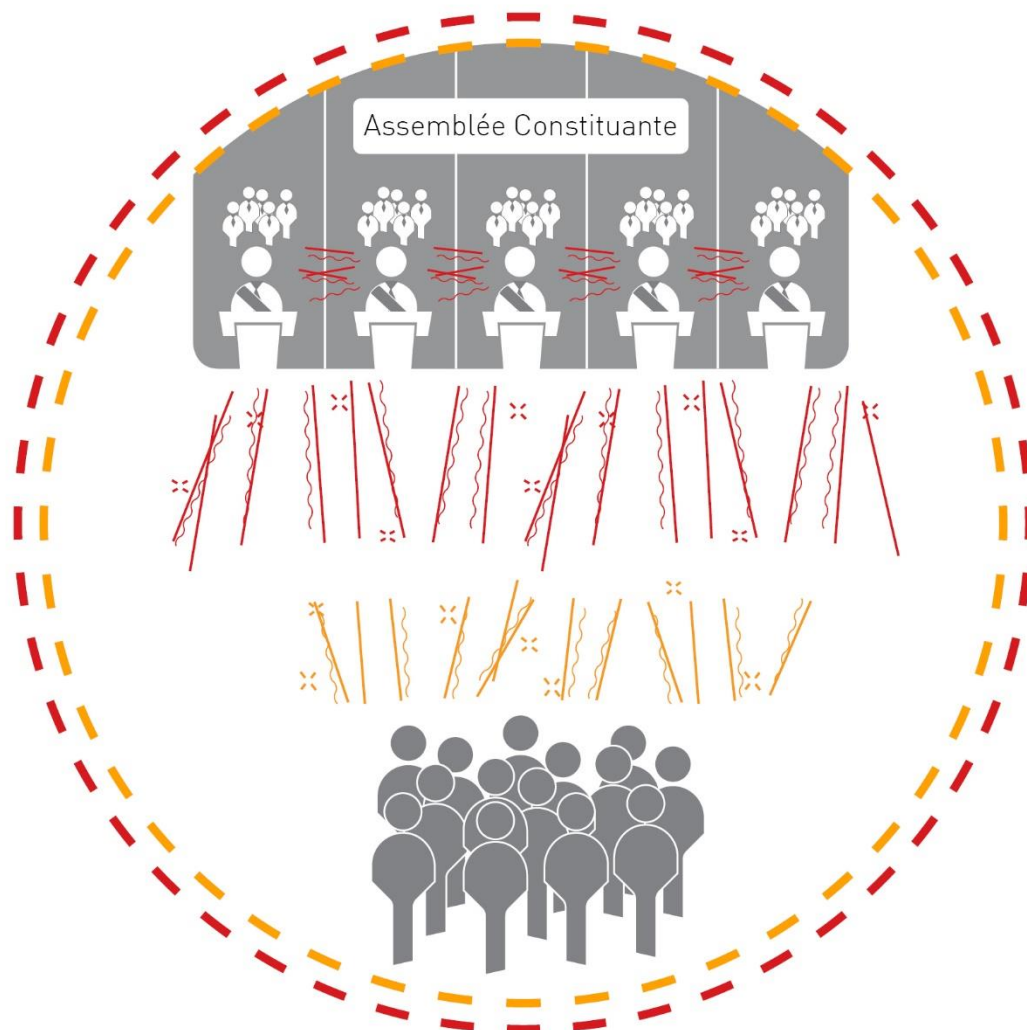
The link between the people and the deputies, the true public opinion, was severed, which dissolved the binding contract between a common citizen and his political representative (represented in the figure below in a discontinued red and yellow circle). Instead, an indefinite number of improvised speeches emanating from the deputies of the Assemblée Constituante provoked disconnected, impulsive actions at the level of the people (see erratic red and yellow lines).

Staël compares the atmosphere of the Assemblée Constituante to an arena of electrical forces: “Thoughts were communicated there with electric rapidity. (L’électricité des pensées s’y communiquoit en un instant).”²¹ Staël uses the verb “communicate” here to indicate the perception of feelings, as opposed to thoughts. A sense of immediacy is underscored in the original French version by the proposition “en un instant,” hence the improvisation and the impulsiveness as there is no time for deliberation nor political consensus. I visualise the speeches and actions according to Staël’s idea as electrical forces, which have the negative effect of preventing real communication, i. e. a communion of thought, between the people and their representatives.

²⁰ “Les déclamations démocratiques avec lesquelles on réussissoit à la tribune, se transforment en mauvaises actions dans les provinces: on brûloit les châteaux, en exécution des épigrammes prononcées par les orateurs de l’assemblée, et c’étoit à coup de phrases que l’on désorganisoit le royaume.” Staël, *Considérations*, 267. Staël, *Considerations*, 129.

²¹ Staël, *Considérations*, 264. Staël, *Considerations*, 128.

Figure 2
Realistic vision of politics: Staël's observations of the Assemblée Constituante



The Assemblée Constituante was divided into several political parties. Staël describes the Royalists and Ultraroyalists on the right side of the room, the large section of Moderates in the centre, and the Montagnards with eventually its section of radical Jacobins on the left (the representation here is linear, the relative sizes of the political parties do not apply). These parties regrouped into “factions,” led by a “spirit of the party.”²² The opinions resulting

²² Staël defines the spirit of party as follows: “L’esprit de parti est une sorte de frénésie de l’âme qui ne tient point à la nature de son objet. C’est de ne plus voir qu’une idée, lui rapporter tout, et n’apercevoir que ce qui peut s’y réunir.” Staël, *De l’influence des passions sur le bonheur des individus* (Lausanne: Jean Mourer, 1796), 212. “The iron hand of destiny is not more powerful than this domination of a ruling idea, than that phrenzy, which every single mode of thinking excites in the mind of him who abandons himself to its influence. While it subsists, the spirit of the party is fatality...” Staël, *The Influence of the Passions Upon the Happiness of Individuals and of Nations* (London: Colburn, 1813), 189.

from the spirit of party are represented as “electric” forces (red lines) which emerge from the Assemblée within itself or towards the people. These impulses superseded one another as they were attached to no object but the strength of their own execution. They created artificial and transient governances, promoted through the strength of self-interest.

Staël witnessed several times the violence of revolutionary feelings on the crowd of Parisians. She stood by a window on the night of 9 to 10 August 1792, and watched while the insurgents gathered to assault the Royal family at the Tuileries.²³ A few weeks later, when Staël tried to escape from Paris, she was caught on several occasions in the mob.²⁴ As Fontana explains, “In her narrative of revolutionary events, the mass of the people was always presented as led by primitive impulses or as the object of demagogical manipulation.”²⁵ Emotionally triggered public opinions are represented here as emerging from the people (yellow lines). They created revolutionary chaos such as Staël described, witnessed and experienced.

The utopian and the realistic political models show the republican turn of Staël’s mind and her qualities as a pragmatic political thinker.²⁶ They are based on Staël’s observation of a malfunctioning political system in which she points to a manifest disconnect between the people and political power. In order to re-establish a system of virtuous communication, Staël tried to include another source of power in her vision of the political public sphere: her own emotional agency. In the following section I revisit Habermas’s notion of public sphere by contrasting his analysis with Staël’s vision to explain why and how she played an active role of deliberative politics.

1.1.2 Staël’s Emotional Agency in the Public Sphere

Revisiting Habermas

The public sphere can best be described as a network for communicating information and points of view (i.e. opinions expressing affirmative or negative attitudes); the streams of communication are, in the process, filtered and synthesized in such a way that they coalesce into bundles of topically specified *public* opinions.²⁷

²³ See *Consideration*, Part 2 Chapter IX “Revolution Of The 10th Of August, 1792—Overthrow Of The Monarchy,” and Chapter X, “Private Anecdotes,” 216 – 223.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 221.

²⁵ Fontana, *Germaine de Staël*, 214.

²⁶ It would however be a mistake to call Staël a Republican. Staël admired the republican system and encouraged its implementation during the French Revolution but was mostly in favour of a constitutional monarchy.

²⁷ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 360.

In the light of Habermas's definition, Staël's analysis of the French political system during the French Revolution appears as a faulty network, or a web of broken lines. The issue Staël addresses is how to recreate the streams of communication between the people and the power. To this end, she focusses, as Habermas does, on the nature of public opinion:

In the public sphere, utterances are sorted according to issue and contribution, whereas the contributions are weighted by the affirmative versus negative responses they receive. Information and arguments are thus worked into focused opinions. What makes such 'bundled' opinions into public opinion is both the controversial way it comes about and the amount of approval that 'carries' it.²⁸

In the last sentence of the quote, Habermas describes the process of the formulation of public opinion in terms that point to the expression of emotion ("controversial" or "the amount of approval that 'carries' it"), without entering into the details of their effect, as his focus is to make an objective description of the public sphere, as opposed to Staël's earlier, more interactive, description. Habermas thus leaves out the interplay of emotions, which Staël had made explicit in a passage of *De l'Allemagne* (1813):

Let a great number of men be assembled at a theatre or public place, and let some theorem of reasoning, however general, be proposed to them; as many different opinions will immediately be formed as there are individuals assembled. But, if any actions, displaying greatness of soul, are related, or the accents of generosity heard, the general burst will at once proclaim that you have touched that region of the soul which is as lively and powerful in our beings, as the instinct that preserves our existence.²⁹

To Staël's mind, the "bundling" of opinions is the consequence of emotional interference. She establishes a hierarchy of emotions by showing how some emotions take priority over others: "greatness of soul" or "accents of generosity" are capable of turning the tide of opinion and can transform a "bundle" into a unity. Throughout her life and career, Staël endeavoured to ply emotional interferences into emotional strategies.

²⁸ Ibid., 362.

²⁹ Staël, *Germany*, Vol. 3 (London: John Murray, 1813), 85-86. "Réunissez un grand nombre d'hommes au théâtre et dans la place publique, et dites leur quelque vérité de raisonnement, quelque idée générale que ce puisse être, à l'instant vous verrez se manifester autant d'opinions diverses qu'il y aura d'individus rassemblés. Mais, si quelques traits de grandeur d'âme sont racontés, si quelques accents de générosité se font entendre, aussitôt des transports unanimes vous apprendrons que vous avez touché à cet instinct de l'âme, aussi vif, aussi puissant que notre être, que l'instinct conservateur de l'existence." Staël, *De l'Allemagne*, tome 3 (Paris: Nicolle, 1810 réimprimé par Murray (1813)), 82 – 83.

Staël's emotional mediation: salons, writing, politics

According to Fontana, Staël's acknowledgement of the lack of representation of the people (indicated above by a severed link, represented by a discontinued circle in Figure 2), suggests that Staël shared her father's views on the importance of gaining the good opinion of the people: Necker instituted public credit, to prove that a relationship based on trust and popular consensus paves the way for a healthier national economy.

Fontana's analysis, however, leaves out, as Chinatsu Takeda remarks, Staël's emotional understanding of public opinion.³⁰ Takeda claims that Staël's understanding of public opinion is different from Necker's because it is more "disorderly than orderly, illogical rather than logical, and syncretic rather than binary."³¹ Takeda distinguishes Necker's direct appreciation of the "great force of public opinion" from Staël's emotional digressions on the subject. She writes,

Staël's unique approach to public opinion ultimately reflects her gender [...] transposing her social role as salon hostess to synthesize mutually conflicting male self-centered opinions over that of a woman writer, Staël places piety at the heart of her unique definition of public opinion.³²

Takeda's reflection builds on years of research on Staël's character and her analysis of gender.³³ Her analysis stems from the practice of Staël as a salon hostess, who excelled at the art of receiving and humouring her guests. The "piety," or respect of her duty and of others, which crystalizes Staël's understanding of public opinion, is the most important quality required of a salon hostess, as the happiness of her guests guarantees their return to her home and the success of her enterprise. Yet by referring to Staël's status as a "woman writer," Takeda implies that Staël's approach is only apparently self-effacing. As a salon hostess, Staël collected different individual opinions (considered here as public opinions) and worked them together more or less harmoniously. As Takeda further remarks, "The substance of Staël's public opinion consists in the intrinsic pleasure to integrate disjointed elements into a whole despite contradictions."³⁴

³⁰ Chinatsu Takeda, *Mme de Staël and Political Liberalism in France* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2018).

³¹ Takeda, *Mme de Staël*, 10.

³² Fontana, *Germaine de Staël*, 213 and 215. Takeda draws on Nanette Le Coat's analysis "The Virtuous Passion: The Politics of Pity" in Boon Cuillé and Szmurlo, *Staël's Philosophy of the Passions*, 39 – 57.

³³ See for example, Anne Amend – Söchtting, "Les trois Sophie comment Madame de Staël dépeint la condition des femmes," *Carte blanche aux jeunes chercheurs Cahiers Staëliens* 49 (Paris Société des Etudes Staëliennes: Honoré Champion, 1997-1998), 7–31.

³⁴ Takeda, *Mme de Staël*, 10.

According to Julia Kristeva, what elated Staël most was indeed the mastery of a ‘psychic space,’ through a use and display of emotions.³⁵ Kristeva explains Staël’s motivation:

This reasoner is pleased to contort her judgments (so many overloaded sentences, scholarly allusions, erudite or egotistical digressions), before arriving at the find that hits the mark and crosses the centuries [...] For what purpose all this? To better tame her opponent, in other words her lover first, then the public, and the World to finish.³⁶

Kristeva does not underestimate Staël’s ambition. She establishes an order of priority in terms of conquest that ironically recalls imperialism. The verb “tame” encompasses both the idea of cajoling and convincing (through reason), bearing in mind that Staël’s strength in doing so would make her ideas “cross the centuries.” Staël’s ‘emotional strategies’ translate into rhetorical strategies in her written text, as she sets out to cajole and convince her reader with the most appropriate words and expressions.

Both Fontana and Takeda acknowledge the central position of public opinion in Staël’s politics, but they fail to place this definition in a broader personal and political scheme. Whether in her salons, or in her writing, Staël operated through a method of Socratic maieutics and emotional/rhetorical tactics, either by conducting the moods and opinions of her guests or by creating her own long winded dialogues on paper, to eventually give birth to a ‘public’ opinion. In other words, Staël created networks from the afore-mentioned web of broken streams of deliberation (see Figure 2). From this position, she attempted to reconstruct a virtuous model of the public sphere.

In the following section I analyse Staël’s *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine, par une femme* (*Reflections on the Trial of the Queen*) (1794) as an exercise in deliberative politics by showing how Staël fine-tuned her rhetorical strategy and emulated the emotional strategies that underlie the formation of public opinions.

³⁵ Julia Kristeva, “Gloire, deuil et écriture. Lettre à un ‘romantique’ sur Mme de Staël,” *Romantisme* 18, no. 62 (1988): 7-14. “Ce qui l’exalte, cependant, c’est la maîtrise d’un espace psychique – qui s’étend de la souffrance au pathos – par des mots, des phrases, des jugements, des expressions logiques et romanesques” (What exalts her, however, is the mastery of a psychic space – which ranges from suffering to pathos – with words, sentences, judgments, logical and novel expressions), 14.

³⁶ “Cette raisonneuse se complait à alambiquer ses jugements (que de phrases surchargées, d’allusions savantes, de digressions érudites ou égotistes), avant d’arriver à la trouvaille qui fait mouche et traverse les siècles [...] Dans quel but tout cela? Pour mieux dompter son adversaire, autrement dit son amant d’abord, le public ensuite, et le Monde pour finir.” (my translation) Ibid., 7.

Exercising deliberative politics: *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine, par une femme*

The Terror (1792 – 1795) was a dark period in French History that led to the execution of King Louis XVI and, to Staël's dismay, Queen Marie-Antoinette. Before the trial of the queen, Staël makes her own first attempt to steer the people's opinion. As Nanette Le Coat points out in her chapter on Staël's "Politics of Pity," "While nominally addressed to women of the popular class, the target audience of the *Reflections on the Trial of the Queen* was doubtless the court of public opinion, which alone could have been brought to bear pressure on the political camp favouring the execution of the queen."³⁷ The publication of this political pamphlet thus reveals Staël's belief in a form of deliberative democracy, where private individuals such as herself can have an influence on political decision-making. Staël's efforts anticipate Habermas's reasoning: "The public of citizens must be *convinced* by comprehensible and broadly interesting contributions to issues it finds relevant."³⁸

Réflexions sur le procès de la reine, par une femme was issued both in Paris and in London to reach a broad audience that included the French political refugees in England. The pamphlet appeared anonymously but did have an indication in its title that the author claimed to be a woman: *par une femme*. Staël published her vindication of the queen only two months before her trial, in August 1793, hoping that her timing would have effect on the people's mind. She used a Rousseauist approach to femininity and motherhood as safeguards of the nation, while she addressed the plight of the queen as much as she attacked the preparation of a pretense of justice.

Staël's style is laden with calls to men's pity and to women's solidarity.³⁹ As a woman and a mother, Staël could identify emotionally with the demands and duties of motherhood and devotion to men and country. However, Staël's arguments are carefully constructed. She describes the queen's dedication to her country, to her husband, and to her children to invalidate the charges of disloyalty to her country, of adultery, and of profligacy that were to be held against her during her trial. By overstating the queen's devotion, Staël uses a defense strategy that matches the exaggerations of the accusations at the trial. She sublimates the queen into a symbol of womanhood to counter the clichéd image of the 'fallen woman' that the revolutionaries wanted to make of her. Staël chose to refer to the status and not the individual – with "la reine" as opposed to "Marie-Antoinette" in her title – because she refers

³⁷ Le Coat, "the Virtuous Passion: The Politics of Pity," 47.

³⁸ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 364.

³⁹ "Oh ! Vous, femmes de tous les pays, de toutes les classes de la société, écoutez-moi avec l'émotion que j'éprouve." (Ah ! You, women from all countries, and from all social classes, listen to me with the same emotion as I feel) Staël, *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine, par une femme* (Paris: Editions du Boucher, 2002), 4.

to Marie Antoinette's public status and duties as Queen of France.⁴⁰ This detail foreshadows the dignity of the queen as she spoke in her own defense, by referring to her duty to France, as opposed to answering her accusers' personal attacks.

The quality of Staël's narrative strategy shows her talent in conducting a political debate, such as those which took place within the context of her salons. Yet the publication of Staël's pamphlet was, despite her international canvassing, little more than a provocation. Marie-Antoinette's trial took place from 14 to 16 October 1793. She was condemned and executed on 16 October 1793. Staël's single stroke did not have a noticeable impact on the population, because it was not sufficiently imbedded in the power structures of the political public sphere. For this, she would need the support of the periodical press.

1.1.3 The Periodical Press as a Platform of Deliberative Politics

More than a century and a half before Habermas's *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit*, Staël saw the rise of the periodical press as a key factor in the formation of the public sphere. Staël did not think of periodicals simply as conveyors of information, but as virtual public platforms, that process and transform the streams of communication that structure the public sphere.

Staël's idealistic vision of periodical editing

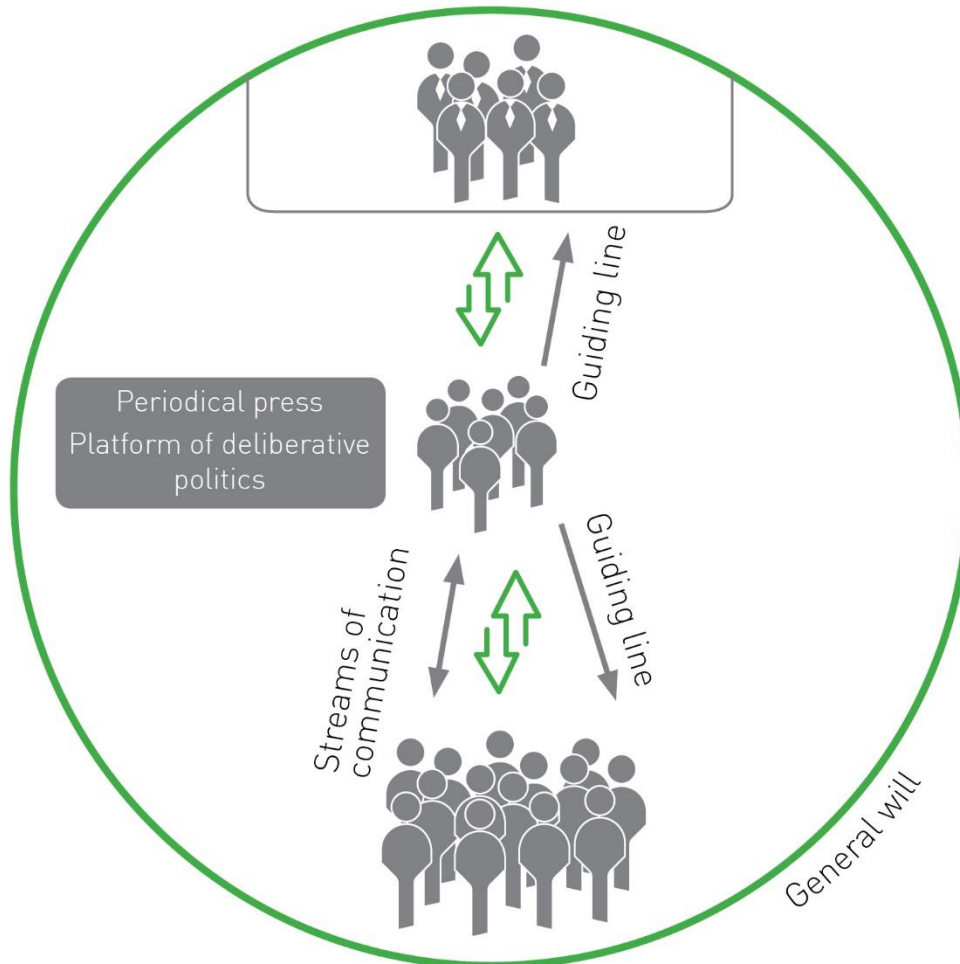
From Staël's viewpoint, in the context of French politics at the turn of the nineteenth century, Habermas's notion of public sphere should be reconsidered as a place where deliberation distils political power, while knowledge and truth, the tools of political liberty, must be placed in the hands of the people. In Habermas's words, "the political public sphere should be revitalized to the point where a regenerated citizenry can, in the forms of a decentralized self-governance (once again) appropriate bureaucratically alienated state power."⁴¹ The expression "regenerated citizenry" supposes that the people possess the tools that enable them to break the vicious patterns of perverted streams of information. The press should "revitalize" the public sphere through the circulation of truthful information and opinions. More specifically, the periodical press, as a platform of deliberation, should become the vessel of deliberative politics that underlies political governance and guarantees the common good, as in the following virtuous model of deliberative politics.

⁴⁰ See Staël's reflection on Marie-Antoinette's title after the revolutionaries had referred to her as "la veuve Capet" (the widow Capet); to Staël's mind the systematic suppression of marks of nobility and majesty annihilated all forms of respect. See also Staël's thoughts on equality and form developed in *Considerations*, chapter XIV "Of The Suppression Of Titles Of Nobility," 167 – 168.

⁴¹ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 297.

Figure 3

Virtuous model of deliberative politics in the public sphere



In a virtuous model of deliberative politics, the role of the periodical press is not to tell the people how to act, but to guide them to think for their own good, hence the “guiding lines” in Figure 3. The contract that structures this public sphere (green circle) is based on the understanding that the information circulating in the periodical press is either truthful or relevant to mutual understanding (as announced, for example, in the prospectus or first issue of new periodicals).

The green double arrow between the general population and the small group of people placed on the platform of the periodical press represents single opinions, arising from, as Habermas describes, “The actors who, so to speak, emerge from the public and take part

in the reproduction of the public sphere.”⁴² These opinions are disseminated by periodicals (in the form of reviews, articles, promotions of artistic or literary work, etc.) towards the rest of the population for large scale deliberation. As a result of this procedure, the “streams of communication” grey arrow represents the information filtered by the periodical press. The green double arrow between the periodical press and political power represents the transmission of the people’s deliberation to power representatives. Conversely, the communication of political decisions transit via the periodical press, to be processed and virtuously transformed by the actors of the press industry before they are acknowledged by the people. In this idealistic virtuous system, Staël, as an “actor who emerges from the public,” would offer her work to the periodical press: her article in *Les Indépendans* and her political pamphlet *Réflexions sur le procès de la reine, par une femme* for example. The press, as a platform of deliberative politics would process Staël’s work by both disseminating and criticizing it.

Staël perceived that emotional interference distorted the establishment of a virtuous dialogue between the public, the periodical press, and representative power structures. As we will see in the following sections, firstly, she denounced an abuse of power at the level of periodical editorship. Secondly, she denounced a system in which human passions such as “envy” are harnessed by the “actors who emerge from the public.”

Periodical editorship and distorted general will

The French Revolution triggered an unprecedented period of freedom for the French press. The novelty of the situation and unguarded liberty of the actors of the press industry generated the same kind of emotional outbursts as those of the freshly appointed deputies of the Assemblée Constituante. Staël contrasted the responsibility of a leading deputy of the Assemblée Constituante with that of a periodical editor (crowned, in Figure 4):

Such a man who would make, as representative of the people, an inviolable newspaper, is the director of the public mind in France. The children, the old men, the peasants, the distant men, all would draw opinions in such a newspaper.⁴³

In the first sentence of the quote, Staël uses the expression “representative of the people,” as she does when she describes the duties of political representatives. She relates the duty of the editor towards his readers to the duty of political decision-makers towards the population. Yet Staël goes a step further by showing how the periodical press can become a

⁴² Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 364.

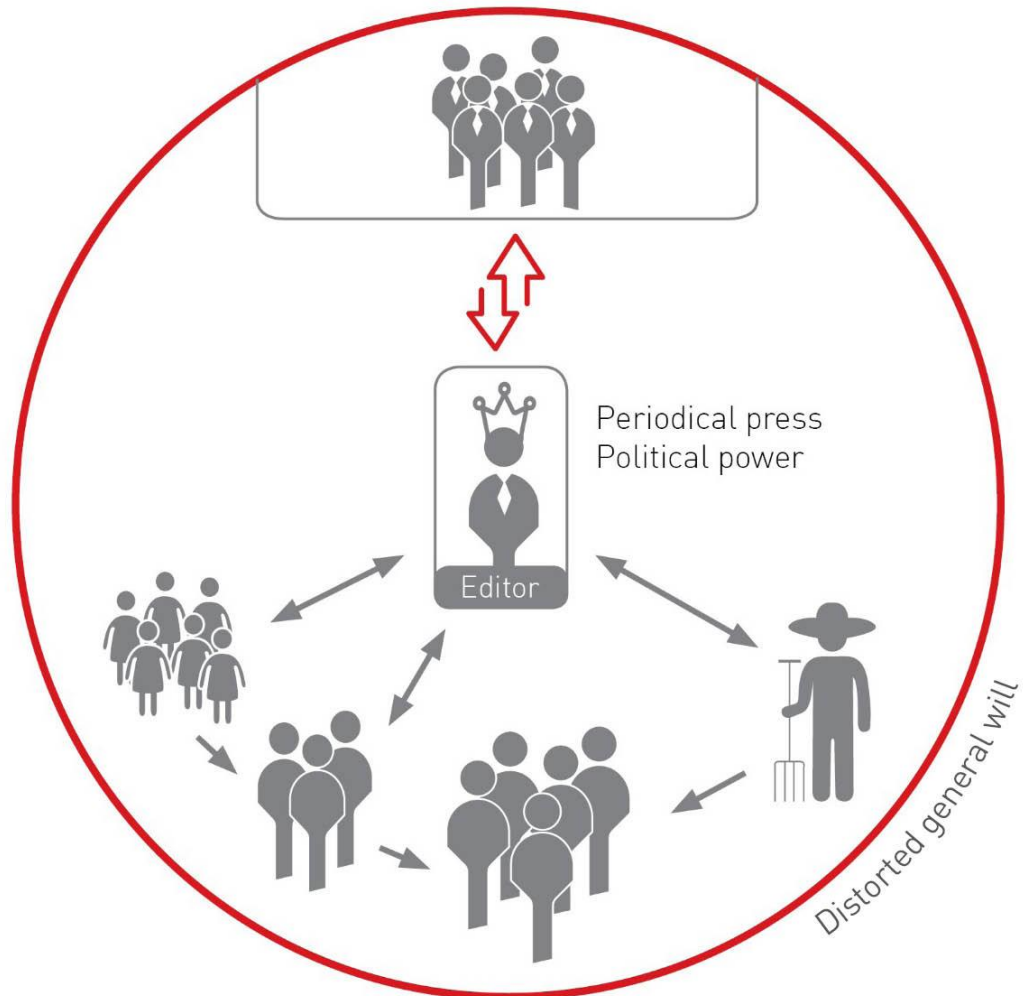
⁴³ “Tel homme faisant, comme représentant du peuple, un journal inviolable, est le directeur de l’esprit public en France. Les enfants, les vieillards, les paysans, les hommes éloignés, tous puisent des opinions dans un tel journal.” Staël, *Des Circonstances actuelles*, 141.

propaganda tool, which she places here in the hands of a single man.⁴⁴ The second sentence of the quote denounces the mechanism of propaganda, if or when the people believe that the periodical press is a platform for the deliberation of accurate information. Staël targets a group of “weaker-minded” people, metaphorically described as children or the elderly, lesser informed social classes (“the peasants”), and the geographically distant (i.e. those who have less access to sources of information and thus more easily follow the general opinion). This group, taken together, draws its opinions from the corrupted press, in other words, the opinions expressed in the periodical (simplified by Staël as unique) become their own. The public deliberation of these ‘distorted’ opinions eventually guides the entire population into forming a corrupted link, a misdirected “general will,” between the people and the power (red circle). Moreover, the journal is “inviolable.” In other words, the structure of the periodical becomes impenetrable and crystalizes political power in a single source: itself.

⁴⁴ As in the first sentence of the preceding quote, Staël foresees Napoleon’s despotic political rule and his hold on the literary and periodical press in France (Staël wrote *Des Circonstances actuelles* in 1798 according to Lucia Omacini’s annotation for the Droz edition in 1979).

Figure 4

The almighty periodical editor and distorted general will



Emotional interferences and public image

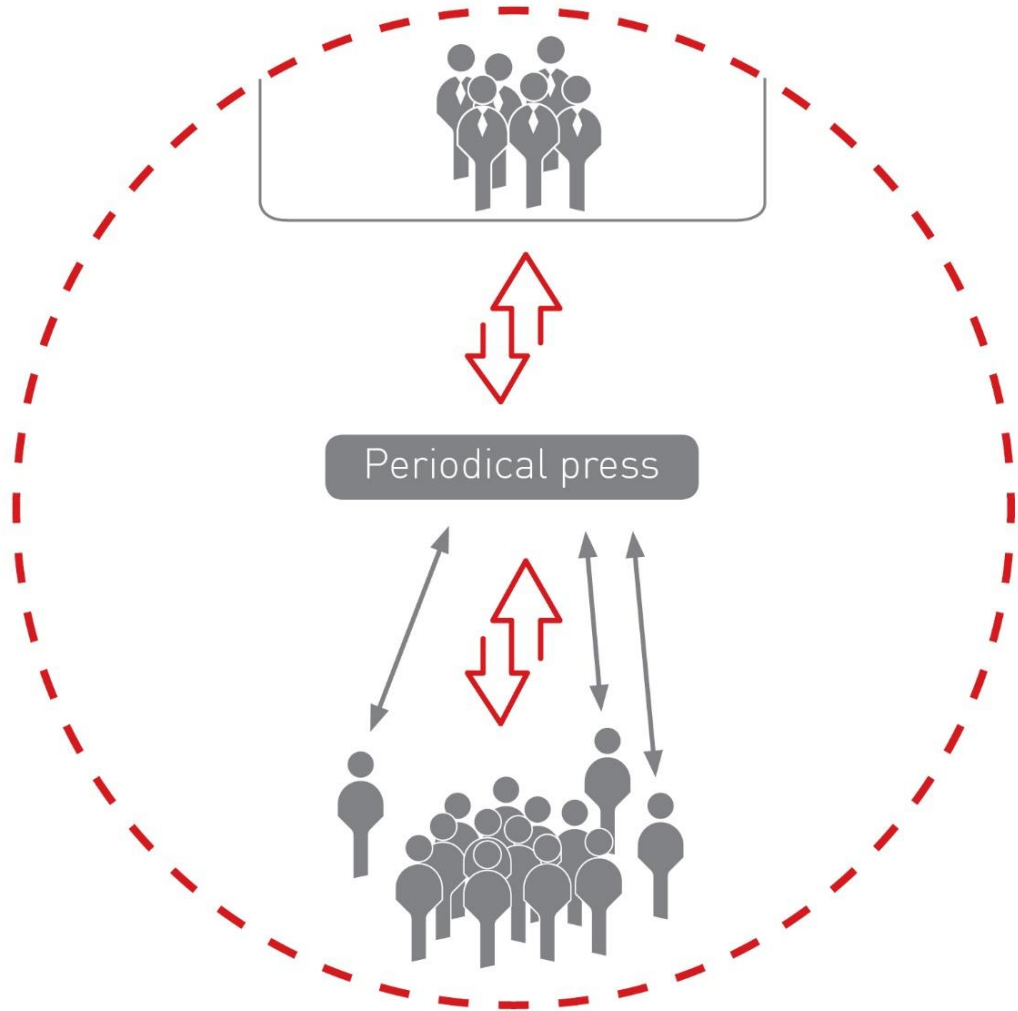
According to Marcellin Pellet's analysis of one of the leading periodicals of the beginning of the French Revolution, *Les Actes des apôtres* (1789- 1791), the press produced violent attacks against private individuals with a public profile, in this case the members of the French government: "This tomfoolery is as violent as it is vulgar [...] It is relevant to point out that justice never brought action against les Apôtres for their insults against the Assemblée

Constituante.”⁴⁵ Pellet comments upon the free display of emotion in the attacks of the revolutionary press, and notes that the element that partly explains the licentiousness of the periodical was a lack of (legal) control.

From the perspective of the present analysis, these press attacks were the same kind of ‘electric’ emotional impulses as those among the crowd or from the speechifying deputies (see Figure 2). The difference, however, is that these impulses formed a vicious connection between the people and the periodical press because the information originating from the people was transformed, and targeted back at them. Staël was one of the early critics of such manipulation by the press.

⁴⁵ “Ces pantalonnades sont aussi violentes que grossières. Il est bon de remarquer [...] que jamais la justice ne demanda compte aux Apôtres de leurs insultes à l’Assemblée constituante.” Marcellin Pellet, *Un journal royaliste en 1789. Les Actes des apôtres* (Paris: Armand Le Chevalier, 1873), 182.

Figure 5
Manipulated information targeted at private individuals



The discovery of printing, instead of being what it has been called, the safeguard of liberty, would be the most terrible weapon of despotism [...] when everyone's reputation depends on a calumny propagated by gazettes which are multiplied on every side, and when there is not a possibility that any person should be allowed to refute.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Staël, *Considerations*, 295. "La découverte de l'imprimerie, loin d'être, comme on l'a dit, la sauvegarde de la liberté, serait l'arme la plus terrible du despotisme (...) lorsque la réputation de chacun dépend d'une calomnie répandue dans des gazettes qui se multiplient de toutes parts sans qu'on n'accorde à personne la possibilité de les réfuter." Staël, *Considérations sur les principaux événements de la révolution française*, tome 2 (Paris: Delaunay, 1818), 261.

In Staël's representation, the press appears as a platform that generates a vicious network of influence by transforming the streams of communication issued from the people into "calumnies" and returning distorted information unchecked (represented as grey double arrows between the periodical press platform and single individuals from the population). As Habermas explains, "'Influence' feeds on the resource of mutual understanding, but it is based on advancing trust in beliefs that are not currently tested."⁴⁷ The printing process to which Staël refers started as a tool for the people to convey relevant information on paper and disseminate this information among themselves and among strangers.⁴⁸ If these conditions are not respected, the press no longer acts as a relay of communication whose role would be to shape the people's opinions and help them make decisions. The people and the periodical press develop a relationship based on falsehood. Instead of feeding knowledge to the people so that they can inform their power representatives on the best mode of governance, the lies that are generated from the periodical editing platform corrupt the entire system (see discontinued red circle and red double arrows). More specifically, the press loses its potential calling as a forum for the discussion and genuine deliberation of a range of topics.⁴⁹ The press becomes a tool for the propagation of distorted information targeted at private individuals.

The circulation of manipulated information in the press contributed to the construction of Staël's public image. Moreover, Catriona Seth reminds us that Staël was besmirched in the periodical press as no man, at the time, would have been.⁵⁰ The propagation of these misogynistic calumnies, however, was countered by the reports of her friends, who were in strategic positions within the power structures of the periodical press.⁵¹ Staël had to shape the construction of her unique public image, based on the public's emotional response to the fact that she was a woman who dared to step up, in order to disseminate her ideas in the public sphere.

⁴⁷ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 363.

⁴⁸ See Elisabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁴⁹ See Chapter Two for a discussion on the re-establishment of such forums.

⁵⁰ BBC Radio 4 programme, *In Our Time* hosted by Melvyn Bragg 16 November 2017. Simone Balayé has also provided us with detailed accounts of the violence of journalistic prose against Staël: Simone Balayé, "Madame de Staël et la presse révolutionnaire," *Cahiers Staëliens* 53 (2002): 23 – 52.

⁵¹ Staël's novels *Delphine* (1802) and *Corinne* (1807) divided the Parisian press; the French periodicals *Le Publiciste* (1792 – 1810), *Le Citoyen Français* (1799 – 1804) and *La Décade Philosophique* (1794 – 1804) defended Staël against *Le Journal des Débats* (1789 – 1944), *Le Mercure de France* (1672 – 1965) and *Le Journal de Paris* (1777 – 1827). The editor of *Le Publiciste* was Staël's friend Jean-Baptiste Suard, while Benjamin Constant, one of her closest companions, wrote for *Le Citoyen Français*. Journalists and editors Joseph Fiévée and Charles-Marie de Féletz, who wrote for the opposing press, were Staël's personal enemies throughout their career.

Napoleon gradually suppressed the freedom of expression that had prevailed under the Revolution, until the decree of 5 February 1810, that established the censorship of both the periodical and book presses.⁵² Following the implementation of these legal measures, Napoleon rejected Staël's treatise on Germany (*De l'Allemagne*) in 1810. Staël travelled for three years through Germany, Russia, and Sweden, before she turned to England to seek a publisher, and approach the periodical press. The following section explores Staël's network strategies and the construction of her public image in the British press. With the examples of my case study, I illustrate the ideas on public opinion, emotions, and the periodical press, which have been explained and represented in the five diagrams of the first part of this chapter, by showing how Staël reached out to a transnational platform of deliberative politics, where her works and her influence could be generated and discussed at a much larger scale. I argue that Staël worked toward building a virtuous model of the periodical press (Figure 3). She approached the actors of the press industry, and more particularly periodical editors (and their teams) (Figure 4), by using the construction of her career and the influence of her own public image (Figure 5).

1.2 Case Study: Staël's Network Strategies in Britain (1813 – 1814)

In this case study, my focus shifts from Staël's macro vision of the public sphere to a micro analysis of her relationship with three London-based periodical owners and editors during her stay in London from 1813 to 1814: John Murray (1778 – 1843), Jean-Gabriel Peltier (1760 – 1825), and Henry Colburn (1784 – 1855). While Murray, Peltier, and Colburn were all successful in their trade, they did not follow the same rules of socio-professional behaviour. I demonstrate how they collectively contributed to the shaping of Staël's public image, in the periodical press and in public awareness.

To begin, I show how the French writer made her presence felt on the British public scene, and more particularly with the publisher John Murray, by trading on her cultural and social capital and by advocating intercultural inclusion. I argue that Staël countered Murray's conservatism by endeavouring to transcend the boundaries between private, social, and

⁵² This decree appointed a press police body with, at its head, a general director assisted by six auditors. Napoleon reduced the number of printers, forbade opposition press, imposed a track record of publications and the names of authors, imposed heavy taxes on any authorised (French written) foreign exported works, and planned repressive measures if any of the above conditions were not respected.

professional networks for the promotion of her book, *De l'Allemagne* (1813), while she played on the rivalry between Murray's *Quarterly Review* and Francis Jeffrey's liberal *Edinburgh Review*.

In the second part I study Peltier's editorial practices and Staël's literary promotion in *L'Ambigu*. I show how, from a general perspective, her literary fame strengthened in the periodical press, however callously periodicals treated her. More specifically, I qualify Simone Balayé's assertion that Peltier disliked Staël.⁵³ I argue that although Peltier's personal feelings were not in her favour, the evolution of his editorial choices follows a pattern that went hand in hand with Staël's growing literary fame: Peltier professionally marketed Staël as an author and as a public figure.

In a third part, I show through Staël's relationship with Colburn, how the "Rogue Publisher and Prince of Puffers" made a name for himself outside the mainstream English socio-professional networks.⁵⁴ According to John Sutherland and Veronica Melnyk, Henry Colburn has suffered from a terrible reputation, yet he was "one of the prime movers in the British publishing world."⁵⁵ They argue that Colburn's early methods of advertisement, which were seen as highly improper by his contemporaries, were in fact ahead of his time. On the strength of this analysis, I argue that Colburn's avant-garde editorial strategies transformed Staël's career in the English cultural imagination in ways that help to explain the evolutions and perceptions of Staël's public image.

The combination of these three examples maps out Staël's network strategies in periodical editorship. Staël initiated a complex emotional relationship between herself, the periodical press industry, and the public, that prompted individual mobility within the public sphere. In this process, she had to let her public image develop independently from her private persona (see Part 1, Figure 5). However, Staël kept a hand in this development: I show that the construction of her public image stemmed from the balance between the reviews and reports that circulated in the press, and the socio-professional networks that she was consciously building within the public sphere. I argue that Staël's entry into a traditionally politicized, male-dominated, and network-bound press industry challenged the early rules of

⁵³"Peltier n'aimait pas Staël" (Peltier did not like Staël) in Balayé, *Ecrire Lutter Vivre* (Genève: Droz, 1994), 262. Balayé carefully read *L'Ambigu*: see manuscript note pasted in the bound volume of the two first years of *L'Ambigu*, held in the BNF.

⁵⁴ Veronica Melnyk, *Half Fashion and half Passion: "The Life of Publisher Henry Colburn"* (University of Birmingham: PhD thesis, September 2002), John Sutherland and Veronica Melnyk, *Rogue Publisher: The 'Prince of Puffers': The Life and Works of the Publisher Henry Colburn* (Brighton: Edward Everett Root, 2018). Puffery is a term used to refer to any means that draws publications to the reader's notice, through reviews, anecdotes on the author, mentions of book titles, or even fake controversy.

⁵⁵ Sutherland and Melnyk, *Rogue Publisher*, xi.

periodical editorship, paving the way towards modern perceptions of image negotiation in the media.

1.2.1 Staël and Murray's Network Strategies: Negotiating a Celebrity Career

Public and private networks

As Kathryn Sutherland remarks, John Murray, second in a line of seven generations from father to son, “was in the vanguard of a new breed of publishers.”⁵⁶ Sutherland refers to Murray's social networking, and to his reputation as a ‘gentleman’ publisher. Murray strove for respectability and treated his authors well.⁵⁷ He entertained during literary afternoons, as opposed to the traditional literary *soirées*, in his London house on Albemarle Street, where he moved to in 1812.⁵⁸

In a letter Murray wrote to his son, Archibald, Staël's name appears as the only lady in a list of celebrated social and business connections:

I am in the habit of seeing persons of the highest rank in literature and talent, such as Canning, Frere, Mackintosh, Southey, Campbell, Walter Scott, Madame de Staël, Gifford, Croker, Barrow, Lord Byron, and others.⁵⁹

The public collaboration between Murray and Staël highlights the influence of social networking on professional advancement. Privately, Murray was baffled by the fame of the foreign lady, as we infer from a letter he received from his editor William Gifford:

I can venture to assure you that the hope of keeping her from the press is quite vain. The family of Oedipus were not more haunted and goaded by the Furies than the

⁵⁶ Kathryn Sutherland, “Jane Austen's Dealings with John Murray and His Firm,” *The Review of English Studies* 64, no. 263 (February 2013): 105 – 126, 110.

⁵⁷ See Humphrey Carpenter, *The Seven Lives of John Murray: The Story of a Publishing Dynasty* (London: John Murray, 2009), 93. Carpenter explains that Murray sometimes claimed “to follow high principles while at the same time getting himself a bargain,” *ibid.*, 43. Encouraged by Walter Scott, Murray strove to be financially fair with his employees and his authors. Murray would also reward successful writers at a time when most publishers took advantage of some writers' reluctance to receive payment, for example, Maria Eliza Rundell's book on cookery, 1805 (Carpenter, *The Seven Lives*, 43).

⁵⁸ The house on Albemarle Street was previously owned by William Miller who set up a bookselling business in 1806 (Carpenter, *The Seven Lives*, 77).

⁵⁹ Letter to his son Archibald, August 1813, *ibid.*, 77.

Neckers, father, mother and daughter, have always been, by the demon of publication. Madame de Staël will therefore write and print without intermission.⁶⁰

Although Murray publicly stages Staël in his regular gatherings, she is privately seen as an intrusive printaholic. The shade of male chauvinism in the term “Furies” and the discrediting allusion to the quantity (as opposed to the quality) of Staël’s literary production taints Murray’s acknowledgement of a woman in a man’s professional and social position. Gifford’s concern also has to do with the impression of a lack of control over Staël and her prolific output. Gifford’s flippancy thus revolves around a crucial point which is that Gifford and Murray kept their private circles quite distinct from Staël’s (and her family’s) foreign, ‘uncontrollable’ ones.⁶¹ Staël’s correspondence, surprisingly perhaps, contains no such exclusive dialogues.⁶²

Staël’s network strategy, as opposed to Murray’s, was always inclusive. She blurred public and private distinctions. Staël fabricated and encouraged a friendship with Murray, as show the numerous invitations and flattering remarks she sent him. She also publicised her professional relationship with him. On 12 October 1813, Staël writes to Murray: “You are perfectly *gentleman like* in all things.”⁶³ From her position as a foreigner, who nonetheless possessed a considerable amount of social capital, Staël honed her ‘emotional strategies’ by both playing on, and legitimising, Murray’s social status and professional reputation. She strengthened this method by spinning a socio-professional network between Murray and her own French circle. For example, she convinces her most intimate friend Benjamin Constant to publish with Murray and quotes him as “her” publisher: “My publisher Murray has not yet received your book.”⁶⁴ The use of a possessive article here, while Staël had many other publishers in Britain, marks Staël’s inclusiveness, her social interacting in Britain through a close connection with Murray, and her wishful participation in the development of her British career.

Staël found her place among the men of letters who crowded Murray’s drawing room and found her tone in letters of polite yet firm negotiation towards the publication of her books. An agreement over the sum of 1500 guineas for *De l’Allemagne* was settled on 11 July

⁶⁰ On 12 July 1813. In Samuel Smiles, *A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the Late John Murray* (London: Murray, 1891), 314. Staël is the only woman in Murray’s list. I discuss gender difference in the critical discourse of British periodicals further on.

⁶¹ This impression is enhanced with the terms “keeping her from” and “the Neckers.”

⁶² In a letter addressed to Alexandre Marcet on 9 September 1815, Staël addresses her only complaint of Murray when the latter declined her invitations to Paris.

⁶³ “Vous êtes parfaitement *gentleman like* en tout,” Staël, *Correspondance générale VIII “Le grand voyage,” 23 mai 1812 – 12 mai 1814* ed. S. Genand et J-D. Candaux (Genève: Slatkine, 2017), 390.

⁶⁴ “Votre livre n’est point arrivé à mon libraire Murray,” 18 January 1814, Staël, *Correspondance générale VIII*, 457.

1813 and sealed in a contract witnessed by Staël and Murray's mutual friend, the lawyer and diarist Henry Crabb Robinson.⁶⁵ The price was high, though it did not reach the sums she later demanded for *Considérations sur la révolution française*. Murray published *De l'Allemagne* on 3 November 1813.⁶⁶ Staël wrote (at least) seventeen letters to him, from the signature of her contract to the publication of the first edition.⁶⁷ The correspondence reveals the care Staël took in the editing, translation, and promotion of her work. More strikingly, Staël's correspondence shows how she trespassed on Murray's professionalism by continuously advising him on the promotion of her book, while she bartered for his influence with the periodical press.⁶⁸

Intruding upon periodical rivalry: the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*

In 1809 Murray launched the *Quarterly Review* to counter the influence of the widely read *Edinburgh Review*. These two periodicals, commonly called the 'Great Reviews' for their selectiveness and the quality of their critical reviews, introduced innovative topics such as political economy, natural science, and moral philosophy, and were the first periodicals to introduce foreign literature to Britain.⁶⁹

The *Quarterly* appeared four times a year. Following the advice of his friend, the novelist and poet Walter Scott, Murray paid his first editor (Gifford) handsomely.⁷⁰ Gifford worked with a team of influential contributors, while he specialised in literary editing.⁷¹ These contributors were part of Murray's circle of friends and business associates at

⁶⁵ David Glass Larg, *Madame de Staël: La seconde vie (1800-1807)* (Genève: Slatkine, 1974), 198-199.

⁶⁶ Staël traded on her growing fame. See correspondence with Murray.

⁶⁷ Beatrice Jasinski, editor of Staël's general correspondence, specifies (from a general point of view) that many letters by Staël have not (yet) been found.

⁶⁸ Staël begs Murray to exert his influence on her behalf with other newspapers and enquires regularly about the advertising of her book. In Staël, *Correspondance générale VIII*, 302, 404 and 479. Germaine de Staël, *Correspondance générale IX "Derniers combats," 12 mai 1814 - 14 juillet 1817* ed. S. Genand et J-D. Candaux (Genève: Slatkine, 2017).

⁶⁹ See notice in the first issue of the *Edinburgh*: "it forms no part of their object, to take notice of every production that issues from the Press: and that they wish their Journal to be distinguished, rather for the selection, than for the number, of its articles [...] to confine their notice, in a great degree, to works that either have attained, or deserve, a certain portion of celebrity [...] for the full discussion of important subjects, it may, sometimes, be found necessary to extend these articles to a greater length, than is usual in works of this nature" "Advertisement," *The Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* 1, no. 1 (October 1802 - January 1803).

⁷⁰ Gifford received 160 guineas per publication which he distributed among contributors at his own discretion, and an annual salary of 200 pounds (Carpenter, *The Seven Lives*, 60). The habit of paying contributors and editors well was initiated by Francis Jeffrey, head editor and founder of the *Edinburgh Review*. Journalists were consequently offered a proper profession for which they devoted more energy and time.

⁷¹ See Sutherland's article.

Albemarle Street. Some 4,200 copies of the first 240-page issue were sold after two reprints. Circulation gradually rose to 6,000 in 1814, while the *Edinburgh* boasted twice the amount. Both periodicals addressed a mostly middle-class readership and were known to forge literary fortunes.

Staël understood that the rise of the periodical press in Britain occurred alongside and contributed to the political rivalries that pervaded the upper layers of British society. She sympathized with both political parties, as she explains to Constant in a letter on 12 December 1813: “This country is remarkable, there is an element of liberty with the ministers as there is with the Whigs.”⁷² In other words, Staël circumvented the social and political rifts she encountered by posing as an admiring foreigner. More specifically, Staël attempted to break through the boundaries of political loyalties that determined who was seen with who in the London of the time. She worked her way into both Murray’s Tory circle on Albemarle Street, and Francis Jeffrey’s Whig opposition (the intellectuals and politicians who contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*), which commonly gathered at Holland House in London, around Lord and Lady Holland. Staël’s inclination for liberalism helped her to forge close bonds with the members of the Whig community. On 13 July 1813 she meets James Mackintosh, a Scottish historian, politician and literary critic, who became one of her most intimate friends. Staël playfully reproached Mackintosh for choosing his own political and social circle over her invitations: “How naughty of you not to come to me yesterday [...] and you at Lady Holland’s. You are too loyal to dinner parties in this country.”⁷³

Mackintosh regularly contributed to the *Edinburgh Review* and wrote several reviews of Staël’s work. He also helped Staël with corrections and gave advice on her books. From a general point of view, the *Edinburgh Review*’s liberal editorial policy was more in line with an openness to European cultures, for example with Staël’s *De l’Allemagne*, than the *Quarterly Review*’s more conservative and nationalistic approach.

An exchange of letters between Staël and Murray reveals how she exposed periodical rivalries and pushed her professional advantage with both her publisher and the periodical that would traditionally favour her work. Staël played on the competitive tension surrounding the run up towards the publication of *De l’Allemagne*. On 29 July 1813, she writes to Murray, “Mr Mackintosh would like to publish a summary of my book in the *Edinburgh Review*, he asks for the pages as they come out from the press, the decision is up to you, my

⁷² “Ce pays est admirable, il y a un fond de liberté chez les ministres comme chez les Whigs.” Staël, *Correspondance générale* VIII, 426.

⁷³ “C’est mal de n’être pas venu me voir hier. [...] et vous chez Lady Holland. Vous êtes trop fidèles aux dîners dans ce pays,” 5 December 1813, Staël, *Correspondance générale* VIII, 418.

dear sir.”⁷⁴ Staël received an immediate negative response.⁷⁵ However, another letter addressed to Murray dated 12 October, shows that he later relented on this point, and that Mackintosh had gained access to the unpublished manuscript.⁷⁶ Mackintosh’s review of *De l’Allemagne* for the *Edinburgh Review* appeared in October 1813, before Murray published the book, thus adding fuel to Staël’s promotion campaign.⁷⁷

Murray published a review of Staël’s work by Reginald Heber, with whom Staël shared no private bonds, in the January - April 1814 issue of the *Quarterly*.⁷⁸ Only one letter in Staël’s correspondence, from her daughter Albertine to Murray, alludes to this review.⁷⁹ There is hardly any mention of the review of the *Quarterly* in Staël’s correspondence, because the business agreement between Staël and Murray reflected the understanding they shared in her literary fame and her social aura. Neither Murray nor his editor had previously read the book; the price was pledged on the advantage of publishing the celebrated Staël rather than on literary content. By signing their contract, Staël placed herself in a personal position vis-à-vis Murray that respected these terms.

Staël’s intercultural capital and British cultural boundaries

Beyond political rivalries, the *Quarterly Review* and the *Edinburgh Review* had to grapple with Staël’s ‘intercultural capital,’ which Beatrice Guenther theorises in a Bourdieusian analysis of Staël’s work and career.⁸⁰ Saglia analyses Mackintosh’s review in the *Edinburgh* and Heber’s review in the *Quarterly* from the perspective of a realignment of the British critical discourse to foreign cultural input, bearing in mind that the political tensions surrounding the French Revolution and ensuing wars in Europe had fomented a feeling of distrust towards France and foreign cultures.⁸¹ Saglia points to the similarities of both reviews, in terms of critical content, which from liberal and conservative perspectives, moderate Staël’s assertions and

⁷⁴ “Mr Mackintosh veut faire l’extrait de mon livre in *Edimbourgh’s* (sic) review, il en demande les feuilles tirées à mesure, c’est à vous, my dear sir, d’en décider.” Ibid., 345.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 346.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 389.

⁷⁷ James Mackintosh, “*De l’Allemagne*. Par Madame la Baronne de Staël - Holstein,” *The Edinburgh Review* 22, no. 43 (October 1813 - January 1814), 198 - 238.

⁷⁸ Reginald Heber (1783 - 1826) was an English clergyman and man of letters, whose travels through the North of Europe may have influenced Murray’s choice. Reginald Heber, “Madame de Staël, *De l’Allemagne*,” *The Quarterly Review* 10, no. 20 (January - April 1814), 355 - 409.

⁷⁹ Albertine begs Murray on behalf of her mother to send them a copy of the periodical in which Heber’s article appeared: Staël, *Correspondance générale VIII*, 478.

⁸⁰ Beatrice Guenther, “Trading on Cultural Capital: Madame De Staël’s Politics of Literature” *Nineteenth-Century French Studies* 40, no. 3 & 4 (Spring - Summer 2012), 203 - 221.

⁸¹ Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain*, 39 - 44.

enthusiasm, to defend the particular position of Britain within European culture. Saglia thus marks the publication and especially the reviewing of *De l'Allemagne* as a milestone, which opened British periodical culture toward their European neighbours.

Michel Winock employs the more neutral French term “passeur” to describe Staël’s intercultural agency, which could be translated in English as ‘emissary,’ or ‘conveyor’: “Madame de Staël was an ideal conveyor, thanks to her fame, added to her educational talents, and her systematic mind.”⁸² In this sentence, Winock creates an insightful hierarchy: Staël’s fame would guarantee the success of her book, and her educational talents enable her readers to understand its message, aided by the logic of her systematic mind. Consequently, the intercultural capital of *De l'Allemagne* would pass, almost unawares, into collective awareness.

Saglia’s analysis and Winock’s hierarchy sidestep Staël’s socio-professional networking, and her presence as a foreign woman within the context of a male-dominated British periodical tradition. Mackintosh’s review, which Seamus Deane dismisses as “mere critical puff,” reflects the genuine friendship he enjoyed with Staël, and more particularly his willingness to compare their cultural differences to help her develop her international literary career.⁸³ The tone of Heber’s review, however, echoes impersonal social deference. Both reviewers underline Staël’s social fame and use the common gendered discourse of the time to comment on the fact that a woman undertakes the analytic work ‘of a man.’ The difference is that Mackintosh’s intent is complimentary. He writes for example, “It is the most vigorous effort of her genius, and probably the most elaborate and masculine production of the faculties of woman,” by which he means that Staël’s literary talent shines through the use of both feminine and masculine qualities.⁸⁴ Whereas Heber’s prose smacks of misogyny: “This conclusion [...] is well worthy of the daughter of Necker [...] it is the melody of a bird who sings, in its lonely prison, of love and liberty.”⁸⁵ With these words, Heber explains that Staël is the daughter of the famous Necker, and suggests that her literary reputation is dependent on this fact. By using the caged-bird metaphor, traditionally associated to exile, but also to womanhood as a synonym for lightness and delicacy, he also implies that Staël fostered the self-image of an emotionally affected political exile. He further confines Staël’s literary talent to her femininity, as he praises her “taste” and “ardentia verba.”⁸⁶

When Staël entered the British publishing market she had already made a name for herself, as a society lady, as a political refugee, and as an intellectual. Staël’s social fame, her

⁸² “La célébrité de Madame de Staël ajoutée à son esprit pédagogique, voire son esprit de système, fait d’elle le passeur idéal,” Michel Winock, *Madame de Staël* (Paris: Fayard, 2010), 443.

⁸³ Saglia, *European Literatures in Britain*, 42.

⁸⁴ Mackintosh, “*De l'Allemagne*,” 205.

⁸⁵ Heber, “*Madame de Staël*,” 408.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 409.

political reputation, and the fact that she was a woman made her literary work controversial and consequently appealing to the public. Moreover, her public personality bridged the gap between intellectual and social circles: Staël's readership was composed of both the intellectual elite of her time and the readers of the popular press. If John Murray, the publisher, publicly encouraged Staël's literary fame through his genial social interaction, John Murray, the periodical owner, rather hindered the promotion and posterity of her career in England. The case Heber builds against Staël's public persona in his review of *De l'Allemagne* highlights the distinction Murray kept between his social demeanour and his professional choices. However, during her stay in London, Staël penetrated rival social circles of periodical editing and forged bonds with the liberal contributors of the *Edinburgh Review* while she pushed the promotion of *De l'Allemagne* with the conservatives from Murray's headquarters. Staël's socio-professional networking also drew on her personal fame and the construction of her public image (see in Part 1, grey arrows in Figure 5, which she used to her own advantage to challenge the authority of the periodical editor as in Figure 4). This strategy made her publications 'best-sellers' of the time. By pushing through private, cultural, and gender boundaries, Staël became one of the first transnational celebrity intellectuals to propagate, at a popular level, ideas that were only discussed in the intimacy of elitist and often exclusively masculine intellectual circles.

1.2.2 Jean-Gabriel Peltier: Marketing the Celebrity Author

With the example of Peltier, I propose another illustration of Figure 5, by showing how the evolution of Staël's public image affected the periodical press from a more general perspective. Conversely, I show how Staël's name was marketed by a type of periodical editing which was quite distinct from the intellectual and political calling of the 'Great Reviews.'

An example of the French periodical press in Britain: Peltier's networks

The editor and journalist Jean-Gabriel Peltier was a leading figure of the French polemical press during the French Revolution.⁸⁷ During the Terror, Peltier and several other journalists fled to London, which had become a stronghold for the dissenting French periodical press.⁸⁸ The English government took an interest in the development of the London-based French opposition press as they understood the beneficial aspects of their propaganda during the Napoleonic wars: Peltier received a monthly stipend from the English government, officially

⁸⁷ Peltier was editor of the previously mentioned periodical *Les Actes des apôtres*.

⁸⁸ See Bantman and Suriani Da Silva, *The Foreign Periodical Press*.

as a translator. The English also financed the diffusion of periodicals abroad and paid for a substantial amount of Peltier's subscriptions.⁸⁹ Due to his political status (and to a lesser extent to language boundaries), Peltier was excluded from English socio-professional networks. His establishment as a periodical editor in London depended on a vertical politico-financial agreement with the government, which was incompatible with the type of horizontal network that Staël worked with (see Part 1, Figure 3). Hence, Staël did not get personally involved with Peltier while she blended in British social and professional circles that did not extend to Peltier's environment.

Peltier's most successful long-running periodicals published in London were *Paris pendant l'année...* (1795 to 1802) and *L'Ambigu* (1802 – 1818).⁹⁰ *L'Ambigu* was the summit of his career, and the most important development of the French oppositional press during the French Empire. The periodical came out three times a month. The subscription cost five guineas a year. Peltier was primarily a periodical editor, but he also published books on the side.⁹¹

Peltier's professional success built on an international network, which he developed via many contacts abroad, who sent him reports, or crates full of foreign newspapers. True to his maxim "Diversity will be our motto," *L'Ambigu* contained a motley assortment of information: political acts from foreign countries, the correspondence of political emigrants, proclamations and war reports, some society gossip, literary reviews, and political analyses.⁹² This profusion has been unanimously described as unique for the time. Chateaubriand, Prosper Levot, Eugène Hatin, Hélène Maspéro Clerc, and Simon Burrows criticize Peltier's slovenly style and callousness, but pay tribute to the skillful treatment and analysis of his primary sources and his professional resourcefulness. Moreover, Chateaubriand describes how Peltier circulated *L'Ambigu* around the world: it was sent secretly to France, to America, to the colonies, to Saint Petersburg and even Bombay.⁹³

⁸⁹ See Hélène Maspéro Clerc, *Un journaliste contre-révolutionnaire, Jean-Gabriel Peltier (1760 – 1825)* (Paris: Société d'Etudes Robespierristes, 1973).

⁹⁰ This first publication in London lays the groundwork for Peltier's work on *L'Ambigu*. According to Eugène Hatin, "Cette publication, faite sans beaucoup de soin et très rapidement [...] renferme cependant [...] des détails et des pièces historiques qui ne sont nulle part ailleurs" (This botched up and hastily made publication [...] does however contain some unique details and historical pieces) Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Fils et cie, 1866), 260.

⁹¹ Hélène Maspéro-Clerc, *Un journaliste contre-révolutionnaire*, 267.

⁹² "Diversité sera notre devise," [Jean-Gabriel Peltier], *L'Ambigu, variétés atroces et amusantes, journal dans le genre égyptien* 1, no. 1 (1803 – 1804), 2.

⁹³ "Pelletier [sic] [...] venait de placer cent exemplaires de son journal aux colonies ; il en avait reçu le payement et faisait sonner ses guinées dans sa poche. (Peltier [...] had just sold one hundred issues of his journal in the

Peltier's narrative and marketing strategies with Staël

L'Ambigu was heir to the aggressive royalist hack-writings of Peltier's revolutionary prose. The title of the periodical refers to Napoleon, towards whom Peltier directed most of his bellicosity.⁹⁴ Staël was also the victim of Peltier's cynicism, while he used her fame to his own profit. *L'Ambigu* promoted Staël's works chronologically, whether she published novels or political treatises, and reviewed them according to their public reception.

Peltier produced regular slander on Staël until shortly after the publication of *Corinne* in France, on 1 May 1807.⁹⁵ *L'Ambigu* hailed the novel on 10 May 1807 with a poem by a misogynist French salon poet known as Lebrun Pindare.⁹⁶ In the following issue, Peltier reprinted an article that Charles-Marie de Feletz had written for *Le Journal de l'Empire*.⁹⁷ However, the Parisian triumph of *Corinne* convinced Peltier to revise his strategy. On 10 June 1807, Peltier published a favourable anonymous review, entitled "Letter from an Italian citizen on the novel by Madame de Staël," footnoted by the editor as follows: "*Corinne ou l'Italie* will be published by Mr Peltier on the 20th of this month."⁹⁸

Peltier's edition of Staël's novel was bound in red leather with gold lettering. The three volumes of *Corinne* would have appealed to the upper-class population of French speakers in London. The London edition encloses a dedication page (absent in the Parisian edition of 1807 by Nicolle), on which appears the manuscript name "Olivia" in reference to

colonies; he had received payment for them and was jingling the guineas in his pocket)" François-René Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, vol. 2 (Bruxelles: Meline, Cans et Cie, 1849), 90.

⁹⁴ The first issues of *L'Ambigu* are illustrated by Napoleon posing as a Sphinx. The title of the journal is the expression of the editor's doubts as to the actions of the political leader. To stay attuned with his title, Peltier proposes to obfuscate his prose. In his fifth issue he declares that he does not write in "French" but in "ambiguous French". A fact that Napoleon allegedly misunderstood when he sued Peltier on 21 February 1803 in a trial which made a lot of noise throughout Europe, and most of all in *L'Ambigu*.

⁹⁵ Peltier often played on her rivalry with Madame de Genlis, ex. [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 1, no. 4 (1803 – 1804): 93.

⁹⁶ The first stanza is enough to convey the general tone and message of the poem: "Chez les oiseaux ne vous déplaît, la femelle n'a point de chant, nature veut qu'elle se taise, en dépit de son penchant." (With birds I'll have you know, the female has no voice, nature will silence them, in spite of their will), [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 16, no. 148 (10 May 1807): 270.

⁹⁷ Reprinted in *La Gazette de France*, *Le Journal du commerce*, *Le Courrier des spectacles* and *Le Courrier français*: see Balayé, *Ecrire Lutter Vivre*, "Corinne et la presse parisienne de 1807." The review attacks the author at a personal level from a misogynistic angle, implying that Staël had great powers of imagination but no intellectual endurance, and that the quality of her work was undermined by her displays of vanity.

⁹⁸ "*Corinne ou l'Italie*, 3 vol. in – 12, paraîtra le 20 de ce mois, chez M. PELTIER." [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 16, no. 151 (10 June 1807): 533. Staël had asked Jean-Baptiste Suard to encourage the promotion of *Corinne* by publishing a letter written by Sismondi in *Le Publiciste*. It appeared on 27 May 1807, disguised as anonymous praise. See Robert de Luppé, *Madame de Staël et J.-B.-A. Suard: correspondance inédite (1786-1817)* (Genève: Droz, 1970).

Maria Edgeworth's popular epistolary novel *Leonora* (1806).⁹⁹ *Leonora* was known to celebrate English manners over French ones, caricatured in the behaviour of one of its main characters, the extravagantly emotional and narcissistic Lady Olivia. Peltier thus evoked Staël's reputation in England and the English reception of her first novel *Delphine*.¹⁰⁰ He encouraged a similar polemic around *Corinne*, to boost the sales of the novel, among both the English and the French public.

When Staël's *Réflexions sur le suicide* appeared in Sweden in April 1813, Peltier prepared a similar publication plan to the one he had devised for *Corinne*. On 10 June, *L'Ambigu* advertised Staël's new work by reprinting its dedication pages, upon which Peltier announced the publication of the book: "This treatise is in press and will be published in a few days by Mr Peltier."¹⁰¹ On 20 June, however, Peltier published another excerpt of *Réflexions sur le suicide*, with the following notice:

Madame la Baronne de Staël Holstein having arrived in London will probably publish herself the fine reflections on suicide [...] the Editor of this Journal takes back the announcement which he made about their publication. He can only say today that each page of the new treatise will display the brilliant imagination, the deep thoughts, and enchanting style of the author of *Corinne*.¹⁰²

Réflexions sur le suicide was published by Louis Laurent Deconchy, admittedly a colleague of Peltier's as they shared the same printer (Schulze and Dean), and Peltier regularly advertised Deconchy's publications in *L'Ambigu*.¹⁰³ Whether Peltier was paving his way towards gaining Staël's trust or simply made an arrangement with Deconchy is unclear. When *De l'Allemagne* appeared a few months later, Peltier published an excerpt and praised the book while admitting he had only read the preface.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, on 30 May 1818, Peltier bluntly elucidates his promotion strategy of Staël in *L'Ambigu*, in a posthumous tribute to her fame:

⁹⁹ See copy at the BNF, Paris. Cote: 16-Y2-29939 (1).

¹⁰⁰ As Robert C. Whitford notes, "[*Delphine*] seemed to English readers to furnish corroborative evidence for the popular estimate of Madame de Staël as a clever advocate of revolutionary doctrines and free love" (Robert C. Whitford, *Madame de Staël's Literary Reputation in England* (Illinois: University of Illinois, 1918), 14).

¹⁰¹ "Cet ouvrage est sous presse, et sera publié dans quelques jours par M. Peltier." [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 41, no. 367 (10 June 1813): 529.

¹⁰² "Madame la baronne de Staël Holstein étant arrivée à Londres, va publier sans doute elle-même les belles réflexions sur le suicide [...] ainsi le Rédacteur de ce Journal retire l'annonce qu'il avait faite de leur réimpression. Il se contente d'annoncer aujourd'hui qu'on retrouvera à chaque page de ce nouvel ouvrage l'imagination brillante, les pensées profondes et le style enchanteur de l'auteur de *Corinne*." [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 41, no. 368 (20 June 1813): 632. As from the triumph of *Corinne*, Peltier resorted to simpering praise in reference to Staël.

¹⁰³ Ex. [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 41, *ibid.*, 506 and 600.

¹⁰⁴ [Peltier], *L'Ambigu* 43, no. 382, (10 November 1813): 344.

“The fame attached to her name compels us to account for all the particularities of the last production of her pen.”¹⁰⁵

This account of Peltier’s narrative and marketing strategies in *L’Ambigu* is an example that complements the treatment Staël’s works received from the ‘Great Reviews’ by showing how Staël became a celebrity author as well as a celebrity intellectual.

Staël’s response

Staël was presumably upset by the publication of *Corinne*. On 16 May 1807 she writes to her friend Etienne Dumont, a Swiss pastor who had spent several years in London, pressing him to find a good English translator for *Corinne*.¹⁰⁶ According to Béatrice Jasinski, the request was aborted. Two translations of the novel appeared in London in 1807, without Staël’s approval.¹⁰⁷ She only mentions Peltier once, in her posthumously published autobiography *Dix années d’exil* (1821). She omits his title and belittles his status when she cites him in reference to her acquaintance with James Mackintosh: “It was an honour for Peltier to be represented by Mr Mackintosh.”¹⁰⁸

Staël understood the mechanisms of Peltier’s editorial strategy and how they reflected on her literary fame. She explains these views to her friend Vincenzo Monti on 10 July 1807: “You know that newspapers have often attacked me [...] but I have never noticed any harm done to my reputation. Quite the contrary.”¹⁰⁹ In other words, Peltier successfully turned his relationship with Staël into a marketing strategy, with benefits gained on both sides, to which Staël adhered through her silence.

1.2.3 Henry Colburn: Shaping Present and Future Perceptions of Madame de Staël

Henry Colburn was known as a ‘trade’ publisher, who distinguished himself from the nineteenth-century ‘gentleman’ trademark. The ‘league of gentlemen’ from Murray’s establishment, or other respectable publishing houses, for example, Longman or Blackwood,

¹⁰⁵ “La célébrité attachée à son nom nous impose la loi de rendre compte de toutes les particularités relatives à la dernière production de sa plume,” [Peltier], *L’Ambigu* 57, no. 510 (30 May 1818): 404.

¹⁰⁶ Germaine de Staël, *Correspondance générale VI De “Corinne” vers “De l’Allemagne,” 9 novembre 1805 - 9 mai 1809* ed. Béatrice Jasinski (Paris: Klincksieck, 1993), 255.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 255. Staël’s published works abroad were not bound to copyright law in England.

¹⁰⁸ “Peltier eut l’honneur d’être défendu par M. Mackintosh,” in Staël, *Dix années d’exil* (Paris : 10/18, 1966), 53.

¹⁰⁹ “Vous savez qu’ils m’ont souvent attaquée [les journaux] [...] mais je n’ai jamais remarqué que cela fit aucun mal à ma réputation: au contraire.” Staël, *Correspondance générale VI*, 276.

relied on their socio-professional networks. This included an editorial and advisory team which usually developed around the book business and periodical editing (the *Quarterly Review* for Murray, the *Edinburgh Review* for Longman and *Blackwood's Magazine* for Blackwood). Colburn however, worked mostly as a 'free agent.' Still, one of the keys to his success depended on his ability to manipulate the streams of information in the periodical press. Colburn relied on pecuniary transactions, and the potential talent or established fame of his authors.¹¹⁰ I show in the following part how Staël adapted her networking and 'emotional' strategies to suit Colburn's practices, while the latter detached himself from traditional socio-professional networks by recasting Staël's public persona in the periodical press.

Colburn the 'free agent'

Colburn cultivated the virtues of visibility. In 1806, he started to work in Morgan's Library of Conduit Street in the fashionable district of Mayfair, only a few hundred meters away from Murray's future headquarters. From this early period, he printed "Colburn's Library" in his books, in place of the name of the man to whom he was apprenticed. He eventually became the sole proprietor of the establishment in 1812. From these premises, the young publisher launched his prolific career. He was already making a name for himself by the time Staël arrived in London.

Colburn's fascination with both fame and aristocracy drew him to Staël's work.¹¹¹ The history of Colburn's relationship with Staël started in a 'typical Colburn style,' with a lot of noise but a lack of transparency.¹¹² Between 1812 and 1814, he reprinted most of Staël's works: *De la littérature* (1812), *De l'Influence des passions* (1813), *Zulma et autres nouvelles* (1813) and *Lettres sur Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (1814), both in English and French. On the title page of *Letters on the writings and character of J.J. Rousseau* Colburn claims to have published *Delphine* and *Corinne* (I have found none of these editions in national libraries).¹¹³

The two letters mentioning Colburn's name in Staël's correspondence, addressed to Murray, have helped me reconstruct the history of Staël's relationship with Colburn

¹¹⁰ Colburn would be generous to authors in whom he detected potential. There was, however, some trouble with Darwin, see Guido Braem, *Darwin, une biographie* (Voreppe: Tropicalia, 2009).

¹¹¹ Colburn developed a literary genre known as "silver-fork," or fashionable novels, written by titled authors, who dwelled with nostalgia on past elegance. He collected their novels in a series named *Colburn's Modern Standard Novelists* (1835 – 1841).

¹¹² See Sutherland and Melnyk. Colburn's biographers assemble a fair portrait of his opportunism with many examples and anecdotes of his fraudulent practices.

¹¹³ Germaine de Staël, *Letters on the writings and character of J. J. Rousseau* (London: Colburn, 1814).

surrounding these facts.¹¹⁴ In the first letter, dated 20 January 1814, Staël writes: “Answer me, one of these days, about my different suggestions: *Wallstein* by Constant, *Lettres sur Rousseau*, *Delphine*, etc. Speak with Colburn, when you have time, I am in no hurry.”¹¹⁵ While the sales of *De l’Allemagne* were not as high as Murray expected, Staël uses, in this letter, a politics of coercion, based on the pre-existence of socio-professional networks, which involves pooling several of her works and associating them with those of Constant, whom she had introduced to Murray.¹¹⁶ Having established this ground, Staël induces competition between the two publishers to boost her literary output.

On 31 July 1814, Staël writes again to Murray: “Dulau [Staël’s London editor for *Delphine*] claims that Colburn seeks to jeopardize the effect of my book by reprinting all my previous work. He does it, perhaps, because he is upset that he was not chosen.”¹¹⁷ In this second letter, although Staël carefully points out that she has access to professional houses, she indirectly confesses that she has no more contact with Colburn. One can suppose from this side of the correspondence that Staël approached Colburn before he published *Lettres sur Rousseau*, but that the latter decided to print her works without her consent. This detail suggests that Colburn acted outside the mainstream ‘respectable’ professional networks, as he did not feel bound by their rules of professional behaviour. Staël adapted her strategy: instead of lamenting Colburn’s misappropriation of her work, she calculatedly slips from a professional tone to a personal one, assuring Murray of her preference.

Colburn’s periodicals and Staël’s imagined career

The *New Monthly Magazine* (1814 – 1884) was the first of seven or nine periodicals owned by Colburn, who tested this new branch of his enterprise by getting deeply involved in its running.¹¹⁸ The *New Monthly* was set up in opposition to Richard Phillip’s *Monthly Magazine*. In the address to the public in the first issue, published on 1 February 1814, Colburn openly

¹¹⁴ The lack of archival material has generated little research that elucidates the relationship between Colburn and Staël: Colburn’s archive was destroyed in the Blitz, although many of his private papers are scattered in various collections (Melnik 2002). My interpretation of Staël’s relationship to Colburn is also based on her network strategies and general correspondence with Murray.

¹¹⁵ “Répondez-moi un de ces jours sur mes diverses propositions: *Wallstein* de M. Constant, *Lettres sur Rousseau*, *Delphine*, etc. Parlez à Colburne (sic), mais quand vous voudrez, je ne suis pas pressée.” (Staël to Murray) 20 January 1814, Staël, *Correspondance générale* VIII, 460.

¹¹⁶ See Letter A. de Staël to Murray, in Smiles, *A Publisher and his Friends*, 317.

¹¹⁷ “Dulau prétend que Colburn nuira à l’effet de mon livre en réimprimant tout ce que j’ai publié. Il le fait peut être par humeur de n’avoir pas été préféré.” Staël, *Correspondance générale* VIII, 348.

¹¹⁸ The *New Monthly* was run by several successive editors in its first years before Colburn found more permanent candidates. Colburn’s personality and methods, however, as Sutherland and Melnyk explain, were deeply rooted in his periodicals, and especially in the *New Monthly* (Sutherland and Melnyk, *Rogue Publisher*, 40).

acknowledges the rivalry. He advertises the same miscellany of topics but uses the fall of Napoleon of 1814 to outdate so-called “political poison[ing]” and pave the way for unbound international intellectual exchange.¹¹⁹ Moreover, he set the price of the *New Monthly* slightly under that of the *Monthly*.¹²⁰ He emulated Murray in his collection of illustrious contributors, which included Edward Bulwer-Lytton, Benjamin Disraeli and William Hazlitt, whom he paid well to ensure the quality of the writing. Overall, Colburn succeeded in making his magazine one of the most popular of its age.

At the beginning of 1817, the *New Monthly* bestows on Staël the authority of a periodical editor: “It has been reported that [Madame de Staël] was to undertake the conduct of the *Mercure de France* in association with Benjamin Constant and other experienced writers.”¹²¹ Constant took over the management of the *Mercure de France* in 1817 with several collaborators. A copy of the prospectus, kept at the BNF, announces the takeover of the periodical signed with the names of the editorial team: “Par MM. de Constant, Dufresne St Léon, Esménard, Jay, Jouy, Lacretelle aîné, etc.”¹²² Not only is Staël absent from the list, but the male introductory title excludes her potential enumeration in the abbreviated adverb “etc.”

Staël only contributed one critical review to the *Mercure de France* in March 1817. Constant’s note inserted after the article points to the extent of Staël’s influence and reputation in Europe at the end of her life:

Our eagerness to gather anything that comes from the quill of the most famous and spirited woman in Europe, and our wish to deserve that she enriches this journal with

¹¹⁹ Henry Colburn, *New Monthly Magazine and Universal Register* 1, no. 1 (January – June 1814): i – ii. With this comment Colburn aligns his strategy with that of the ‘Great Reviews.’

¹²⁰ A bound volume of the *Monthly Magazine* cost sixteen shillings while that of the *New Monthly* cost fourteen shillings.

¹²¹ Colburn, “Cabinet of Varieties,” *New Monthly Magazine* 7, no. 41 (January – June 1817): 421 – 422, 422. We gather from Staël’s letters that her main concerns during the last three years of her life were the practical arrangements concerning the marriage of her daughter Albertine to Victor de Broglie for which she struggled to recover the money lent by her father to France. The occupation of France after Napoleon’s defeat in 1815 also made her return to Paris a sorrowful time during which she devoted much energy entertaining foreign political leaders and men of influence to convince them to give France back to the French. Erik Egnell insists on this political obsession during her final illness, which leaves little thought for her friends and probably less for such a responsibility as Constant would have imposed on her. Staël was bedridden after an apoplexy in February 1817 (Staël died on 14 July 1817, never fully recovered from her attack). Her family refused to receive Constant in fear that he would upset her and jeopardize her fragile recovery.

¹²² (January 1817) Collection BNF. Cote : 8-JO-20077. These names are also printed on the first page of the *Mercure* for the year 1817.

pieces where she would seem even more herself, determined us to add it, as we are certain that our readers will avidly read anything written by madame de St...¹²³

Constant's words are a tribute to his shared personal history with Staël but also to her literary authority, which makes him assert with confidence that anything she would write would appeal to the reader. The notice is also a fair sign of Staël's market value, one that Constant must have been aware of when he undertook the job at the head of the *Mercure de France*. Constant's words were echoed and transformed by Colburn in the English press.

Deconstructing Staël's posthumous aura

Following her death, Staël's fame prompted the circulation of false rumours concerning her life and works that were later discredited in the English press.¹²⁴ The reports concerning her editorial influence, however, remained unchallenged. Colburn's gossip circulated in several English periodicals from July to November 1817, and beyond, through his obituary notices.

Colburn posthumously advertised Staël's fame, while he reprinted in 1818 in Paris and London Staël's *Mémoires sur la vie privée de mon père* with a section of Constant's obituary article of the *Mercure* in lieu of a preface.¹²⁵ The *Literary Gazette*, which Colburn launched in 1817, claims the authorship of one of Staël's widely reprinted obituaries: "We take up our pen this week to trace as correct a biography as our present means of information and our haste will allow," and concludes "the *Mercure*, we have reason to believe, recorded the latest of her opinions and the last tracings of her prolific pen."¹²⁶ While this equivocal statement does not confirm Staël's editorial functions, it does not debunk Colburn's previous assertion in the *New Monthly Magazine*. The *Gentleman's Magazine* reprinted the article with no alteration to the sentence, while other periodicals such as the *European Magazine and London Review*, or the *Edinburgh Observer* circulated a version of the same obituary which changed the modality of the sentence from near certainty to probability, by replacing "we have reason to believe"

¹²³ "Notre empressement à recueillir tout ce qui sort de la plume de la femme la plus célèbre et la plus spirituelle de l'Europe, et le désir de mériter qu'elle enrichisse ce recueil de quelques morceaux où elle paraîtrait encore plus elle-même, nous a déterminé à l'insérer [the article], certains que tout ce qu'écrit madame de St[aël] sera lu avec avidité par nos lecteurs." Benjamin Constant, "Nouvelles Littéraires," *Mercure de France* 1 (January – March 1817): 374 – 379, 378.

¹²⁴ See "Obituaries" (reprint of the *Morning Chronicle*), *The Monthly repository of theology and general literature* 12, no. 141 (January – December 1817): 553 – 556, 556.

¹²⁵ Germaine de Staël, *Mémoires sur la vie privée de mon père* (London: Colburn, 1818), introduction. [Constant], "Nécrologie," *Mercure de France* 3 (July – September 1817): 175 – 180.

¹²⁶ "Biographical Portraits," *The Literary Gazette or Journal of the Belles Lettres, Politics and Fashion* 1, no. 27 (26 July 1817): 58 – 60, 60.

with the adverb “probably.”¹²⁷ The shift toward the probability of Staël’s imagined career points to posthumous discussions on Staël’s presumed roles, heading towards her particular reputation as a charismatic historical figure, which led Winock to pose a question in the concluding chapter of his biography: “Who are you Madame de Staël?”¹²⁸

Colburn’s imprint on periodical editorship resembles his strategy in the book publishing business. Although he altered the tacit rules of ‘gentlemanly’ periodical editing by unscrupulously puffing his own books, and was known for his fabrications, most periodicals picked up his tales and used them to feed the collective cultural imagination.¹²⁹ Colburn used Staël’s public image to stage himself in the public sphere and act as a single man pulling the strings. With this case study, I have attempted to demystify Staël’s posthumous aura: the circulation of Colburn’s unreliable information in the press became a mild version of what is labelled today, by some, as ‘fake news’ (as opposed to the “calumnies” developed in Figure 5). Staël’s relationship with Colburn is another example of how she infiltrated the structure of the periodical press, albeit through the agency of her public persona as opposed to her private one.

Conclusion

Madame de Staël was a child of the Enlightenment, who reasoned as a Republican in the first years of the French Revolution, yet she soon developed her own political ideas. By observing political struggles in France at the turn of the nineteenth century, she analysed the different layers of power that structured the public sphere. Staël’s defence of Rousseau’s “general will,” or in her own words the “true public opinion,” is not only a means to maintain the link between the people and the government, but also a way of levelling political power towards the people. More specifically, Staël proposed to uphold the “true public opinion” as an implicit political contract, by regulating emotional interferences through a centralised

¹²⁷ “Obituary” (reprint of *The Day and New Times*), *The Gentleman’s Magazine: and Historical Chronicle* 87, no. 2 (August 1817): 179 – 182, 181. “Biographical Register of eminent persons recently deceased no. 22,” *The European Magazine and London Review* 72 (August 1817): 141 – 144, 144. “Deaths,” *The Edinburgh Observer or, Town and country magazine* 1, no. 3 (11 October 1817): 71 – 72, 72.

¹²⁸ “Qui êtes-vous, Madame de Staël?” Winock, *Madame de Staël*, 579 – 603. For more on posthumous discourses and Madame de Staël see also Stéphanie Tribouillard, *Le tombeau de Madame de Staël. Les discours de la postérité staëlienne en France (1817-1850)* (Genève: Slatkine, 2007).

¹²⁹ See “Colburn among The Vampyres,” Melnyk and Sutherland, *Rogue Publisher*, 52 – 62.

system of deliberative politics, where any member of the population could potentially have their say.

In the same way as she did in her literary salons, Staël saw the press and the periodical press as a means to diffuse knowledge. The book and periodical press have been represented in this chapter as a virtual platform, within the structure of the public political sphere, upon which individuals can deliberate about issues to ensure the common good of the people. The case study illustrates how Staël acted within her own system of thought. Staël combined 'emotional strategies' and network approaches to assert her own influence. She manipulated the emotional tensions that she observed in human relationships and managed transnational networks within her socio-professional milieu. She put herself on the level of periodical editors within the model of the periodical press as a mediator between the public and political power, without ever actually being an editor.

Staël moved from France to Britain, and published in several other European countries, while she dealt with London-based publishers and periodical editors John Murray, Jean-Gabriel Peltier, and Henry Colburn, trading on her intercultural capital and connections. I have shown how Staël negotiated her status as a (female) celebrity intellectual and celebrity author in the press industry. I have traced the construction of Staël's public image, through the affective responses of periodical editors and the public, as Staël's private enterprise was transferred and transformed onto the pages of the press. Owing to the variety and the combination of my three examples I have presented a general picture of Staël's evolution in the periodical press and her impact on periodical editorship, which shows how she evolved in a particular socio-professional milieu while she remained aware of the evolution of her career.

There is a certain irony in Colburn's promotion of Staël's imagined status as a periodical editor. Staël did not need to be the periodical editor of a single journal, rather, she placed herself to the fore on the virtual platform of periodical editorship. She showed how an individual, and in her case a woman, with certain social and cultural advantages, could navigate the structure of the political public sphere by emerging from the population and stepping onto this platform. The political model and the path traced by Staël embodies a visionary type of deliberative politics. Although Staël acted for the advancement of her own career, she steered against the character of her time by showing how to enact a kind of political fluidity by opening a route for the people to access and exchange knowledge. The road was still long, however, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, before other women, and other men from different social classes, could benefit from such political liberty.

Chapter 2

A Case for Equality Sophie Adlersparre (1823–1895) and Rosalie Olivecrona (1823–1898) *Tidskrift för hemmet* (The Home Review)

[...] it may be said that this review has done a good work, for to it is unquestionably due much of the progress which has been made in the educational and social position of Swedish women.¹

Rosalie Ulrika Olivecrona

In the previous chapter, I discussed the development of public opinions from their early conception among the people, to their discussion on the platform of deliberative politics provided by the periodical press. I have shown how the French writer and *salonnière* Madame de Staël travelled to London to push herself and her work onto this platform, as an example of political liberty. In this second chapter, I shift the focus of the political public sphere from France and Britain to Sweden, half a century later. I analyse the journal *Tidskrift för hemmet* (1859 – 1885) (The Home Review), founded and edited by Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona, as a forum for deliberative politics, by exploring the process of deliberation, at the level of co-editorial work, through the lens of a pioneering feminist initiative. I demonstrate that through a complex process of editorial discussion and staging, Adlersparre and Olivecrona sought to guide the Swedish population into embracing legal and social changes for women and that their periodical was instrumental in the implementation of these changes, both from a legal and a societal point of view, as it pushed and acted for reform.

Although Sweden had been one of the great powers in Europe in the seventeenth century, the loss of Finland in 1809 and an uneasy union with Norway, secured by the Crown Prince Bernadotte in 1814, diminished the European prominence of a country then plagued by poverty. Toward the middle of the nineteenth century, Sweden had become one of the

¹ Rosalie Olivecrona, "Sweden," in: *The Woman Question in Europe: A series of original essays* ed. Theodore Stanton (New York: Putman's sons, 1970), 208.

most backward and least developed countries in Europe. Meanwhile, women, especially the many who were single, suffered from an absence of legal autonomy, which meant that they could not work to support themselves and their children. From the middle of the nineteenth century, the creation of a conscious need for women's emancipation in Sweden dawned with the collective work of a handful of activists. The internationally famous Swedish writer Fredrika Bremer (1801 – 1865) played a leading role among them. As Ulla Manns explains, when *Tidskrift för hemmet* started in 1859, the periodical rallied the previously unorganised women's movement, which looked to France and Britain to inspire their own countrywomen.² The launch and first years of publication of *Tidskrift för hemmet* thus coincide with considerable legal evolution of the status of women in Sweden. The women's emancipation movement was built also upon the assimilation of transnational influences, as Adlersparre and Olivecrona demonstrated in the pages of their periodical. The chapter revolves around the concept of political equality, as a necessary foundation on which to create a forum for deliberation, and gender equality, as the objective towards which the editors worked.

The twenty pages Ronny Ambjörnsson dedicates to *Tidskrift för hemmet* in his doctoral thesis, *Samhällsmodern: Ellen Keys kvinnouppfattning till och med 1896* (1974), offers one of the first and most thorough analyses of its content.³ According to Ambjörnsson, the conflict of opinions between the more radical Adlersparre and the moderate Olivecrona branched out into two different schools of feminist thinking and, on the whole, hindered the process of opinion formation within the pages of the periodical. He posits that Olivecrona was driven away from the editorial team, when she left in 1867, after nine years of co-editorship, on the ground of her divergence of opinion with Adlersparre, and further notes that the latter did not present a consistent view of women's rights and duties.⁴

The scholars who have commented on *Tidskrift för hemmet* since the publication of Ambjörnsson's thesis (Qvist 1978 and 1987, Manns 1997, Hammar 1999, Nordenstam 2001) do not challenge this view. The disharmony and lack of clarity of opinions in the periodical are considered to be problematic within the general context of the women's emancipation movement in Sweden. Ulla Manns maintains the idea of an unfruitful conflict of opinions:

² "Den oorganiserade kvinnosaken fick en samlingspunkt redan 1859 när *Tidskrift för hemmet* startade." (The unorganized woman question got a focal point as early as 1859 when *Tidskrift för hemmet* was launched) Ulla Manns, *Den Sanna Frigörelsen: Fredrika-Bremer-förbundet 1884 - 1921* (The true liberation: the Fredrika Bremer association 1884 - 1921) (Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus östlings Bokförlag Symposium, 1997), 53. All the translations from Swedish to English are mine.

³ Ronny Ambjörnsson, *Samhällsmodern: Ellen Keys kvinnouppfattning till och med 1896* (Society mothers: Ellen Keys perception of women up until 1896) (Göteborg University: PhD thesis, 1974), 58 – 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 68.

“Between 1865 and 1866, the growing conflict between the editors yielded a certain amount of contradictory elements.”⁵ Between the years 1865 and 1866, Inger Hammar qualifies the conflict within the editorial structure by coining the expression “editorial schism” (*den redaktionella schismen*).⁶ Moreover, the existence of an editorial dialogue is dismissed altogether. In his book chapter entitled “Esselde och [“and”] *Tidskrift för hemmet*” Gunnar Qvist presents Adlersparre’s editorial signature “Esselde” (especially in the first years) as a mouthpiece for the opinions of Fredrika Bremer.⁷ According to Qvist, “Esselde” is the driving agent of a cultural debate on the increasing influence of women (he does not mention any other contributors).⁸ Hammar corroborates this vision by claiming that “the source of knowledge about the process of Swedish emancipation” could be found in the periodical under “Esselde’s” signature: “The main responsible for the magazine’s policy was over all the years the signature Esselde.”⁹

The editorial teamwork of the first nine years of *Tidskrift för hemmet* has been re-examined with Nordenstam’s discovery of the full correspondence between Adlersparre and Olivecrona.¹⁰ In her doctoral thesis, *Begynnelse* (2001) and book chapter “‘Min älskade vän!’ Sophie Adlersparres och Rosalie Olivecronas brevväxling” (*Brevkonst*, 2004), a series of previously unpublished letter extracts reveals the care with which the editors discussed the development of the periodical, and how articles were discussed in detail before their publication, while the two women confided and shared their editorial tasks according to each other’s health and daily duties.¹¹ The evidence of their intimacy and editorial professionalism calls for a new reading of the debate which occurred during the first nine years of the periodical. The correspondence between Adlersparre and Olivecrona confirms that the divergence of views between the two editors really existed, but there is written evidence of a consensual and friendly parting when they discussed the end of Olivecrona’s role as an editor. On 22 January 1866, Olivecrona writes to Adlersparre, “Let us part our ways, for your

⁵ “Den växande konflikten mellan redaktörerna resulterade under 1865 – 66 i ett stundom motsägelsefullt material,” Manns, *Den Sanna Frigörelsen*, 55.

⁶ Inger Hammar, *Emancipation och religion: den svenska kvinnörelsens pionjärer i debatt om kvinnans kallelse ca 1860-1900* (Emancipation and Religion: the pioneers of the Swedish women’s movement in the debate on women’s calling around 1860 – 1900) (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1999), 94 – 118.

⁷ Gunnar Qvist, *Konsten att blifva en god flicka* (The art of being a good girl) (Helsingborg: Schmidts Boktryckeri AB, 1978), 215.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 216.

⁹ “Källa för kunskap om den Svenska emancipationsprocessen” “Huvudsansvarig för tidskriften’s policy var under alla år signaturen *Esselde*” Inger Hammar, *Emancipation och religion*, 44.

¹⁰ The entire correspondence can now be consulted in Riksarkivet (the National Archive in Stockholm). Selected parts of the correspondence had been used by Sigrid Leijonhufvud to illustrate her biography of her aunt (Adlersparre), written in 1922-23, but until Nordenstam’s works the letters had been kept in the family.

¹¹ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, and Paulina Helgeson and Anna Nordenstam, *Brevkonst* (Stockholm: Stehag, 2003).

sake, for my sake, and for the periodical's sake, yes, for our friendship's sake, I think it best that I quit the editorship.”¹² This letter was written seventeen months before the last article published by Olivecrona, as editor, in the periodical.¹³ There was no sudden rift: I explore the possibility in this chapter that this delay indicates a planned exit. Years later, in 1884, Olivecrona remarked that she retired from the editorship, but remained an active contributor to the periodical: “The author of this sketch retired from the editorship of the *Review* [*Tidskrift för hemmet*] after the lapse of nine years, but she has never ceased to contribute to its pages.”¹⁴ In other words, discord, in this case, did not exclude friendship and collaboration. My hypothesis is that the editors accepted their divergence of views and used it to stage their conflict in the periodical. This chapter thus reconsiders the idea of a stalemate conflict, or ‘schism.’ I argue, in contrast to Ambjörnsson, that the deliberation which takes place in the pages of the periodical is not merely a conflict of opinions between the editors, but a constructed argument, during which the editors create and engage a polyphony of voices to generate a societal democratic debate towards the development of female emancipation.¹⁵ My argument builds on two frameworks: political theory and periodical theory, which I aim to combine in order to research how *Tidskrift för hemmet* acted as a forum for deliberation. By using the concept of deliberative democracy, and applying it to the periodical genre, I show how the editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet* insinuated their claims into Swedish public awareness.

According to Joshua Cohen, “the notion of a deliberative democracy is rooted in the intuitive ideal of a democratic association in which the justification of the terms and conditions of association proceeds through public argument and reasoning among equal citizens.”¹⁶ The expression “intuitive ideal” employed here by Cohen was singled out and challenged by Habermas: “Joshua Cohen has elucidated the concept of deliberative politics in terms of an ‘ideal procedure’ of deliberation and decision making [...] It seems Cohen has still not completely shaken off the idea of a society that is deliberatively steered as a whole.”¹⁷ Consequently, Habermas suggests to look into the procedure from which decisions, or ideas, draw their legitimacy: Habermas sought to understand how Cohen’s “democratic

¹² “Låtom oss skiljas, för Din, för min, för Tidskriftens skull, ja för vår vänskaps skull anser jag det bäst att utgå från redaktionen.” Nordenstam, “Min älskade vän!” *Brevkonst*, 86.

¹³ “St-,” “Den arbetssökande qvinnan i det moderna samhället,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 9, no. 3 (29 June 1867): 129 – 147.

¹⁴ Olivecrona, “Sweden,” *The Woman Question in Europe*, 208.

¹⁵ I use the word “polyphony” in a Bakhtinian sense, to define a simultaneity of points of view within single periodical issues.

¹⁶ Joshua Cohen, “Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy,” in: *The Good Polity* ed A. Hamlin and B. Pettit (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 17 – 34, 21.

¹⁷ Habermas, *Between Facts and Norms*, 304 – 305.

association” works.¹⁸ This case study follows Habermas’s reasoning by analysing Adlersparre and Olivecrona’s editorial strategy in the light of a “democratic association,” to elucidate Cohen’s idea of an “intuitive ideal.”¹⁹ As we have seen in Chapter One, the manipulative all-mighty editor can fool or frighten the people into believing ‘distorted truths,’ and thus, by concentrating political power in a single source, places him – or herself – on a superior level to the readers of the periodical. Consequently, there is no discussion, nor circulation of ideas in this part of the public sphere, but a single idea enforced upon the readers. In *When the People Speak – Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation* (2009) James Fishkin explains that “a person has been manipulated by a communication when she has been exposed to a message intended to change her views in a way she would not accept if she were to think about it on the basis of good conditions.”²⁰ Manipulation inclines people’s views toward the private interest of the manipulator. The editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, by contrast, did not manipulate people for private but for common interests, and were inclusive with the opinions of others. They endeavoured to persuade male and female readers to embrace legal and social change for women, to attain gender equality and to improve the living conditions of both sexes. Adlersparre and Olivecrona acted “on the basis of good conditions,” in the sense that Fishkin intends, which is not by drawing a line between the notions of ‘good’ and ‘bad,’ but as an equivalent of ‘sound conditions,’ by making their readers attentive to the debate and inform them through a variety of opinions on the topics they chose to discuss. As Fishkin explains, “Efforts to manipulate public opinion work best with an inattentive and/or uninformed public [...] If it is uninformed, it may be manipulated.”²¹ By being persuasive, in order to change people’s views for the common good, in an enduring way, and thus enabling their readers to mentally adjust to shifting societal norms in an altering legal environment, Adlersparre and Olivecrona conveyed to their readers the awareness of a need for social change. My case study thus treads the fine line between ‘manipulation’ and ‘persuasion,’ to elucidate Cohen’s meaning in the expression “intuitive ideal.” As I demonstrate in this chapter, the “intuitive ideal” of the editors manifested itself in their specific feminist stance. By capitalising on an association with Bremer, and adopting multiple editorial personae, to create a forum for the public deliberation of issues pertaining to women’s education, welfare, work, and civil rights, Adlersparre and Olivecrona discussed and instilled this feminist stance in the minds of their readers through their mediation of the process of deliberation, or the “public argument and reasoning among equal citizens.”²²

¹⁸ Cohen, “Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy,” 21.

¹⁹ Ibid., 21.

²⁰ Fishkin, *When the People Speak*, 6.

²¹ Ibid., 6.

²² Ibid., 21.

The periodical genre is particularly suited to public deliberation. Margaret Beetham terms the periodical press “a disruptive kind of text,” because of its special relationship to time (with both interruptions and continuity of publication) and the divergences of opinions which may occur in a single, or several issues, due to its multi-authorial character.²³ As a genre that “resists closure,” the periodical enables the development of an ongoing debate.²⁴ My reassessment of Ambjörnsson’s reading derives from this particular form of resistance, which encourages intermittent conflict, to engage the interest and opinion of the reader over a certain length of time. Moreover, as opposed to the traditional angle of studying single (feminist) voices calling for reform in the public sphere, I use periodical theory to describe an association of several voices, rising for a common purpose. Adlersparre and Olivecrona created a public forum for the deliberation of ideas, behind which they pulled strings, to orchestrate the polyphony of voices included in each issue of their periodical, in order to make their “intuitive ideal” of gender equality democratically ratified.

In the first part of this chapter, I argue that *Tidskrift för hemmet* established both its legitimacy and popularity through a close collaboration with Fredrika Bremer. In addition, I show how the editors of the periodical built a solid ground for a societal debate, which found its roots in professional journalism, gender inclusiveness, international networking, and transnational influences. This strategy engaged the Swedish population, by sparking their emotional and intellectual interest, and encouraging them to participate in the forum. By showing how the editors sailed on a wave of popular consensus, to introduce a variety of salient perspectives on the “woman question,” I explain how they made their forum for deliberation work.

Adlersparre and Olivecrona signed their articles with a number of pen-names (I use the term “signatures” as a literal translation of the Swedish term *signaturer*) behind which they developed different personae (which I call “voices” when transcribed in the pages of the periodical) for different types of contributions. Up till now, scholars have singled out the editorial voice of “Esselde” as the sole feminist mouthpiece of the periodical. “Esselde” is thus presented as the voice that emerges from an editorial conflict or “schism,” to effectively challenge Adlersparre’s other editorial personae, and Olivecrona’s editorial input. This idea has also gained strength because Adlersparre’s political and social activism, alongside her editorial activity, had an impact on the development of women’s emancipation in Sweden. By contrast, by presenting and studying the dialogue of editorial voices, I show, in the second part, how the editors played out the different personae behind their signatures and how they introduced other contributors to the debate. I explore the hypothesis that “Esselde’s” dominant presence in the periodical is the result of strategy rather than editorial dispute.

²³ Beetham, “Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre,” 98. See introduction for more on the periodical’s relationship to time and engagement with its readers.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 98.

Adlersparre and Olivecrona created a forum for deliberation that established “Esselde’s” radical feminist tone by drawing its strength from the confrontations and discussions among the many contributors’ voices. In other words, I show that the construction of “Esselde’s” ascendancy is the principle feminist stance of the periodical. The editors developed this feminist stance by steering the deliberation towards their specific goal of gender equality in Europe, and more particularly the emancipation of women (*myndighet*) in Swedish law.

Git Claesson-Pipping distinguishes three periods for the periodical, the first of which runs from 1859 to 1867, at which point Olivecrona left the editorship, the second from 1868 to 1877, and the third from 1878 to 1885.²⁵ In the course of this chapter, I focus on the first period, during which Adlersparre teams up with co-founder Olivecrona. For these nine years I have recorded and classified 404 text items.²⁶ I use the word “text item” to describe any written piece in the periodical, ranging from long opinion pieces to short poems, and including unsigned announcements (“Vår portfölj”). With the help of data scientist Julie Birkholz, I have compiled data from these articles to create four graphic visualisations: the presence of Fredrika Bremer in the periodical (1), the number of signatures in the periodical (2), the signatures of the editors (3), and the evolution and extent of Adlersparre’s social and legal action (4) during the nine years of the periodical’s first period. Graphs 2, 3, and 4 are complemented with tables. These visualisations give a general sense of quantity and proportion, which, combined with close readings, present an in-depth analysis of *Tidskrift för hemmet* as a forum for deliberation.

***Tidskrift för hemmet* (1859 – 1885) and its co-editors**

Tidskrift för hemmet was the first feminist periodical published in Scandinavia. The publication followed an internationally developing feminist movement that originated in Britain and in France. Modelled after foreign magazines, especially the British *Household Words* (1850 – 1859) and the French *Revue des deux mondes* (1829 – present), the periodical served the Swedish people by looking abroad to familiarise its readers with international news, scientific and economic progress, and intellectual development. According to the subtitle, the content of the periodical was dedicated to Swedish women: the full title was, in its first years, *Tidskrift för hemmet: tillegnad den svenska qvinnan*, or in English, “the Home Review: dedicated to the

²⁵ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 33. Git Claesson-Pipping, “Qvinlighetens väsen. Sophie Adlersparres litteraturkritik och formande av den Svenska kvinnans litteratur,” *Personhistorisk tidskrift* 1(1997): 38 – 58.

²⁶ Source: Göteborg University online library (<http://www.ub.gu.se/kvinn/digtid/02/>).

Swedish woman.” In 1868, after Olivecrona’s departure, Adlersparre changed the subtitle to “dedicated to Nordic women” (*tillegnad Nordens qvinnor*), which is an indication of the reach and popularity of the periodical. Adlersparre published articles that included the whole of Scandinavia, and accordingly her readership stretched beyond Sweden’s borders to its Nordic neighbours.²⁷

Tidskrift för hemmet was published quarterly from 1859 to 1864, when an issue was about eighty pages long, and six times a year, from 1864 to 1867, with shorter issues of about sixty pages. Although it was advertised as cheap, the periodical cost one *Riksdaler* per issue: about ten times the price of a daily newspaper. Adlersparre and her printer Westrell teamed up as clever marketers. Of the 1,000 issues printed in the first year, nearly all sold. In 1860, around 1,200 copies were sold. These numbers are very high: the circulation of popular daily Swedish papers of the time was between 4,000 and 7,000. *Tidskrift för hemmet* contained no illustrations for these first years. The periodical generally included three to four long articles on women’s issues and general interests (such as nature and science), biographies, book reviews, literary excerpts and pieces (prose and poetry), reports of legal or social events, announcements, and occasionally readers’ correspondence. The targeted readership was gentry and upper classes, especially mothers, who would follow educational advice for their daughters, but who could also be made aware of issues of both general and specific interest. The editors remained relatively anonymous for about two years before they started signing their articles more regularly. The use of signatures became a trademark for the periodical; many of these belonged to the editors, as they impersonated different voices that argued with and responded to each other, to other authors, or to spontaneous contributors.

Sophie Adlersparre (1823 – 1895), née Leijonhufvud, was the daughter of a Swedish nobleman. She married Axel Adlersparre in 1869. Adlersparre did not have any children of her own but she adopted her husband’s five children upon their marriage. Adlersparre edited *Tidskrift för hemmet* from 1859 to 1885. Although she married ten years after she started *Tidskrift för hemmet*, I use the name Adlersparre throughout as she was better known under her married name. Rosalie Olivecrona (1823 – 1898), née Roos, was also from a wealthy upper-class social background. She was one of the first scholars educated at the Wallin school for girls, a pioneering institution in Stockholm. As a young woman, Olivecrona spent four years in the United States, where she wanted to set up a school of higher education for girls, for which purpose she sought out Fredrika Bremer, who was also in America at the time. In 1857 she married Knut Olivecrona, a professor of law at Uppsala University. The couple supported

²⁷ See chapter “Denmark” in *The Woman Question*, Kirstine Frederiksen: “The Swedish Home Review (*Tidskrift för Hemmet*) has also exercised considerable influence in Denmark,” 233, and editorial footnote by Theodore Stanton on the periodical’s influence throughout Scandinavia, 208. As the language of the periodical was exclusively Swedish, a language similar to other Nordic ones and known by many Norwegians, Finns, and Danes, the readership did not extend beyond Scandinavia.

women's movements in Europe together. Olivecrona raised five children while she was editing *Tidskrift för hemmet*: three from her husband's first marriage and two from their marriage. Olivecrona met Adlersparre at the end of 1855. The two women immediately became close friends. They were both professional translators, shared a strong taste for literature, and had a common admiration for Fredrika Bremer. Olivecrona settled in Uppsala and Adlersparre in Stockholm. These cities are seventy kilometers apart, a considerable distance at the time. Most of their interaction, both personal and professional exchanges, took place in the form of letters. The periodical also travelled: it was first printed in Stockholm from 1859 to 1862, then in Uppsala from 1862 to 1865, and back again in Stockholm from 1866.

2.1 Laying the Ground for Deliberation: Fredrika Bremer, Inclusiveness, and Transnational Influences

2.1.1 Finding a Space alongside Fredrika Bremer

In this first part, I retrace the history of the collaboration between Bremer, Adlersparre, and Olivecrona to show how the co-editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet* identified a niche in the public sphere, and set up a forum for the deliberation of political ideas to “improve women's condition.”²⁸ Adlersparre and Olivecrona built on Bremer's work, and personal aura, to root the periodical's feminist claims and gain popularity.

***Hertha* and the “Hertha discussion”: 1856 – 1858**

As Helena Forsås-Scott explains, the political “*Hertha*” discussion (*Herthadiskussionen* or *Hertha-debatten*) prompted by Bremer's programmatic novel has traditionally been considered the direct cause of the legal emancipation of Swedish unmarried women at the age of 25.²⁹ However, the publication of *Hertha* (1856) happened at a time when the legal rights of women were already starting to improve.³⁰ Qvist subverts the ‘Hertha myth’ in *Fredrika*

²⁸ “Ambitionen var att förbättra kvinnors villkor” Manns, *Den Sanna Frigörelsen*, 53.

²⁹ Helena Forsås-Scott, *Swedish women's writing*, 11. The term “programmatic” has been used (see Forsås-Scott, Qvist) to describe the structure and purpose of *Hertha*: the novel is followed by an appendix that enumerates the legal situation and progress of women's rights in Swedish law.

³⁰ In 1845 sisters and brothers became equal in inheritance, in 1846 single women were allowed to support themselves with a trade (only widows could before), in 1853 women could teach in primary schools, and in 1858

Bremer och kvinnans emancipation (1969), and goes so far as to argue that the novel had no influence on the legislation that followed.³¹ According to Qvist, the Parliamentary Bill for women's emancipation was introduced between 1853 and 1854, prior to the publication of the novel. Moreover, the implementation of the law in 1858 did not meet *Hertha's* demands.³² Since Qvist's revision, scholars have acknowledged an exaggeration of the direct impact of *Hertha* on the movement for women's emancipation and have reassessed the novel's symbolical influence.³³ This dissertation shows how *Hertha* was a cog in the movement for women's emancipation, that went along with Bremer's overall activism and how it was relayed by Adlersparre and Olivecrona in *Tidskrift för hemmet*.

Bremer is famous for having introduced the realist novel to Swedish literature; several of her works are entitled or subtitled "sketches of everyday life" (*teckning ur det verkliga livet*). The message conveyed by Bremer's novel *Hertha* was two-tiered, which is the reason for both its outstanding success and its highly polemic reception. Bremer's realistic portrait of a woman's plight, which she backed up with a legal appendix in the novel, pointed to a pressing legal issue that predictably reaped popular support. In addition, her religious convictions shine through a critical romantic discourse.³⁴ *Hertha's* plot develops into a religious creed expressed in the idea of a woman saviour, who creates a "school for the soul" (*själens högskola*), to liberate other women from an oppressively paternalistic environment. Bremer's *coup de force* earned the admiration and gratitude of supporters of women's cause worldwide, yet her notions were too radical to be integrated in the context of a gradual legal evolution, nor would they directly convince a large proportion of Swedish society, which

Swedish unmarried women were able to become legally emancipated at the age of 25, upon application to a court of law.

³¹ Qvist, *Fredrika Bremer och kvinnans emancipation* (Fredrika Bremer and women's emancipation) (Stockholm: Ivar Haeggström, 1969). Qvist explains that the letter correspondence between Bremer and her friends, which had been the main source of scholarly information, painted an exaggerated picture of the effect of the novel.

³² Through her novel, Bremer asked for the direct autonomy of 25-year-old unmarried women and the abolition of "giftomannanrätten" (or the man's right to give a woman away in marriage). The former was obtained in 1863.

³³ See for example Greta Wieselgren, *Fredrika Bremer och verkligheten romanen Herthas tillblivelse* (Fredrika Bremer and the creation of the realist novel *Hertha*) (Stockholm: Norstedt och Söners, 1978), and "Roman Herthas betydelse för myndighetsreformen 1858" (the novel *Hertha's* significance for the 1858 women's emancipation reform), in: Birgitta Holm, *Fredrika Bremer ute och hemma* (Fredrika Bremer out and at home) (Uppsala: Uppsala University, 1987), 95 – 113.

³⁴ Bremer's rhetoric imitates the romantic style, to describe the soul of women as physically captive as opposed to fictionally liberated. This strategy criticises an ideology which reified women's existence by reducing them to angelic, ignorant beings (entrapping their souls).

remained, at the time, strongly conservative.³⁵ However, the publication of *Hertha* and the ensuing political discussion arguably sparked the idea of *Tidskrift för hemmet* in Adlersparre's and Olivecrona's mind.

***Tidskrift för hemmet* in *Hertha*'s wake: garnering popular consensus**

The future co-editors of *Tidskrift för hemmet* laid out plans to create a forum for the sharing of ideas and advice on women's emancipation that prepared the minds of the Swedish people for the new ideas *Hertha* had stirred. In her doctoral thesis, Nordenstam describes the launching of the periodical *Tidskrift för hemmet* through the teamwork of the two women behind it. By perusing the correspondence between Adlersparre and Olivecrona and studying the social and historical context of the time, Nordenstam highlights the need for the establishment of a periodical which would discuss women's status and women's rights, in order to lay the foundation for their future emancipation. As Nordenstam writes, "What the Swedish woman needs before she gets legal emancipation is time, means, and a forum."³⁶ In other words, the regular publication of a magazine, enriched with enlightened contributions, would transform Bremer's "school for the soul" into a "school of thought" (*tankens skola*) that would lead Swedish people to accept, agree with, and partake in the gradual social changes involved in the process of women's emancipation.³⁷ This school of thought would become an interactive platform that functioned as a virtual meeting site for the people, and especially women, from the intimacy of their homes.

The presence of Bremer is perceptible in the title and the content of the periodical. The word "home" (*hem(met)*) refers to her novel *Hemmet* ("The Home," 1839) and to her journal-type writings on America, *Hemmen i nya världen* ("The Homes of the New World," 1853-1854).³⁸ The notion of "home" is central to Bremer's thoughts on women's influence.³⁹ Bremer believed that women, as mothers, wives, and daughters, had the best power of influence in the intimacy of their home. Women's relationship with their sons, husbands, and brothers, at home, would be both the focal and starting point of their influence on the development of society. The periodical gradually discusses *Hertha*'s general principles.

³⁵ For criticism against *Hertha* within (Lutheran and conservative) Swedish society see Hammar, *Emancipation och religion*, 44.

³⁶ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 44, "vad den svenska kvinnan behöver innan hon blir lagstadgat myndig är med andra ord tid, medel och ett forum" (in agreement with an article written by Adlersparre in *Svenska Tidningen. Dagligt allehanda i Stockholm* in 1858).

³⁷ The expression "tankens skola" is formulated in a letter by Adlersparre, see Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 47.

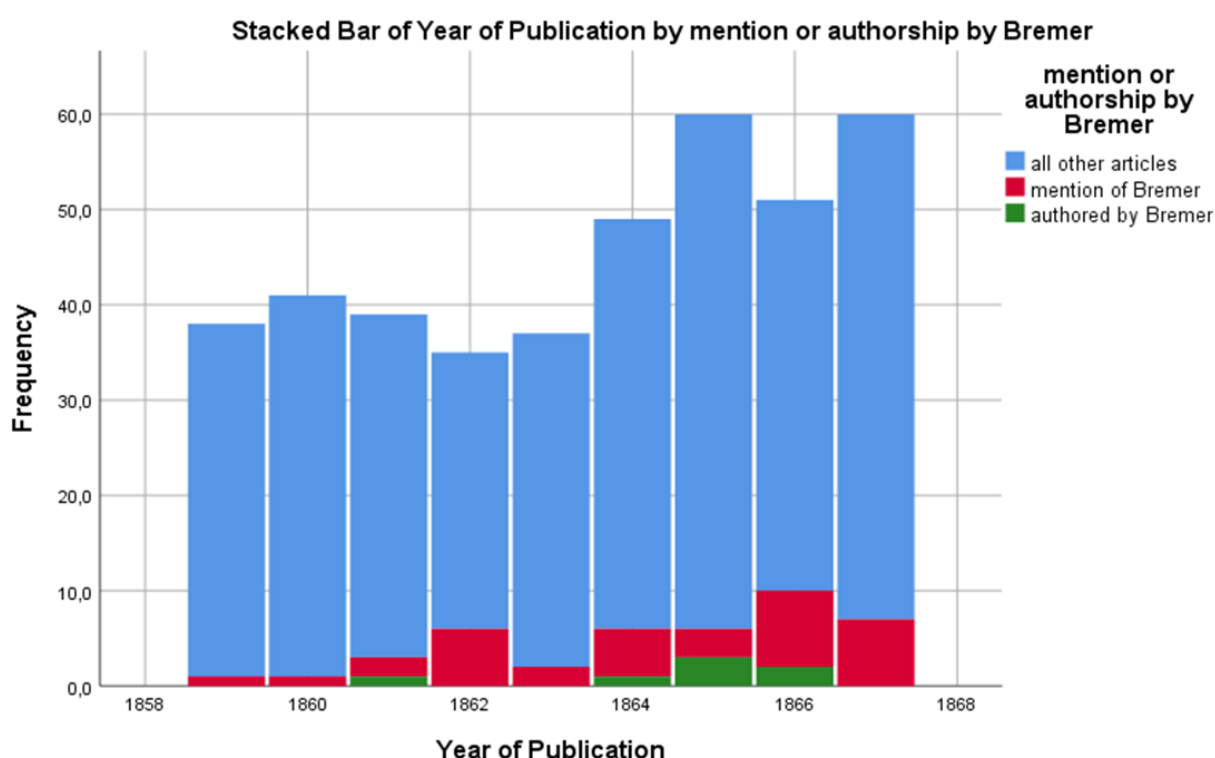
³⁸ The editors specifically refer to Bremer's *Hemmet* by using the name of one of her characters, Jeremias Munter, as a signature for a column ("Vår lektyr") published in the first issue of 1860.

³⁹ Nordenstam quotes from a letter Bremer sent to her friend Per Johan Böklin: "Hvad jag framförallt vill betrakta i den nya världen, är hemmet, familjen, kvinnans ställning" (What I would like to contemplate before anything else in the new world is the home, the family and women's position) Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 60.

Bremer's radical ideas on women's education, intellect, and status, and even her 'divine mission' (which merged into the contemporary encouragement to perform works of charity) were blended in a societal debate in *Tidskrift för hemmet* that accompanied the legal changes in women's status, especially between 1859 and 1864. The influence of *Hertha* was thus inscribed into a legal and societal evolution of ideas, while the name and symbolic status of Fredrika Bremer remained one of the strengths of the periodical.

Graph 1

Bremer's presence in *Tidskrift för hemmet*



Graph 1 is a bar chart of the number of text items (Frequency) published per year in *Tidskrift för hemmet*, from 1859 to 1867. The blue colour is the number of text items with no mention of Bremer, red shows the number of text items in which Bremer's name is mentioned (one text item counts for a single mention even when she is cited several times), or a direct reference to her is made.⁴⁰ The green bar shows Bremer's authored contributions published in the periodical (7 in total). Bremer's literary work and social activism are both included. These pieces were either sent by her or included by the editors after her death on 31 December 1865. Bremer is cited, referred to, or included as an author, in 42 text items in all out of a total of 404 text items, i. e. something over 10 percent of the general output of *Tidskrift*

⁴⁰ Two articles respectively signed "Jeremias Munter" (Issue 1, 1860) and "Yngve" (Issue 5, 1866) are also included in this selection as they are direct references to characters in Bremer's novels.

för hemmet. The only other public figure whom the editors mention as regularly is pioneering English nurse Florence Nightingale, but her name appears less than half the amount of times. The graph shows how Bremer's presence and participation in the periodical was constant, yet far from overwhelming, leaving space for the voices of other public figures and the participation of the public, yet solidly in the background as a supporting presence.

Bremer's regular mentioning is an active compound of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. She was touring America and thus absent from Sweden between 1856 and 1861; her highest rate of presence in the periodical coincides with her physical presence in Sweden. From only a few instances between 1859 and 1860, the rhythm of Bremer mentions picks up from 1861 (with a slight drop in 1863), when she could actively contribute and blend in the readership of the periodical. The peak of 1862 shows how her return affects the periodical. The frequency of appearance of her name and contributions stabilize in 1864 and 1865 at about 10 percent of published text items. The number of appearances then rises by about 50 percent in 1866 and diminishes in 1867, after her death at the end of 1865.

Bremer and *Tidskrift för hemmet*: engaging popular love

Nearly thirty years after the publication of *Hertha* and twenty-five years after the first issue of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, Olivecrona described Bremer as "known and beloved throughout the civilized world."⁴¹ Despite her controversial *début*, Bremer's fame and popularity only grew with the years. When cited in the periodical, Bremer's name is regularly linked to terms of endearment and possessive articles, to emphasize pride and a sense of belonging to the Swedish people, as seen in an article published in the second issue of 1862: "There was only one female member at this meeting in Belgium's beautiful capital city, and this female member – for whom we can be proud – was our freed countrywoman Fredrika Bremer."⁴² Bremer is also mentioned with expressions of gratitude, for both her literary career and her career as a social activist in Sweden and abroad: "Thank you, thank you, Fredrika Bremer! Not only for your help for those in need, but also for the happiness of the 'happy donors' [who were able to contribute to a cause through Bremer's association for orphans and poor children founded in 1862]."⁴³

Bremer remains one of the most famous and beloved figures in Swedish history. As an admired figure, she spoke to the heart and pride of the Swedes. Adlersparre and Olivecrona

⁴¹ Olivecrona, *The woman question in Europe*, 209.

⁴² "Vid dess sammanträde i Belgiens vackra hufvudstad egde den dock blott en qvinlig medlem och denna medlem – vi kunna med skäl vara stolta deröfver – var vår frejdade landsmaninna Fredrika Bremer," "L.S.," "Kongresserna i London 1862 (4 - 14 Juni)," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 4, no. 2 (1862): 115 – 124, 123.

⁴³ "Tack! Tack Fredrika Bremer!" icke blott för hjälpen åt de hulpne, utan äfven för mången 'gladan gifvares' glädje." "Vår portfölj," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 1 (1863): 77 – 80, 79. For more on Bremer's association see report article, "S.," "Stockholms fruntimmers förening för barnavard," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 4, no. 1 (1862): 94 – 96.

capitalized on her reputation. Their periodical benefitted from her presence and participation, that helped to create a forum to disseminate the ideas they shared on women's emancipation. On the one hand, this gave *Tidskrift för hemmet* some sense of purpose and direction. On the other hand, Bremer became a unifying asset, whom the editors integrated in the text of the periodical at regular intervals, thus preparing the ground from which they organised a debate on women's emancipation issues.

Organising the Debate: Inclusiveness and Transnational Influences

While Bremer's presence remained strongly in the background, Adlersparre and Olivecrona offered an analysis of the public sphere and made its issues those of the readers of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. In this part, I show how the editors worked towards fulfilling the conditions of deliberative democracy, by achieving, as Fishkin puts it, "political equality and deliberation," "with the root notions of inclusion and thoughtfulness," to which they added a transnational dimension.⁴⁴ Adlersparre and Olivecrona prepared the ground for a deliberation, by entering the homes and hearts of their readers, and by welcoming the participation of men, and foreign influences, especially France and England, which were seen as the European leaders in matters of women's emancipation.

Dedicated to educated women, open to the home, the heart, and the household

Tidskrift för hemmet was not only tuned toward a middle- and upper-class readerships.⁴⁵ Although Adlersparre and Olivecrona's periodical primarily targeted the middle and upper classes, it nevertheless addressed the needs of the entire population, regardless of gender, social background, or cultural origin. As mentioned previously, *Tidskrift för hemmet* focussed on the notion and significance of "home" but challenged the "public/private" dichotomy, by expanding from the privacy of home, or the "intimate sphere," into the public sphere with a variety of topics that opened the minds of its readers towards the fate of others, in the spirit of a caring consciousness.⁴⁶ An article by Olivecrona on the subject of women and charity, published in the first issue of 1861, reflects this calling.⁴⁷ Olivecrona laid great emphasis on work and charity "from home," by citing English institutions such as "Milliners home" and

⁴⁴ Fishkin, *When the People Speak*, 32.

⁴⁵ See Qvist, *Konsten att blifva*, 215.

⁴⁶ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 26.

⁴⁷ "St-," "Qvinnan och välgörandet," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 3, no. 1 (1861): 3 – 23. According to Olivecrona (posing here as "St-"), the place of women is at home, and also among the poor and suffering, as it is, to her mind, women's prerogative and duty to sympathise with others.

“Needlewomen’s home” and by quoting the English expression “charity begins at home.”⁴⁸ As its Swedish title suggests, the periodical is an object “for” (*för*) the home; it can be pictured in a living room, where the family, their friends, and servants either linger or go about their business. As a conversation piece, the periodical would be discussed by ladies at home, between the spouses, and possibly between sisters, mothers, and daughters. It may have been mentioned to servants. The editors took care to encompass all socio-economic classes when they discussed women’s educational and professional potential.⁴⁹ The publication of several articles on the welfare and working conditions of servants, with explicit discussions of their wages, suggests that the editors kept this picture of the living-room, and the preoccupations of such a household, in mind.⁵⁰

The content of the periodical was dedicated to Swedish women (as mentioned in the introduction, the full title was, in its first years, *Tidskrift för hemmet: tillegnad den svenska qvinnan*, in English “The Home Review: dedicated to the Swedish woman”).⁵¹ However, the choice of this title did not mean that the periodical itself was exclusively reserved for women. Rather, while the intended recipient of the journal was identified in the subtitle, the means to guide Swedish women to emancipation would also involve the participation of men. Adlersparre chose a conservative newspaper, and fabricated a male perspective, to launch the idea of *Tidskrift för hemmet* in the press. She suggested the need for such a journal in a series of articles that appeared in December 1857 and January 1858 in the Swedish daily *Svenska Tidningen. Dagligt allehanda i Stockholm*. Adlersparre concealed her authorship of these articles behind the signature “*din redlige vän K*” (your (male) friend K). She moreover made up a fictional friendship with “K” to convince Olivecrona to start the periodical.⁵² Adlersparre admittedly knew the more conservative views of her friend, and the Swedish public more generally, but placing a fictional male figure behind the first opinion-based public announcement shows she wished to include the male approval of her views on women’s emancipation. The signature “K” (or “Keiner,” “-i-,” and possibly “K-r,” which Adlersparre

⁴⁸ Ibid., 19 and 22. Olivecrona refers to this expression again: “L.S.,” “Röster fran Ostindien,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no 5 (1864): 291 – 302.

⁴⁹ See articles on the variety of professions open to women: post office jobs, telegraph, gardening, watch making etc. (footnotes 110, 111, and 112).

⁵⁰ See articles “St-,” “Ett sätt att bereda pensioner åt åldriga tjenare,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 3 (1863): 253 – 254 and “S...,” “Om vårt tjenstefolk,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 6 (1866): 305 – 315.

⁵¹ Nordenstam discusses Adlersparre and Olivecrona’s disagreements on the full title: Adlersparre insisted on a home review whereas Olivecrona preferred to lay the emphasis on a woman’s magazine. See Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 57 – 61.

⁵² Ibid., 44. Manns, *Den Sanna Frigörelsen*, 53.

used and quoted in the periodical) encouraged Swedish men to read and contribute to the periodical.⁵³

Among examples of articles actually written by men, the contribution of Rosalie Olivecrona's husband, Knut Olivecrona, is relevant to the editors' inclusive strategy.⁵⁴ Knut Olivecrona is the author of an article signed "Jonathan," published in the fourth issue of the first year of *Tidskrift för hemmet*.⁵⁵ This twelve-page article entitled "Om Qvinnans sjelvförsörjning" (on women's self-sufficiency) is the first opinion piece and leading article not written by one of the editors.⁵⁶ Knut Olivecrona's contribution blends into the general tone and content of the periodical and contributes to its discursive construction. The article follows a series of leaders from the three previous issues (of roughly equal length, between ten and twenty pages) that discuss work and education for women and daughters with an international comparative perspective, from which the author quotes with approval, and establishes the premises of his own analysis. He then locates his remarks within the Swedish legal context, by referring to two law articles (from 1846 and 1859) that deal with work and the marital status of women. Knut Olivecrona thus introduces a method that Adlersparre resorts to regularly in the following years. "Jonathan" is referred to in a later article (Issue 4, 1860), which shows a continuity in the pattern of thought initiated by Knut Olivecrona. The latter's (real) name appears in the periodical, alongside that of his wife, in the second issue of 1861, in an article signed "x-y," reporting on the fifth summit of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science in Dublin. He is mentioned again in another article in the first issue of 1863, reporting on the advancement of parliamentary motions for the improvement of women's conditions in work and education. Finally, Adlersparre reports with enthusiasm on Knut Olivecrona's favourable influence on the status of Swedish women artists (Issue 3, 1863). Knut Olivecrona's article, its further reference, and the acknowledgement of his political activity show that his support, and more particularly his consensual and cooperative attitude, were important throughout the first years of the periodical.

2.1.2 Topicality and transnationalism

Tidskrift för hemmet covered a variety of topics on women's emancipation, which were carefully introduced in each issue to generate a complex debate. The articles discuss the latest news, movements, and legal activity on the women's front, and aimed at impressing the

⁵³ Regarding this gender-balanced view, see theoretical framework in the introduction.

⁵⁴ See also article signed by Olof Eneroth (1825 – 1881), a Swedish writer and expert in pomology (Olof Eneroth, "Om den svenska qvinnan i förhållande till hemmets yttre vård och försköning," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 4, no. 1 (1862): 1 – 24.

⁵⁵ See correspondence and further history concerning this piece (Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 73 – 74).

⁵⁶ "Jonathan," "Om qvinnans sjelvförsörjning," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 1, no. 4 (1859): 265 – 276.

readers with truth and authenticity. The editors fulfilled this objective with an international canvassing, firstly by travelling and sending reporters abroad, secondly by working and collaborating with foreign periodicals and, thirdly, by blending foreign influences and different points of view in their reflections.

Meeting, witnessing, testifying

Tidskrift för hemmet reported from several international summits during which it proudly highlighted the presence of Swedish delegations.⁵⁷ The importance of meeting people who mattered and witnessing events, of being *sur place*, was not only to publicise how Swedish women were, generally speaking, at the forefront of evolution and social change, but also that the periodical's reports were true, not hearsay and approximation. In an article on sanitary conditions and health associations in times of war in the United States, published in the sixth issue of 1864, Adlersparre makes this point clear, when she disagrees with an article from the *Revue des deux mondes* on the strength of a report sent by her own special correspondent:

This is how our French writer tells us, undoubtedly upon the evidence of the above-mentioned sources. We have, however, heard the matter somewhat differently, presented by a [male] compatriot, who visited America in 1862, and was acquainted in Boston with the grandest of the ladies, who were at the forefront of the movement. He had the occasion of personally observing [...]⁵⁸

Adlersparre does not defend the work of the women's association in the United States through her *belief* in their efficiency, but on the basis of facts and observation, as in a court of law. A scientific denunciation of gender clichés (in this case) through evidence provided by her witness, is essential, in her mind, to establish a truth or, in other words, a robust and coherent foundation upon which progress-minded deliberation can take place.

While the editors encouraged the practice of charity and schooling from a general perspective, they focussed on leading-edge domains, for example nursing and general healthcare in Britain, and education, agriculture, and economy in France. Florence Nightingale, whom the editors met at the women's summit in Dublin (Issue 2, 1861), is mentioned many times. Nightingale's method and dedication were held up to inspire wealthy

⁵⁷ Following the article by "x-y," Olivecrona reports on the meeting of the following year in London where Bremer attended ("L.S.," "Kongresserna i London," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 4, no. 2 (1862): 115 – 124).

⁵⁸ "Så berättar vår franske författare, utan tvifvel på grund af sina ofvan anförda källor. Vi hafva dock hört saken något annorlunda framställas af en landsman, hvilken 1862 besökte Amerika, och i Boston gjorde bekantskap med de förnämsta af de damer, hvilka der stodo i spetsen för rörelsen, samt hade tillfälle att personligen iakttaga [...]" "L-d.," "Den af amerikanska damer organiserade Sundhetskommisionen i Nord-Staterna under pågående inbördeskrig," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 6 (1864): 338 – 351, 341 – 2.

upper-class women in Stockholm, while the fund and institution she created were compared to similar Swedish initiatives.⁵⁹ The first issue of 1862 offers a piece on the advantages of fresh air in the upbringing of children in Scotland, aimed at encouraging a similar practice in Sweden. The author of the article, Olof Eneroth, bases his advice on seeing the apparent good health of a child with whom he engages in dialogue as he visits a family on a journey in Scotland. In an article published in the second issue of 1866, Adlersparre gushes over a serendipitous meeting with two contributors to the *Journal des économistes* (1841 - 1940), the writer and economist Victor Modeste and the French feminist writer, specialising in education, Miss Marcheŕff-Girard. In this opinion piece, Adlersparre encourages a translation of Modeste's work for introduction into Swedish economic discussions and considers Marcheŕff-Girard's methods and opinions on education in a reflection on Swedish women's citizenship, rights, and duties. Following the empirical method demonstrated in this series of examples, the editors and contributors to *Tidskrift för hemmet* emphasise the fact that they had physically met with journalists, intellectuals, and representatives of women's movements in Europe and in America. First-hand evidence of foreign practices, which would benefit Swedish people, is presented as proof of authenticity.

Working with the English Woman's Journal

Adlersparre and Olivecrona used their networks and language skills to raise the level of the Swedish women's movement to that of its European counterparts, in order to move forward together. *Tidskrift för hemmet* 'grew' with collaborators in the international periodical press. Ties were formed with journalists working for the previously mentioned French periodical *Le Journal des économistes* that specialised in economy, business and agriculture. The narration of Adlersparre's meeting with Modeste and Marcheŕff-Girard is followed up in two articles (in the second and third issues of 1867), in which Olivecrona refers to another contributor to the periodical, the French feminist, journalist, and activist, Julie Daubié. However, the most relevant example of a collaboration, which became more of a partnership, was with *Tidskrift för hemmet*'s shorter-lived British counterpart, the *English Woman's Journal* (1858 - 1864), founded by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parks.

The *English Women's Journal* and two members of its editorial team, Bessie Rayner Parks and Matilda Hays, are first mentioned in the "announcements" column ("Vår portfölj") in the third issue of 1860. The author of the announcement expresses admiration for the British journal and implies a future collaboration: "We observed with satisfaction, when our editorial teams were recently introduced, that it [the *English Women's Journal*] works in the same

⁵⁹ See "L.S.," "Florence Nightingale," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 3, no. 3 (1861): 186 - 198, "St-," "Qvinnan och sjukvården," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 2 (1864): 65 - 81, and "L-d.," "Sjukvårdsföreningens första sammanträde d. 24 Maj 1865," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 3 (1865): 209 - 215.

direction as *Tidskrift för hemmet*.”⁶⁰ The British journal is praised again, in the article signed “x-y,” a year later, in 1861, when Adlersparre, Olivecrona, and her husband travel to Dublin to attend an international summit. On this occasion, the two women meet the editors of the *English Women’s Journal*. According to the journal of Sigrid Leijonhufvud, Adlersparre’s niece, they also stopped in London to visit their workplace and meet other members of the editorial team.⁶¹ Nordenstam describes how the editors of both journals developed similar article structures and shared ideas on various columns following these fruitful exchanges.⁶² Moreover, the women from both editorial teams cooperated in terms of shared international networks. In the second issue of 1863, Adlersparre addresses her gratitude to Parks for having provided her with a personalised biography of her friend Marie Pape Carpentier, a French feminist and expert in pedagogy, which she could then publish for her Swedish readers.⁶³ Another example, a biography of the Swiss pedagogue Heinrich Pestalozzi, published in the fifth issue of 1864, is also “borrowed from the *English Women’s Journal*.”⁶⁴

Tidskrift för hemmet’s partnership with the *English Women’s Journal* and collaboration with other foreign periodicals such as *Le Journal des économistes* is essential in terms of the construction of a transnational women’s movement. Olivecrona published an excerpt from the *English Women’s Journal* that follows the report on the meeting in Dublin, in which she explicitly calls for an international collaboration between the Swedish and the British women’s movements through the work of the two periodicals. Olivecrona expressed her wish that the Swedes may emulate the British example, but, most of all, she hoped that their collaboration would bear common fruit.⁶⁵ Olivecrona confirms this associative effort in the second issue of 1867.⁶⁶ To define the phrase “women’s emancipation” in a transnational context, Olivecrona refers to the *English Women’s Journal* and lists the *Journal des économistes* as examples of the many ties that the editors had formed with international collaborators. This foothold in a common transnational enterprise was another way to establish *Tidskrift för hemmet*’s authority for a national debate on women’s roles in society.

⁶⁰ “Vi hafva med tillfredsställelse iakttagit, att den arbetar i samma riktning som *Tidskrift för Hemmet*, för hvars Redaktion den dotfk först nyligen blifvit känd,” “Vår portfölj,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 2, no. 3 (1860): 255 – 256, 256.

⁶¹ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 85. Sigrid Leijonhufvud was the daughter of Axel Leijonhufvud, Adlersparre’s brother.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 85.

⁶³ “Esselde,” “Madame Marie Pape Carpentier,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 2 (1863): 114 – 127.

⁶⁴ “Henrik Pestalozzi,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 5 (1864): 269 – 291, 269.

⁶⁵ Olivecrona has a similar reflection in an article where she mentions the Italian periodical *Garibaldi* that encourages the creation of women associations in Italian states (“St-,” “Nya utländska fruntimmers föreningar,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 3, no. 4 (1861): 277 – 281).

⁶⁶ “St-,” “Den arbetssökande qvinnan i det moderna samhället,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 9, no. 2 (30 April 1867): 65 – 90.

Towards a transnational debate on gender ideas

The intellectual justification for a redefinition of women's roles in society, a key concern in the periodical, is laid out from the start. Olivecrona's first article quotes the popular French philosopher Aimé Martin and introduces his reflections on the education of mothers (*De l'Education des Mères de Famille*, 1834). Martin's widely read book had been translated in Swedish in 1841. His structured approach to the education of women (in three tiers: moral, physical, and intellectual) announces a myriad of potential points to discuss. With her reference to Martin, Olivecrona lays a Rousseau-like emphasis on the importance of the role of the mother in the education of their young children and uses it as a broad starting point for *Tidskrift för hemmet's* reflection on women's education, well-being, and work.⁶⁷

Within the first two years of the periodical, the editors blended the French philosophical background with the work of contemporary English feminist writers, among whom were mentioned Emily Shirreff, Barbara Smith, and Miss Mulock (Dinah Craik). Olivecrona lays out Shirreff's main argument, that education leads to the happiness of women, in which she anticipates Adlersparre's landmark statement, published for the first time in the second issue of 1859: "Women need work and work needs women."⁶⁸ Adlersparre's article is based on Leigh Smith's pamphlet, *Women and Work* (1857).⁶⁹

By comparing, in her first article, the popular and well-known Martin, to the recent work of a relatively unknown (in Sweden) feminist writer, Olivecrona creates a new meaning for widespread ideas, while she remains deceptively discrete:

We believe that the inclusion of these opinions from two people, one man, the other woman, both of whom have really thought through the subjects they discuss, responds best than we ourselves consider ourselves capable of, to this contribution, which is done for the necessity and benefit of women's intellectual education.⁷⁰

With this introduction Olivecrona creates grounds for debate and discussion with an objective. The word "inkast," from the original Swedish quote (see footnote), comes from the

⁶⁷ These French sources were very popular in mid nineteenth-century Sweden, where the son and grandson of a former French Marshal of Napoleon sat on the throne.

⁶⁸ "Qvinnan behöfver arbete och arbete behöver qvinnan," [Adlersparre], "Några ord om qvinnan och arbetet," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 1, no. 2 (1859): 89 – 109, 89. The article is unsigned, but the correspondence between the editors confirms that the author is Adlersparre.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁰ "Vi tro oss, genom anförandet af dessa yttranden, utgångna från tvenne personer, den ene man, den andra qvinna, som båda verkligen tänkt sig in i det ämne de afhandlat, hafva bättre besvarat de inkast, som göras emot nödvändigheten och nyttan af qvinnans intellektuella bildning, än vi sjelfva anse oss förmå." [Olivecrona], "Om behöfvet af intellektuel uppfostran för qvinnan," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 1, no. 1 (1859): 4 – 11, 9. The article is unsigned, but the correspondence between the editors confirms that the author is Olivecrona.

phrasal verb “kasta in” (to throw in), which I have translated as “contribution,” should literally be translated in English as “throw-in.” The metaphor Olivecrona uses here can be compared to that of an open field, ready to be fertilized, upon which she sows the first seeds. The invitation to opinions of both a man and a woman is also a reminder of the editors’ gender-inclusive strategy.

In a similarly self-effacing way, Adlersparre publishes, as the leading article of the second issue of 1860, a translation of Miss Mulock’s work *A Woman’s Thoughts about Women* (1858), which had been originally published in *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal* between 2 May and 19 December 1857.⁷¹ Adlersparre calls the reader’s attention to the superior qualities of the series of essays, but also underlines the benefit of a foreign contribution to the debate on the women’s movement, which *Tidskrift för hemmet* was carefully constructing:

We thought that a look out of such a ‘reflection mirror,’ in the pictures it reflects back, from another country than ours, would not be without its benefit to our [female] readers and to the Swedes in general.⁷²

Adlersparre is already showing a way forward, by proposing a transnational movement for women’s emancipation in Sweden, to show Swedish women how to interpret and emulate the French and the British examples. This article complements Olivecrona’s theoretical grounding for the encouragement of women’s education, which is also based on foreign sources.

2.2 Fixing the Debate: Participation, Deliberation, and Outcome

In this part I offer an in-depth analysis of Adlersparre and Olivecrona’s teamwork, according to the concept of deliberative politics. I first show how they led the process of deliberation, by assembling a sufficient number of participants to constitute a representative power for the people through their signature policy. Secondly, I explain how they qualified the deliberation, or acted as arbiters and mediators to ensure the continuation of the debate by unveiling the strategy behind the “editorial schism” and the mechanisms of “Esselde’s”

⁷¹ “L-d.,” “En kvinnas tankar rörande kvinnan,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 2, no. 2 (1860): 97 – 112.

⁷² “Vi hafva trott, att en blick uti en dylik “reflexions-spegel,” ehuru de bilder, den återgifver, äro hemtade från ett annat land än vårt, ej skulle vara utan sin nytta för våra läsarinor och för svenskorna i allmänhet.” Ibid., 97.

success. Thirdly, I show how they managed the outcome of the deliberation by following legal progress, and by pushing and acting for women's emancipation.

2.2.1 Pseudonymity and Participation

A question of identity

Many of the text items of *Tidskrift för hemmet* remain un-attributed, while some pieces, especially in the first two years, are not signed. Some signatures often return with regular contributions to the periodical. They are presented either as full names, or initials, or letters which represent, with the help of dashes and full stops, the first and last letter(s) of a first name, surname or both. Some signatures are pictorial, for example several poems are signed with a representation of a music note, an E-flat, otherwise known as Eb, which could be the clue to a first name or a full name. Another contributor signs with the picture of a cross. "Jonathan," as I explained in Part 1, is Knut Olivecrona. According to Nordenstam, "Emund Gammal" is the Swedish writer and amateur artist Eva Fryxell.⁷³ An article signed "Yngve," published in the fifth issue of 1866, could be a reference to one of the main characters, of the same name, in Bremer's *Hertha*, while the "Vår lektyr" column in the first issue of 1860 signed "Jeremias Munter" is certainly a reference to Bremer's character from *Hemmet*.⁷⁴ "O.E." is possibly Olof Eneroth, choosing to use his initials after having signed his full name in the first issue of 1862. There are other examples of signature mysteries which could become a fascinating speculation game.

Adlersparre and Olivecrona cultivated the mystery that would often surround signatures. Bremer, who remains one of the most recognizable authors in *Tidskrift för hemmet*, is continuously by-lined in different ways ("Bremer," "F. B.," "Fr. Br.," "Fr. B.," etc.) and her contributions are signed "Fr. B.," "F. B.," "Fr. Br.," and "Fredrika Bremer."⁷⁵ Bremer may not have adopted such a range on purpose; there is a part played by the editors in representing her through different signatures. The signature "S..." in the sixth issue of 1866 (which is different from Adlersparre's "S.") is commented upon in a footnote by "Esselde" on the first page: "It is with joy and pride that we promised to add the contribution for our journal of the folk-loving and highly valued author, who hides behind the signature S..."⁷⁶ The use of the verb "hide" or "dölja sig" in Swedish (see footnote), with an emphasis on the verbal action

⁷³ Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 91 – 96.

⁷⁴ See footnote 40.

⁷⁵ In graph 2, these various abbreviations are regrouped under the signature "Bremer."

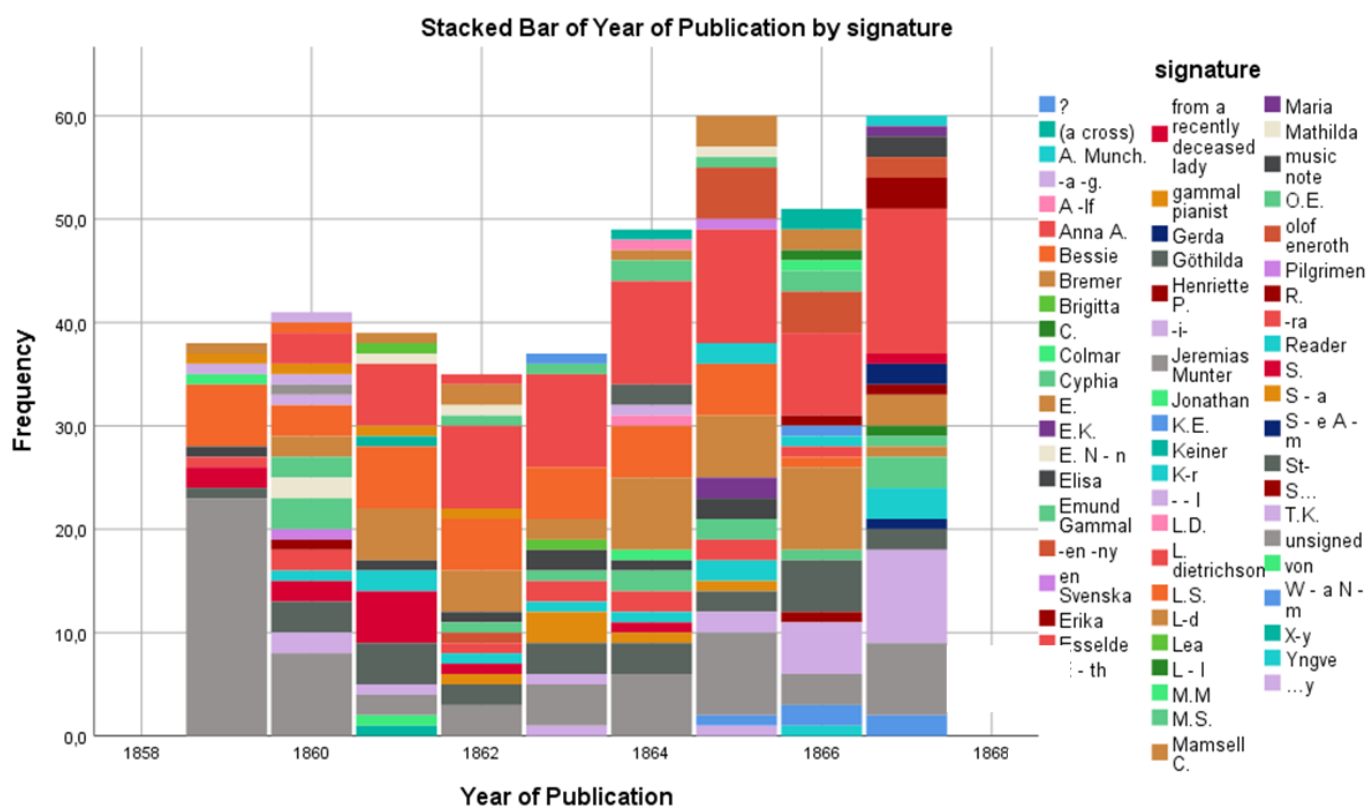
⁷⁶ "Det är med glädje och stolthet vi emottagit löftet om bidrag för vår tidskrift af den folkkäre och högt värderade författare, som döljer sig under signaturen S," "S...", "Om vårt tjenstefolk," 305.

with the pronominal form, highlights the significance of the signature policy and gives it an entertaining aspect, as in a game of hide and seek in which anyone may participate. Ambjörnsson believes that Adlersparre hid herself behind the signatures “Henriette P” and “a Swede.”⁷⁷ These speculations are not easily verifiable. From the perspective of deliberative politics, the point of the signature game is not to identify authors, but to represent a democratic association of voices. A single author could also hide behind several different signatures, yet each signature adds to the global deliberation process.

In Graph 2, each signature is represented as a voice that contributes to the forum. I do not attribute any new identity to signatures, but only propose a way of visualising them, to illustrate the editors’ will to create a many-voiced quality that takes precedence over physical authorship. The authorial identities are thereby not presented as historical persons but as voices that contribute to a debate. The result is that from the perspective of a democratic association of voices, the creation of the debate is the point of focus, rather than the identity of the contributors. The pseudonym strategy, or the existence of hidden or half hidden identities behind the signatures, is an expression of liberty and equality in the contribution to the debate. Contributors to the periodical were free to choose the signature they desired, which also meant that the editors could easily hide their identity behind a fresh signature. Female contributors could hide behind male signatures, or vice versa, and pretend to embody a persona whose experience is described; anonymity offered an equal footing.

⁷⁷ Ambjörnsson, *Samhällsmodern*, 70.

Graph 2
Distribution of signatures in *Tidskrift för hemmet*



Graph 2 records the signatures of all articles and columns published between 1859 and 1867, except for occasional advertisements, and the column “Bref låda” (mailbox), which is sometimes added as short communications at the end of some issues. In 404 text items, I have identified 340 signatures (some articles are co-signed), among which are 70 different, or unique signatures in total (as listed according to colour on the right of the graph) and 146 unique signatures per year (see Table 1: several signatures are re-used in different years). The following table breaks down this total amount into categories per year, according to the number of text items, signed text items, and unique signatures.

Table 1
Annual progression of text items, signatures, and unique signatures

	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	total
Text items	38	40	38	35	37	48	60	51	57	404
Signatures	15	32	36	32	33	42	52	48	50	340
Unique signatures	9	19 ⁷⁸	14	16	14	18	19	18	19	146

The number of signatures through the years represents as many voices that contribute to the debate. The numbers increase regularly, with a peak in 1865 that plateaus in 1866 and 1867. The peak of participation corresponds to the first year of the “editorial schism” described by Hammar.⁷⁹ 1865 and the ensuing years are nested between legal reform years (see below in Table 2), as a breathing space during which new changes could be discussed and accepted by the population. Such a societal debate, I argue, in terms of participation only, is mirrored in the periodical through the number of voices that express different opinions during the “schismatic” years. The observations in Graph 2 and Table 1 thus provide us with a preliminary means to challenge Hammar’s description of the editorial relationship. Hammar’s “schism” refers to a disagreement between Adlersparre and Olivecrona, yet the editors involve many other voices. The participative peak shows that the editors prioritised the number of contributions from the Swedish people (or a larger number of anonymous voices, including their own) over, or on top of, their private disagreement. In other words, from these graphic representations of the distribution of signatures in *Tidskrift för hemmet*, I suggest that deliberative democracy and public opinion formation take precedence over the private conflict of the editors.

2.2.2 Voices and Mediation of the Editors: Deliberation in *Tidskrift för hemmet*

The debate generated in the pages of the periodical was meant, as we have discussed above, to include the voices of many Swedes. To encourage the participation of the public, and within the framework of the participative policy, the editors played their own signature game by creating a variety of personae, some of whom they confronted in the pages of the

⁷⁸ An unusually large display of signatures have been attributed to Adlersparre in 1860: “Pilgrimen,” “L-d.,” “Jeremias Munter,” “-i-,” “Esselde,” “S.,” “Reader,” and “en gammal pianist,” which accounts for the surprisingly high number of different signatures.

⁷⁹ Hammar, *Emancipation och religion*, 94 – 118.

periodical. These personae were created by the editors, but they played the role of various anonymous public voices. In the following analysis, I discuss the personae behind the acknowledged signatures of the editors to show how the editorial voices reflected and encouraged societal deliberation. I explore evidence of Adlersparre and Olivecrona's carefully divided roles and personae, to show that the conflictual essence of the dialogues among their personae was nurtured by an underlying mutual respect that supports successful deliberative politics.

The voices of the editors

Several signatures by the editors have been either self-acknowledged, or identified by their kin, or recognised and guessed at by scholars. The following signatures are present in the periodical for the period under study (1858 – 1867). They are not the only ones used by the editors, but those whose attribution to Adlersparre and Olivecrona has been verified. Olivecrona's signatures are built from the pen-name she used to sign her poetry: "La Straniera." Olivecrona's recognisable signatures are thus "St-," "L.S.," "-ra," and "S-a." Adlersparre uses her maiden name (Sophie Leijonhufvud) for three of her signatures: "L-d.," "S.," and "Esselde" (which is the phonetic spelling of the initials S. L-d.).⁸⁰ She signs other articles with "Reader," "Keiner," "-i-," and "en gammal pianist" (an old pianist).⁸¹ The following graph and table feature the eleven signatures, and provide a visual overview of a large selection of the personae played out by Adlersparre and Olivecrona during the nine years of their co-editorship.

⁸⁰ Adlersparre also mentions the signature "S. L-d." which she used to write in other newspapers (see for example article "Esselde," "Frågan om bildande af en frivillig sjukvårdsförening," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 6 (1864): 321 – 337.

⁸¹ See Nordenstam, *Begynnelse*, 81. The identity of "Keiner" was not revealed to Olivecrona until several years after the publication of the articles of 1857-1858 (*ibid.*, 50).

Graph 3
Distribution of the editors' signatures in *Tidskrift för hemmet*

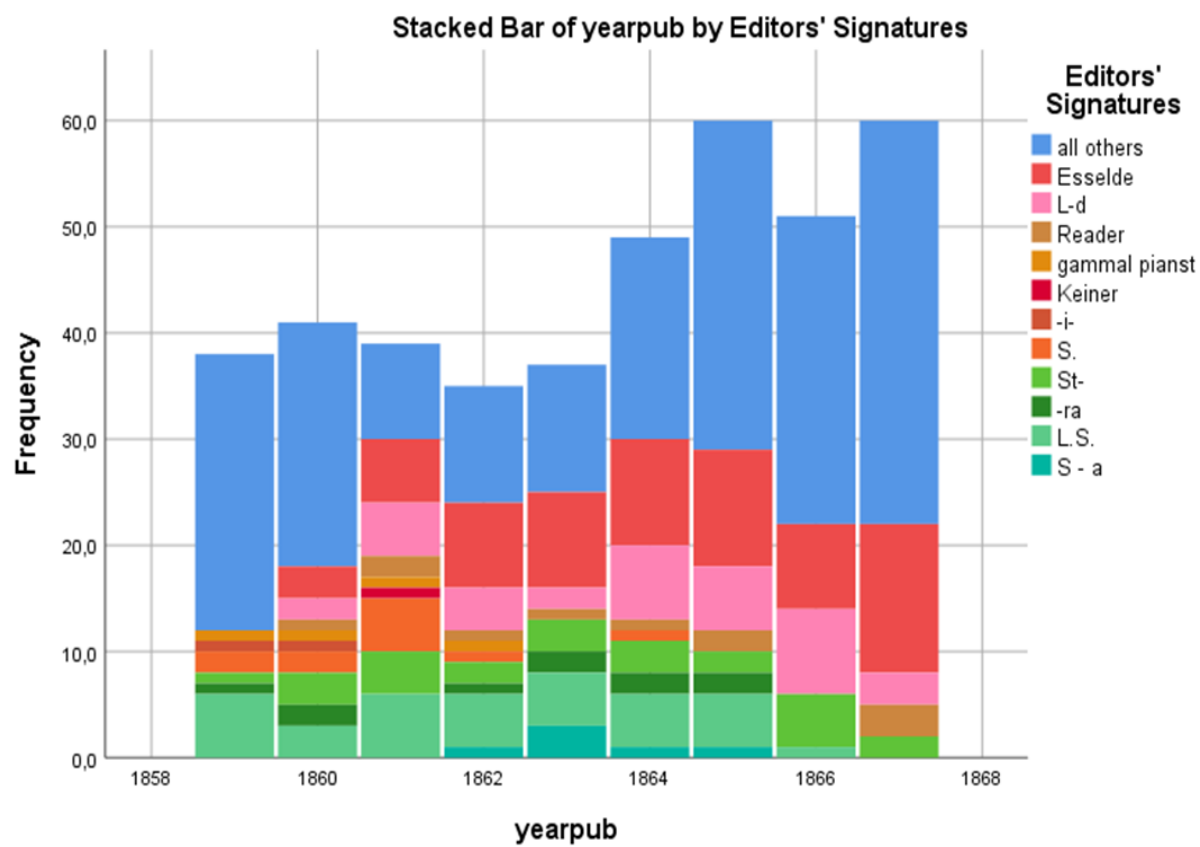


Table 2
Annual progression of editorial signatures

	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	total
St-	1	3	4	2	3	3	2	5	2	25
L.S.	6	3	6	5	5	5	5	1	0	36
Other Olivecrona	1	2	0	2	5	3	3	0	0	16
Esselde	0	3	6	8	9	10	11	8	14	69
L-d.	0	2	5	4	2	7	6	8	3	37
Other Adlersparre	4	5	9	3	1	2	2	0	3	29
Total Olivecrona	8	8	10	9	13	11	10	6	2	77
Total Adlersparre	4	10	20	15	12	19	19	16	20	135
All other signatures	3	14 ⁸²	6	8	8	12	23	26	28	128

Overview of the editorial personae according to signatures

Rosalie Olivecrona: “St-,” “L.S.,” “-ra,” and “S-a”

“St-” signs 25 text items. She is the author of the opinion articles that build the moderate feminist stance of the periodical. “St-” is mostly concerned with moral (and religious) upbringing and women’s duties concerning charity and nursing.⁸³ She promotes charity association work that includes both male and female efforts. She gradually turns from theorist to advisor as she impersonates a motherly voice, in the popular column “En moders råd” (a mother’s advice), which discusses the duties of women, the hardships of daily life, and warns young ladies against the ills of vanity, idleness, and flirting. The column begins in the first issue of 1864 and consists of a series of letters to a fictional daughter “Agnes.”⁸⁴ “St-” probably meant to write a single piece, but the success of her motherly advice, as footnoted

⁸² See footnote 78.

⁸³ See for example “St-,” “Om kvinnans intellektuella uppfostran,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 1, no. 3 (1859): 179 – 193 for moral and religious upbringing and “St-,” “Kvinnan och välgörandet,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 3, no. 1 (1861): 3 – 23, for charity and nursing.

⁸⁴ “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 1 (1864): 4 – 14.

in the second article of the series (Issue 4, 1865), prompted her to write four more pieces.⁸⁵ The last article by “St-,” published in two installments in the second and third issues of 1867, discusses women’s emancipation from a historical and international perspective, while maintaining that woman’s place is foremost in the home.⁸⁶

The pseudonym “L.S.” (36 text items) signs biographies, topics of general interest and poetry. As regards women’s emancipation issues, “L.S.” crops up when Olivecrona makes official visits to state-organized teaching courses at national level, or women’s summits at international level. “L.S.” is the reporting counterpart of “St-” and discusses the benefits of education for women and charity work. “L.S.” is generally less opinionated than “St-” as regards women’s place and duties in society; she is more of a witness and critic of the world’s news and developments.

“- ra” and “S-a” mostly sign poetic and literary pieces with general thoughts on nature, morality and religion. These are minor personae that only appear 16 times.

Sophie (Leijonhufvud) Adlersparre: “Esselde,” “L-d.,” “S.,” “Reader,” “Keiner” (and “-i”), and “en gammal pianist”

With a total of 69 text items, “Esselde” is by far the most prolific author. One characteristic which may explain “Esselde’s” reputation as the main voice of the periodical is her journalistic versatility. She signs opinion pieces, reading columns, biographies, literary work, and reports, and most of the editorial footnotes. Other personae tend to specialise in one or two topics. Another of “Esselde’s” characteristics is the contrasting tone of her articles: “Esselde” marches in with frustration and anger to defend what was considered at the time a radically feminist opinion.⁸⁷ She resorts to the use of dashes, exclamation and question marks, or grammatical modality to emphasize her points.⁸⁸ She admonishes her female readers for not being aware of their rights, and believes women have not worked enough for the good and progress of society, yet she can also be enthusiastic in her support for motions in parliament.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 4 (1865): 217 – 229, “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 1 (23 April 1866): 45 – 61, “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 3 (14 July 1866): 113 – 127, “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 4 (12 October 1866): 206 – 216, and “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 6 (29 December 1866): 346 – 363.

⁸⁶ “St-,” “Den arbetssökande qvinnan i det moderna samhället,” 65 – 90 and “St-,” “Den arbetssökande qvinnan i det moderna samhället,” 129 – 147.

⁸⁷ See articles “Esselde,” “Staten och den svenska konstnärinnan,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 4, no. 3 (1862): 266 – 270, and “Esselde,” “Qvinnan såsom trädgårdsodlare,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 2 (1863): 156 – 159.

⁸⁸ “Esselde,” “Det första steget,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 6, no. 1 (1864): 14 – 22.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, and “Esselde,” “Ännu några ord om den svenska konstnärinnan,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 3 (1863): 250 – 253.

“L-d.” (37 text items) is the persona Adlersparre embodies in early opinion pieces that are based on translations and fiction. From 1862, “L-d.” investigates the legal situation of women and reflects on their rights, their education, and their duties. These articles gradually become legal reports from parliament sessions, teacher meetings, hospitals, or other associations. “L-d.” differs from “L.S.” in that she is less reflective and focusses on legal advances with more and more urgent calls for reforms in women’s rights and education.

“S.,” “Reader,” “Keiner,” “-i-,” and “en gammal pianist” (29 text items together) write miscellaneous pieces consisting in short reports, poems, biographies (“S.”), book reviews (“Reader”), literary pieces (“Keiner”, “-i-”), and music reviews (“en gammal pianist”).

The voice of “Esselde”: a constructed dominance

By pitching a radical against a mild feminist voice, the editors impersonate “Esselde” and “St-” to animate the discussion concerning women’s emancipation issues. The interventions of these personae are planned over time. “St-’s” signature is very present in the first years, but her voice peters out in the final issues. Overall, “St-” keeps her moderate views on feminism, arguably to meet a certain type of readership that may not agree with the periodical’s stronger line. The progressive dwindling of her articles marks a rhythm of public opinion formation and alteration. Finally, “St-” evolves into a figure that reflects on how women can negotiate their newly defined place in a modern society and thus marks her acceptance of the new social order.

In contrast to “St-,” “Esselde” is one of the last editorial signatures to appear in the periodical. Her first article mostly marks her editorial presence, as she signs the “Vår lektyr” (our reading) column in the second issue of 1860.⁹⁰ She does not express an opinion on women’s rights issues until the third issue of 1862, as if she were biding her time and waiting for the periodical to establish itself before her more vibrant voice could soar up.⁹¹ This late arrival on the deliberation platform supports the argument that “Esselde” needed the argumentative work of earlier moderate voices such as “St-’s” to prepare her readership for more radical ideas.

Meanwhile, “L.S.” and “L-d.” mainly report and occasionally express opinions that are respectively supportive of “St-” and “Esselde.” “L.S.” sometimes acts as a mediator, or sparring partner to “Esselde’s” own practice of quoting other editorial voices to support her own opinions and remind the reader of the main editorial line.⁹² “Esselde’s” presence, and

⁹⁰ “Esselde,” “Vår lektyr,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 2, no. 2 (1860): 112 – 123.

⁹¹ She claims in her first article that the Swedish government does not give enough money to Swedish artists: “Esselde,” “Staten och den svenska konstnärinnan,” 266 – 270.

⁹² See articles “L.S.,” “Qvinliga vetenskapsidkare,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 1 (1865): 26 – 36, and “Esselde,” “Några episoder från det femte svenska läraremötet,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 3 (14 July 1866): 167 – 174.

especially her the combination with “L-d.” is most overbearing during the last four years of the period (1864 to 1867), when new ideas on women’s emancipation were spreading as legal reforms affected the Swedish population. In 1867 there is a significant peak of participation of “Esselde’s” voice. Her dominance can be seen as constructed, because it is embedded within a dialogue of other editorial voices and placed in a carefully timed publication agenda.

A letter from “Esselde” to the mother figure “St-” in the third issue of 1866 argues in favour of a fabricated “editorial schism.”⁹³ “Esselde” writes about her attendance of a meeting where the equal aptitudes of women and men for teaching were being debated. “Esselde” admires this progress and fondly imagines “St-’s” surprise and dismay at the same developments. The publication of this friendly and deferent letter, in the middle of the editorial voices’s disagreement, and while “St-’s” traditional views were given little support from public voices, gives “St-” a chance to adjust her views. This example suggests that as the editors converged the periodical’s most dissonant editorial voices, the views defended by “Esselde” were covertly backed by a shared editorial feminist stance, while *Tidskrift för hemmet* developed in a debate-orientated rather than a conflict-orientated periodical.

Steering the debate: a strategic “editorial schism”

The exceptional publication of a *Tidskrift för hemmet* supplement, in the form of a letter, dated 20 December 1865, points to an underlying strategic steering of the debate.⁹⁴ The letter is addressed to the “noble and faithful Swedes” (*ädle, trohjerlade Svenske*), prefaced “by a Swede” (*af en Svenska*), and signed “your trusted Swede” (*din trogna Svenska*). The anonymous yet collective stamp of the signature (by referring to the Swedish people as a group) symbolises an opinion that emerges from the people and is directed back to the people, to suggest an opinion which is shared by the entire population. The content of the fourteen-page supplement encourages women to find their place and fulfil their responsibilities and duties in the changing legal environment. The argument positively acknowledges women’s historical role by the side of their husbands and in their homes and repeats the accepted association of ‘women’ and ‘heart.’ However, the author refuses the male/female dichotomy of a strong versus a weak human being. On the contrary, they claim, women need to be strong, highly educated, and morally upright in order to support men and to perform their duties, especially while they adopt the legal changes occurring at the time in Swedish society. The will to embrace and encourage women’s emancipation as a joint effort between women and men in order to help both sexes enjoy a better life together is the latent but strong guiding line of the periodical, as the author of the letter states, “if women do not rise, men will sink;

⁹³ “Esselde,” “Några episoder från det femte Svenska läraremötet,” 167 – 174.

⁹⁴ “En svenska,” “Bref till svar på frågan: hvilka fordringar ställer den nya tiden på Sveriges qvinnor?” *Tidskrift för hemmet* Bilaga (supplement) (20 December 1865): 1 – 14.

if she is not free, he is bound.”⁹⁵ The content of the letter combines the opinions advocated by both editors. In other words, the publication of the letter ties the voices of Olivecrona, as supportive of women’s place in the home, with those of Adlersparre, as forwarding the acceptance of legal rights, and merges them craftily, by using the signature game, into the hoped-for opinion of the Swedish population.

Following the publication of the 1865 – 1866 supplement, the voices of Adlersparre and Olivecrona, strategically positioned against each other, gradually lead other public voices into the debate. As we see in Graph 3, the editors physically leave more room to other contributors during those two years. “Esselde” publishes two articles on women’s rights (Issue 6, 1865, Issue 1, 1866), in which she admonishes women for not having sufficiently embraced their duties in public life and encourages them, in her more petulant tone, to take part in men’s world.⁹⁶ An article by “K.E.” (a public voice), expressing a similar opinion, is sandwiched between the two latter articles (Issue 1, 1866).⁹⁷ During this period “St-” publishes most of her motherly advice (four out of six articles) and positions herself more firmly as a moderate influence. The voice of “Henriette P.” (another public voice) disagrees with “St-’s” motherly advice over the years 1866 – 1867, in an argumentative exchange of articles and published letters.⁹⁸ While “St-” insists that women must care for their family and their home and that their education should take this fact into account, “Henriette P.” argues that women need to be as much prepared for public life as they are for their family obligations. The debate between these two voices develops as a generational conflict between the ‘old’ and the ‘new.’ The voice of the more conservative mother, fearful for her daughter’s honour and welfare, resorts to traditional (‘old’) ideas and religious convictions, while the ‘new’ generation is more easily adapting to the ongoing and contemporary set of legal changes in women’s lives.⁹⁹ “Henriette P.” gets the last word in her exchange with “St-,” because the editors publish her final letter in a new column (as from 1867) entitled “Open talk” (*Öppen talan*), in which the editors published contributions which did not always coincide with their views. This final answer is not as centrally placed in the periodical as were the first series of letters,

⁹⁵ “Om qvinnan ej stiger, skall mannen sjunka; om hon är ofri, är han bunden,” *ibid.*, 12.

⁹⁶ “Esselde,” “Några ord om qvinnan och kommunalväsendet,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 6 (1865): 337 – 344, and “Esselde,” “Om qvinnans medborgerliga rätt och pligt,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 1 (23 April 1866): 30 – 45. “Esselde” explains in the latter article that such an opinion represents one of the primary objectives of *Tidskrift för hemmet*.

⁹⁷ “K.E.,” “Om ordnandet af qvinnans undervisning och verksamhet för det medborgerliga lifvet,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 1 (23 April 1866): 1 – 3.

⁹⁸ “Henriette P.,” “Ett bref,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 5 (30 November 1866): 264 – 270. “St-,” “En moders råd,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 6. “Henriette P.,” “Ett bref med anledning af ‘En moders råd,’” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 9, no. 5 (31 October 1867): 322 – 328.

⁹⁹ For more on the history of ideas and the religious debate in Sweden during the emancipation process, see Ambjörnsson and Hammar.

which could mean that the editors wished to attenuate the effect of the response. At the same time, by leaving the issue to the 'new' generation's voice, the editors intercede in favour of "Henriette P.'s" side of the argument. In other words, the management of dispute coincides with convergences of editorial views in a way that points to closely knit teamwork.

The "Open talk" column: treading the fine line between 'manipulation' and 'persuasion'

The inauguration of the column "Open talk," in the second issue of 1867, calls into question the editors' mediation in favour of the public. The editors introduce the column with the following words: "For a long time we have wished to make room in the journal for the responses sent to previous articles, as well as other essays, under this heading, without making ourselves responsible for their content."¹⁰⁰ This declared will to respect the writing of the public with no interference from the editors is somewhat undone by the following comment: "As in recent times many such articles have been sent to us with the message 'at the editors' discretion,' we start today with an essay on a topic on which the author declares 'where it concerns women it should not be ignored by a periodical dedicated to women'."¹⁰¹ The editors breach the no-intervention policy which they had put forward in the first sentence by unnecessarily mentioning "at the editors' discretion." Moreover, they grudgingly seem to include the contribution (an essay signed by the public voice "Mamsell C.") by the compelling force of the author's argument. Finally, the editors conclude this preface by admitting to tampering with the contribution: "We beg for our contributors' pardon as we made several modifications and exclusions in the essay, as we could not include it in our periodical under any other condition."¹⁰² The sentence is footnoted as follows: "The editors always have the right to decide which articles are eligible for publication in the periodical."¹⁰³ To summarise, the ambiguity of the introduction to the column contradicts the degree of transparency afforded by the title, "Open talk," by admitting to editorial filtering. Adlersparre and Olivecrona's editorial decision-making involved subtle part-taking and

¹⁰⁰ "Redan länge ha vi haft för afsigt att under denna rubrik intaga insända genmälen å föregående artiklar, äfvensom andra uppsatser, hvilka vi väl vilja medgifva ett rum i tidskriften, utan att dock göra oss ansvariga för deras innehåll." Introductory preface to "Öppen talan," *Tidskrift för hemmet* 9, no. 2 (30 April 1867): 124 – 128, 124.

¹⁰¹ "Som dock på senare tiden allt flera dylika artiklar blifvit oss tillsända under vädjande till 'redaktionens kända liberalitet' göra vi i dag en början med en uppsats i ett ämne, om hvilket författaren säger, att 'då det företrädesvis berör qvinnan, borde det ej med tystnad förbigås i en tidskrift tillegnad qvinnan.'" Ibid., 124.

¹⁰² "Vår insändare torde dock benäget ursäkta, att vi gjort åtskilliga modifikationer och uteslutningar i uppsatsen, då vi ej på andra villkor ville lemna den plats i tidskriften." Ibid., 124.

¹⁰³ "Redaktionen dock alltid förbehållet att bestämma, huruvida artikeln kan anses berättigad att erhålla en plats i tidskriften." Ibid., 124.

political lobbying, especially during the last three years of the co-editorship, to work towards their “intuitive ideal”: a public endorsement of gender equality.

2.2.3 Planning the Outcome: Legal Progress and Adlersparre’s Social Activism

The periodical, as a genre resistant to closure (Beetham), can host ongoing debate. I show in the following illustrations of legal and social reforms correlated to an analysis of editorial articles, that the editors masterminded the nine years of deliberation in the pages of *Tidskrift för hemmet* to navigate legal progress in women’s rights, while Adlersparre’s social activism was also changing women’s place in society. I argue that the length of time afforded by Adlersparre and Olivecrona’s nine years of co-editorship offered their readers a more sustained reflection on the reasonableness of legal and social change. The Swedish people could voice passing concerns in the form of written contributions to *Tidskrift för hemmet*, and thus enjoy a form of democratic freedom. Yet in the eyes of the co-editors, the guiding line of the periodical aimed at improving, in the long run, popular judgmental competence.

Graph 4 presents the same bar chart of signatures as Graph 2, to which are added pictograms of Adlersparre’s social actions according to the year of their realisation. The two last pictograms are not placed with the right date because the graph does not cover the years following 1867. I have kept these last two items, however, as well as some governmental decisions which happened after 1867 (in Table 2) because I argue that the editors’ work had a long-term impact on the social and legal position of Swedish women.

Graph 4
Evolution and extent of Adlersparre's social and legal action

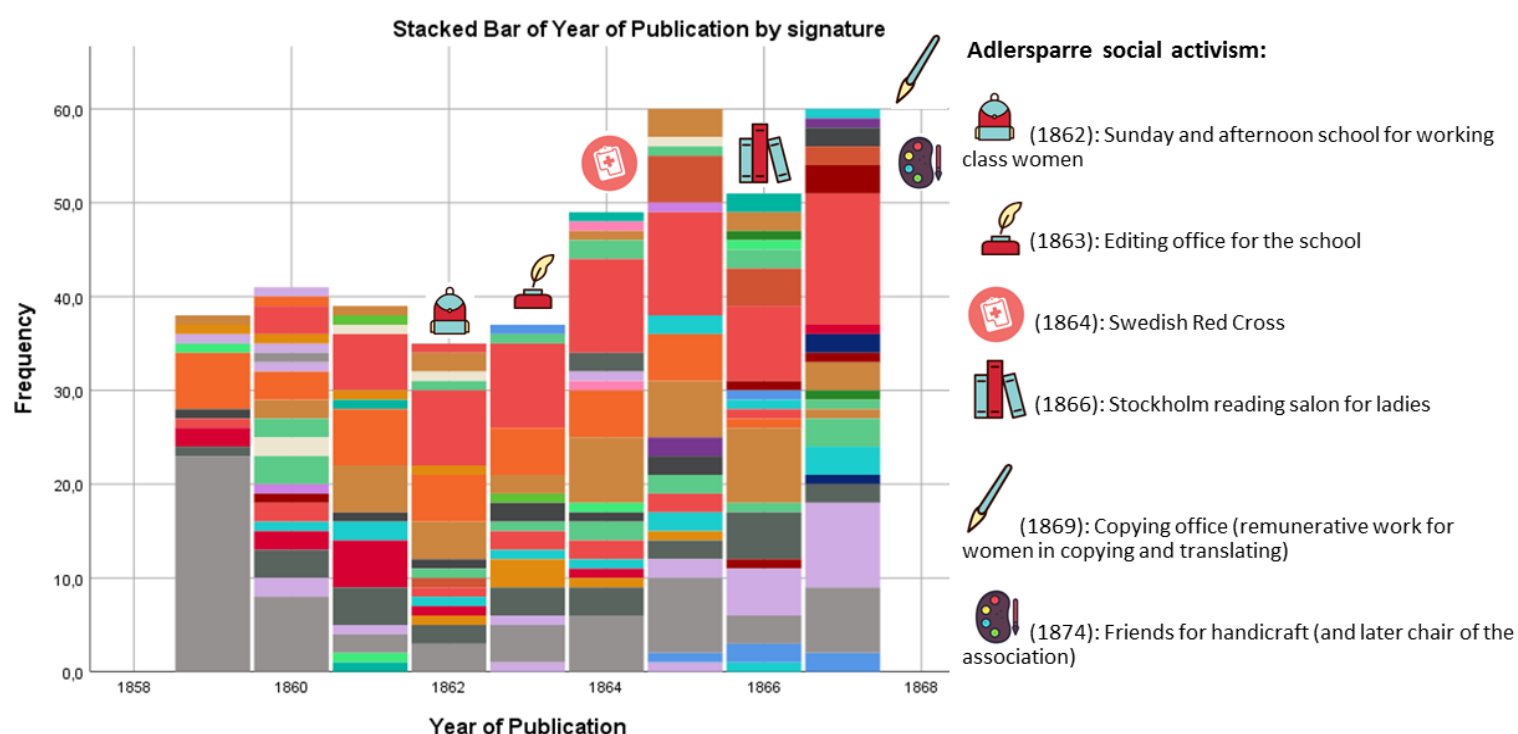


Table 3

A selection of governmental decisions affecting women in Sweden

1858	Legal majority for unmarried women of 25 and more, upon legal application
1859	Women are allowed to be teachers and hold government posts
1861	Högre lärarinneseminariet (seminars for higher teaching) for women
1863	Women are allowed to work in telegraph and postal offices Automatic legal majority for unmarried women of 25 and more
1864	Royal Academy of Fine Arts opens to women Equal economic rights for unmarried women
1867	New schools for training female teachers
1869	Women are allowed to work in railway
1870	Women are admitted to University
1873	Women are allowed to receive same degrees as men in arts and medicine
1874	Married women are granted control of their income

Tidskrift för hemmet's editorial engagement

The editorial agenda is defined from the very first article published in *Tidskrift för hemmet*, “The idea that we are talking about, which, though not entirely new, is surely quite young, historically speaking, is the necessity of a reform in the upbringing of women.”¹⁰⁴ This call for reform, and its timely declaration to the Swedish population, is the guiding editorial directive of the periodical, as we also see in the column “Vår portfölj,” which regularly announces reforms in women’s rights and progress in women’s emancipation in Sweden and abroad. The following selection of articles, by different editorial signatures, displays an awareness of specific contemporary legal reforms and initiatives (as shown in Graph 4 and Table 2), and the political and moral engagement of Adlersparre and Olivecrona with these issues.

In 1861, the Swedish government allowed higher academic training for women. This decision triggered animated discussions in *Tidskrift för hemmet* on the subject of academic topics suitable for women. In an article by “L-d.” (Issue 2, 1865), entitled “mathematical small talk” (*mathematisk kallprat*), the author marvels at the new opportunity for women to learn mathematics, described as a great step in their educational prospects, which would not have been possible ten years before.¹⁰⁵ In the third, fourth, and sixth issues of 1865, “-en -y” pursues the topic by adding that teaching mathematics is as important for girls as it is for boys because they enable young adults to “think right,” and are the basis for any other academic topic.¹⁰⁶ In the meantime, in an article entitled “female scientists” (*qvinliga vetenskapsidkare*) (Issue 1, 1865), “L.S.” expresses her opinion on the suitability of women as professional scientists.¹⁰⁷ She believes men should allow women to have an interest in science and research, so they can apply for an assistant’s position. “L.S.” reminds the reader of “Esselde’s” claim that Swedish women have had no opportunity to prove themselves and quotes several exceptional foreign female scientists. In the third issue of 1866, an article by “M.S.” encourages women to become doctors.¹⁰⁸ The Swedish government admitted women to university in 1870, and in 1873 allowed them to take the same degree as men in medicine and arts. The subject of female artists was particularly favoured by “Esselde,” who published two articles on the topic (Issue 3, 1862, Issue 3, 1863), in which she discusses the limited status

¹⁰⁴ “En sådan idé, hvilken, om än ej alldeles ny, dock säkert ännu kan kallas ganska ung, jemförd med den tidrymd, hvarom vi talat, är nödvändigheten af en reform i Qvinnans uppfostran,” [Olivecrona], “Om behovet af intellektuel uppfostran för qvinnan,” 5.

¹⁰⁵ “L-d.,” “Mathematisk kallprat,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 2 (1865): 144 – 146.

¹⁰⁶ “-en -y,” “Om matematik såsom undervisningsämne för flickor,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 3 (1865): 160 – 166, “-en -y,” “Om matematik såsom undervisningsämne för flickor,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 4 (1865): 229 – 235, and “-en -y,” “Om matematik såsom undervisningsämne för flickor,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 6 (1865): 361 – 367.

¹⁰⁷ “L.S.,” “Qvinliga vetenskapsidkare,” 26 – 36.

¹⁰⁸ “M.S.,” “Om qvinnans bildande för läkareyrket,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 3 (14 July 1866): 164 – 167.

and prospects for women artists in Sweden and strongly advocates reform.¹⁰⁹ The Royal Academy of Fine Arts officially opened for women in 1864. Adlersparre followed up this interest in 1874 when she created “Friends for handicraft” and chaired the association.

Many professions were gradually opened for women during the period. Since 1859, women could become college teachers and lower officers at public institutions. In 1863 they could officially become telegraph and post officers and in 1869 they could become railway officers. As early as 1859, “Jonathan” discusses the benefits of having women work in post and telegraph offices, and quotes London as an example, “In London there are no less than 60 girls employed in the large international telegraph office.”¹¹⁰ “L-d.” also discusses the post and telegraph professions in a comparison to Norwegian law in the second issue of 1863.¹¹¹ “Esselde” suggests the possibility of also allowing women to become gardeners (Issue 2, 1863, and Issue 5, 1866).¹¹² Adlersparre contributed to developing these new opportunities when she created a Sunday and afternoon school for working class women in 1862, which were promoted by “Esselde” in the fourth issue of 1866.¹¹³ From a financial perspective, Adlersparre helped women who needed remunerative work by creating the Copying Office in 1869. Adlersparre also considered higher social classes when she opened a reading salon for ladies in Stockholm in 1866. This initiative is also promoted in *Tidskrift för hemmet* by “Esselde” in the first issue of 1867.¹¹⁴

Finally, one of the most topical issues discussed in the periodical is women’s calling for the physical care of the poor and the wounded, inspired by the example of pioneering English nurse Florence Nightingale. “St-” particularly favoured the subject of women’s duties in health care, as reflected in an article published in the second issue of 1864, in which she discusses women’s occupations (in terms of civil service) and specifically demands the opening of a school for nursing in Sweden.¹¹⁵ Meanwhile, one of Adlersparre’s most remarkable initiatives, the foundation of the Swedish Red Cross (1864), was taking shape. In the opening article of the sixth issue of 1864, “Esselde” announces the creation of a voluntary

¹⁰⁹ “Esselde,” “Staten och den svenska konstnärinnan,” 266 – 270, and “Esselde,” “Ännu några ord om den svenska konstnärinnan,” 250 – 253.

¹¹⁰ “I London äro ej mindre än 60 flickor engagerade i den stora internationella telegraf-byrån,” “Jonathan,” “Om kvinnans sjelvvfförsörjning,” 275.

¹¹¹ “L-d.,” “Om kvinnors användande i åtskilliga befattningar i statens eller kommunens tjänst,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 5, no. 2 (1863): 102 – 106.

¹¹² “Esselde,” “Qvinnan sasom trädgårdsodlare,” 156 – 159 and “Esselde,” “Trädgårds-studier,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 5 (30 November 1866): 271 – 284.

¹¹³ “Esselde,” “Några besök i Stockholms söndags- och aftonskolor för den qvinliga arbetsklassen,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 8, no. 4 (12 October 1866): 188 – 206. See also “S.,” “Stockholms fruntimmers förening för barnavard,” 94 – 96, as an inspiring article for the creation of schools for the poor.

¹¹⁴ “Esselde,” “En läsesalong för damer,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 9, no. 1 (28 February 1867): 59 – 63.

¹¹⁵ “St-,” “Qvinnan och sjukvården,” 65 – 81.

medical association, which would become known as the Swedish Red Cross, or, as “Esselde” explains, an autonomous national branch of the European health association.¹¹⁶ “Esselde” refers to “St-’s” previously mentioned article as the first convincing appeal for such an initiative and follows it up with practical details concerning its implementation. The principle of the association, according to “Esselde,” would be to expand, in times of peace, the healthcare provided by competent nurses and doctors, which had spontaneously been developing across the world in times of war. “Esselde” claims that the experience of women nurses, such as Nightingale (and women’s natural aptitude for caregiving as argued by “St-”), shows that women must be involved in this association, alongside leading male doctors or army officials. Lastly, “Esselde” uses *Tidskrift för hemmet* as a medium to find women with strong personalities and medical abilities to contribute to the creation of the association.¹¹⁷ In the second issue of 1865, “L-d.” more succinctly, but officially, lays out the objectives and functions of the new organisation and confirms its international collaboration with the Geneva model.¹¹⁸ In the third issue of 1865, “L-d.” reports on the first meeting of the association.¹¹⁹

The number of authors who support various measures and initiatives for the development of women’s rights in Sweden throughout the nine years of Adlersparre’s and Olivecrona’s co-editorship of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, shows how the periodical and its editors were not only promoters of legal changes for women but were also involved in their development. Moreover, the periodical’s support and promotion of Adlersparre’s social activism suggests another close collaboration between the written project (the periodical) – and the legal and social measures in favour of women’s emancipation.

Conclusion

Between 1859 and 1867, Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona launched and co-edited *Tidskrift för hemmet*, the first feminist Nordic periodical. In this chapter, I have analysed the text of the periodical and reassessed their editorial strategy to show how they rallied the Swedish people and how they democratically managed their feminist project through the establishment of a forum for deliberative politics.

Although the conflicting views expressed in the periodical admittedly drove Olivecrona away from the editorial office at the end of 1867, I have argued that the previous nine years of deliberation were essential to establish *Tidskrift för hemmet* as an opinion forming and opinion representing periodical. In other words, I shifted the focus, from a

¹¹⁶ “Esselde,” “Frågan om bildande af en frivillig sjukvårdsförening,” 321 – 337.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 334 – 335.

¹¹⁸ “L-d.,” “Föreningen för frivillig vård as sårade och sjuke i fält,” *Tidskrift för hemmet* 7, no. 2 (1865): 149 – 151.

¹¹⁹ “L-d.,” “Sjukvårdsföreningens första sammanträde d. 24 Maj 1865,” 209 – 215.

personal and fundamental disagreement that would have provoked Olivecrona's departure, to the significance of the length and content of textual performance in the pages of the periodical before her departure. I have shown how Olivecrona's voices represented, overall, a moderate feminist influence which kept in tow, for several years, a considerable portion of the Swedish population, while Adlersparre's (and particularly "Esselde's") more radical voices eventually took over the argumentation, by means of persuasion and performance, at the end of the first period of *Tidskrift för hemmet*. The interplay of voices in the periodical was essential to introduce feminist views into Swedish society. As opposed to looking at single issues or articles, I have considered the periodical format of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, to argue that the number of conflicting opinions does not create disruptive points of view, as previous scholarship agrees upon, but instead constructs a common feminist stance for the journal. In other words, I have considered the periodical as a genre that *integrates* conflicting opinions, to build a productive dialogue for the long term. By studying *Tidskrift för hemmet* in the light of periodical theory, I have been able to demonstrate, through the construction of this dialogue, the social and political impact of an association of feminist voices. The editors of the periodical, I argue further, stage their own discussions in multiple voices, to represent different opinions in society, that deliberate, as it were, in a small-scale public sphere.

In my first part I have shown how Adlersparre and Olivecrona capitalised on Fredrika Bremer's beacon-like presence alongside *Tidskrift för hemmet* to spark popularity and interest, while they adopted transnational models to ground their argument. These two strategies led to the establishment of the main objective of the periodical: to guide Swedish women through their emancipation and encourage their participation in this process. With this objective in sight, the editors prepared the ground to encourage deliberation, by displaying their professionalism, making their readers feel 'at home' with the topics they introduced, and by dealing with transnational issues in a way that would captivate the widest spectrum of readers, while they constructed their own perspective on women's rights and duties.

In my second part I focussed on the inner working of this forum for deliberative politics. The signature policy enabled the voices to retain a certain degree of anonymity, as a measure that grants freedom of expression and allows an equal access to the public forum. The editors respected this rule by employing a multiplicity of editorial signatures, behind which they encouraged, but also steered the debate. I have shown how the dialogue of voices gradually, and persuasively, brings forth the voice of "Esselde," in order to convey her views on women's emancipation to the readers of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, and more generally to the Swedish population.

The use of multiple authorial signatures and the semi-anonymous quality it entails is also a way of representing a collective feminist movement for which participative equality is a means to attain gender equality. Equality here does not function as a similar number of voices, hence the superior numerical participation of "Esselde" as an author of articles does

not represent the dominance of a single person(a), but for common, democratic progress, as she is pushed forth and legitimized by the chorus of other participative voices.

This strategy accompanied Adlersparre's concomitant activism. When Adlersparre retired from the editorship of *Tidskrift för hemmet* in 1885, the periodical became the written organ of the Fredrika Bremer Association, or *Fredrika Bremer Förbundet* (FBF), the first women's rights organisation in Sweden, which Adlersparre founded in 1884. The FBF is still active today.¹²⁰ In 1886, *Tidskrift för hemmet* officially changed its name to *Dagny*, and, in 1912, the periodical was renamed *Hertha*, as a tribute to Bremer. Although the paper version ceased printing in 2001, *Hertha* is still published online at irregular intervals. The cooperation between social action and the influence of a written organ augured a system which Adlersparre instigated in 1884, with the FBF and its associated periodicals. The struggle for gender equality in Sweden still works similarly.

¹²⁰ For more information about the association see the website: www.fredrikabremer.se.

Chapter 3

A Case for Justice Rachel Beer (1858 – 1927), the Dreyfus Case, and the *Observer*: The ‘Sponge Metaphor’

We have seen some remarkable compromises in politics, but nothing so childlike as the opportunism which imagines that, by giving Captain Dreyfus back to his family, it can burke the issue with which alone the elementary justice of the case has to deal.¹

Rachel Beer

A brief history of the Dreyfus case

In September 1894, the French Ministry of War discovered that one of its army officers was spying for the Germans. When a shredded *bordereau*, a memorandum containing French military secrets, was found at the German embassy, the French Army rapidly needed to find a culprit for this embarrassing security breach. The position and skills of Captain Alfred Dreyfus (1859 – 1935) fit with the information found in the memorandum. Dreyfus was also the only Jewish officer in the French Army. The following month, Commandant Armand du Paty de Clam was put in charge of the investigation. He summoned Dreyfus and dictated a letter to him based on the memorandum. As the handwriting seemed to match, Dreyfus was arrested for treason, despite his protestations of innocence, and locked up in the prison of the Cherche-Midi. On 28 November 1894, the French daily *Le Figaro* published an interview with General Auguste Mercier, then minister of war, who was quick to declare before the trial,

¹ [Rachel Beer], “The Sponge,” *The Observer* (24 September 1899): 4.

“The guilt of this officer is beyond any doubt.”² A session of the court martial, held behind closed doors, heard the testimony of a handwriting expert attesting to Dreyfus’s authorship of the memorandum. As the judges hesitated, Commandant Hubert-Joseph Henry, the Intelligence Department officer who had reported the discovery of the memorandum, presented them with what was later found to be forged evidence collected in a file of documents. This file, referred to as the “secret dossier,” was passed on to the judges, under Mercier’s orders, without informing the defence.³

Dreyfus was court-martialled, imprisoned, and exiled in January 1895. In March 1896, the new head of the Intelligence Bureau, Colonel Georges Picquart, found evidence of Dreyfus’s innocence, with the discovery of the *petit bleu*, another note located in the German Embassy. After enquiry Picquart passed it to Auguste Scheurer-Kestner, the vice President of the Senate, but the government turned a blind eye to these new facts. By November 1897, Mathieu Dreyfus, the brother of the accused, had proof of the identity of the true author of the memorandum, Major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, a man of doubtful integrity who had turned to spying to pay off his debts.⁴ Mathieu Dreyfus’s findings concurred with the evidence discovered by Scheurer-Kestner a month earlier. The news leaked in the press and cast doubt on Dreyfus’s guilt, yet the French Army abided by its code of honour and adhered to the maxim of *la chose jugée (res judicata)*.⁵ Moreover, the army high command even shielded Esterhazy. France was divided into two opposing parties: the Dreyfusards, who proclaimed Dreyfus’s innocence, and the anti-Dreyfusards, who maintained his guilt. The two sides were backed by different factions of the French press, which published a variety of articles and pictorial representations.⁶

During the period in which Dreyfus’s guilt was under debate, from late 1897 to mid-1899, the international press became involved. Media coverage soared from March to

² “La culpabilité de cet officier est absolument certaine,” Charles Leser, “L’espionnage militaire,” *Le Figaro* 40, no. 332 (28 November 1894): 1.

³ The “secret dossier” is the expression used by the press and by historians to refer to a collection of over 500 documents incriminating Dreyfus. In 2012 Pierre Gervais, Pauline Peretz and Pierre Stutin published *Le Dossier Secret de l’Affaire Dreyfus* in which the content of the “secret dossier” is discussed for the first time in its entirety.

⁴ A banker, M. de Castro, bought on 6 or 7 November 1897 a piece of furniture which contained a copy of the bordereau and letters written by Esterhazy. The writing was the same. He communicated these documents to Mathieu Dreyfus who knew the writing because *Le Matin* had published a fac-similé of the bordereau on 10 November 1896 (in Mathieu Dreyfus, *L’Affaire telle que je l’ai vécue* (Paris: Grasset, 1978), 98).

⁵ *res judicata* refers to a legally judged matter. It is used as an expression to prevent injustice to the parties of a case supposedly finished.

⁶ For an example of the many contemporary collections of press caricatures, see John Grand-Carteret, *L’affaire Dreyfus et l’image: 266 caricatures françaises et étrangères* (Flammarion: Paris, 1898). For a comprehensive catalogue of the pictorial press during the affair, see Norman Kleeblatt, *The Dreyfus Affair: Art, Truth and Justice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987).

September 1899 when the Court of Cassation reviewed the case and eventually quashed the verdict on 3 June 1899. Coverage peaked when Dreyfus was tried for a second time in Rennes (7 August 1899 – 9 September 1899). Dreyfus was found guilty again, this time with *circonstances atténuantes*, a French legal expression translated in the English press by “extenuating circumstances.”⁷ The court used this sentence as a political innuendo, to mask the complexity of the case. In other words, Dreyfus officially became a scapegoat. His guilt protected the army officials who were involved in his arrest, while the “extenuating circumstances” opened a way for the government to revoke his new ten-year prison sentence. British and American critics pronounced the verdict of Rennes unfair, with one calling it “a violation of the laws of civilization.”⁸ The negative reaction of the British press culminated after the second verdict when the French government shirked its responsibility for the scandal by granting Dreyfus a presidential pardon. Dreyfus was fully rehabilitated in 1906. Esterhazy was never condemned for his crime.

Introduction

In the third and final chapter of this dissertation, I develop a conception of justice that takes its cue from John Rawls’s *A Theory of Justice*, by looking at British periodical editor Rachel Beer’s analysis of the Dreyfus case in the British weekly periodical the *Observer*.⁹ Rawls’s theory of justice is grounded on liberty and equality. It stems from principles of “equal liberty” afforded to people in the “original position,” which Rawls defines from Rousseau’s theory of the social contract.¹⁰ Hence, this third chapter builds on Staël’s ideal of political liberty developed in Chapter One, and the demonstration of Adlersparre and Olivecrona’s struggle for political equality in Chapter Two. Beer’s analysis of the Dreyfus case develops

⁷ See Patrice Boussel, *L’Affaire Dreyfus et la presse* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1960), Eric Cahm and Pierre Citti, *Les Représentations de l’affaire Dreyfus dans la presse en France et à l’étranger* (Actes du colloque de Saint-Cyr-sur-Loire. Tours: Université François-Rabelais, 1994), James Franklin Brennan, *The Reflection of the Dreyfus Affair in the European Press, 1897 - 1899* (New York: Peter Lang, 1998), Nelly Wilson, “Paroles et silences: réflexions sur le rôle joué par la presse britannique dans l’affaire Dreyfus,” in: *L’Affaire Dreyfus et l’opinion publique en France et à l’étranger*, ed. Michel Denis, Michel Lagrée and Jean-Yves Veillard (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 1995), 291 – 303.

⁸ William Harding, *Dreyfus The Prisoner of Devil’s Island* (New York: Associated Publishing Company, 1899), 335. The British outrage was also an opportunity to promote sensational journalism and vent some political tensions (Martyn Cornick, “The Dreyfus Affair—Another Year, Another Centenary. British Opinion and the Rennes Verdict, September 1899.” *Modern & Contemporary France* 7, no. 4 (1999): 499–508, 508).

⁹ For a justification of the theoretical framework see introduction.

¹⁰ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 12.

another transnational perspective, in this case a British outlook upon a French issue at the end of the nineteenth century.

Beer was the first woman to edit a British national newspaper, which she did over a period of ten years, in the political and social context of Victorian Britain. The traditional circles of British periodical editorship, as we have seen in Chapter One, only grudgingly admitted the presence of women, which made it difficult for Beer to succeed, especially at the head of the *Observer*, a paper in publication since 1791. Beer had to develop alternative routes for success, with a different approach to her profession than that of her male peers. I show in this chapter how she not only reported on the Dreyfus affair but also took an active part in its development by shifting the key terms of the debate.

Given her prominence in late Victorian print culture, it is surprising that Beer has been the subject of only one biographical study, Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren's *The First Lady of Fleet Street* (2011). Although she is not an entirely unknown figure in periodical scholarship, her contribution to periodical history remains understudied. The few lines that mention her name and profession in Marysa Demoor's "Editors and the Nineteenth-Century Press" (2016) are an invitation for further research.¹¹ Though Beer's professionalism was hailed by female journalists and activists of her day, Barbara Onslow only uses her, in a brief discussion, as a case study for the "compatibility of home-making and professional roles."¹² By merely adding her name to a list of pioneering women journalists, scholars have overlooked her work. In this chapter, I explore both Beer's bold re-definition of transnational justice – while she played a significant role in the international development of the Dreyfus case – and her promotion of the periodical as a public forum for democratic deliberation.

According to Rawls, "justice as fairness" is a specific understanding of justice which is unthwarted by any circumstantial laws, or specific contingencies.¹³ In other words, "justice as fairness" is an understanding of justice that is not partial to a specific country, a religion, or any political situation. The religious and political subplots of the Dreyfus case, which I discuss in this chapter, are examples of partial justice. Dreyfus's rapid arrest was a mistake based on anti-Semitic prejudice and the certainty of his guilt snowballed in the country through the immediate reaction of the national press. The situation embarrassed the French Government and stalled the work of French justice. Rawls explains that a "strict compliance" or an "ideal theory of justice" does not consider how we are supposed to deal with injustice but tries to recreate the conditions of a perfectly just society.¹⁴ In this chapter, I demonstrate

¹¹ Marysa Demoor, "Editors and the Nineteenth-Century Press," in: *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. Andrew King, Alexis Easley and John Morton (London: Routledge, 2016), 89 – 101, 101.

¹² Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), 20.

¹³ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 3 – 53.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

how ‘fair justice,’ or “justice as fairness” in the Rawlsian terms, could only be developed in the Dreyfus case from a transnational perspective, because France was tied in an impossible political imbroglio which forced her citizens to take a partisan stand. Indeed, as the French Army and government maintained the story of Dreyfus’s guilt, to stand as a Dreyfusard was to condemn the Republic, while to be anti-Dreyfusard denied justice to an innocent man but symbolised patriotic fervour.¹⁵ Because of this corrupted high-level influence, French periodicals became biased vessels of public discussion.

This chapter differs from Staël’s analysis of power and influence at editorial level because the problem that hindered a fair deliberation of the Dreyfus case in France was not due to the manipulation of periodical editors but to the impact of a corrupted influence at governmental level. Moreover, the issue could not be processed and addressed as Adlersparre and Olivecrona did in Sweden, with the cooperation of the government, because the national divide and various political complications would not permit a full resolution of the scandal at national level. My hypotheses are that Beer’s position enabled her to look into the Dreyfus case from a cross-national perspective as a foreign editor, which freed her from local pressure, and that, as a woman, freed from the pressure of peers, she could publish her thoughts in the *Observer* in a way which satisfied the principles of transnational justice-as-fairness.

Rawls defines a “strict compliance to justice” by hypothetically placing people under a “veil of ignorance” behind which their principles of justice are chosen.¹⁶ According to Rawls, people placed in these conditions feel an innate “sense of justice.”¹⁷ I argue in this chapter that the original position, under “the veil of ignorance,” needed to be recreated in order to reach a fair judgement of the Dreyfus case. My case study retraces the evolution of a particular metaphor in the French press, and across language boundaries in international newspapers. Beer borrowed an image from French journalist Jules Cornély’s “L’Eponge,” (The Sponge), an article which appeared in *Le Figaro*, that suggested wiping the slate clean for everyone involved in the case. I show how Cornély included in his article both the religious and the political subplots of the Dreyfus affair. The issue of religious ideology was further explored through the sponge metaphor, in French caricaturist Henri-Gabriel Ibels’s drawing “Le Coup de l’Eponge” (1899 – Figure 6) and other echoes in the international press. Beer adapted the sponge metaphor in the British press to highlight a misconception of justice.

¹⁵ According to Henri Oppen de Blowitz, “rightly or wrongly, the enemies of the cause of Dreyfus attached to its defeat the idea of a rebuff for the Republic and of a triumph of reaction over the liberal spirit,” Henri Oppen de Blowitz, “The French Press and the Dreyfus Case,” *North American Review* 169, no. 515 (October 1899): 577 – 592, 585.

¹⁶ Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 9.

The chapter is divided in two parts that embrace the full significance of Beer's role as a periodical editor who reinstated a certain conception of justice. The first reconsiders Beer's experience and influence from the point of view of the history of the *Observer*. The second zooms in on the Dreyfus case, and more specifically Beer's role in the international growth of the scandal and her treatment of the sponge metaphor. By setting aside the contingent implications of the sponge metaphor to focus on the most up-to-date legal circumstances of the case, Beer criticized militarism and partial justice in France and developed, in Rawls' words, an "ideal theory" of justice.

3.1 The *Observer* and Rachel Beer

3.1.1 A history of the *Observer* before Beer

A. M. Gollin specified in 1960 that the *Observer* was "the oldest of our national newspapers," although by 1993 it had merged with the *Guardian*.¹⁸ The first issue of the *Observer* came out on 4 December 1791. The *Observer*'s creator, W.S. Bourne, sought to respect some founding principles inherited from the Enlightenment. The periodical pledged to publish "safe and grounded information" through the observation of society and politics and aimed to preserve "intellectual purity."¹⁹ The *Observer* would be "Unbiased by Prejudice, Uninfluenced by Party" and its "whole object was Truth and the dissemination of every Species of Knowledge that may conduce to the Happiness of Society."²⁰

Despite such good intentions, the periodical followed the same path as the "noble savage," a myth Rousseau developed in *Emile ou de l'éducation* (1762): it was corrupted by society. The *Observer* was tested by the needs of marketing. Yet a succession of editors attempted, with more or less success, to re-establish the Rawlsian ideal of justice that it first laid claim to. The newspaper was launched a few weeks before Christmas with the hope that advertisement might reap good profits. Bourne focused mainly on gossip and crime to attract readers. He was soon in debt but secured the help of his brother, whose financial rescue – and improvement of the paper's business management – propelled its circulation to about 6,000 copies, a considerable success at the end of the eighteenth century. William Innell Clement bought the *Observer* in 1814. The "scurrilous and disreputable" content of the paper did not

¹⁸ Alfred M. Collin, *The Observer and J.L. Garvin 1908-1914* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), v.

¹⁹ Marion Miliband, *The Observer of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Longmans, 1966), ix.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ix.

improve when editor Lewis Doxat encouraged pictorial journalism and scoops in crime.²¹ Circulation rose to an average of 15,000 copies with record sales of over 60,000 for special events such as the coronation of Georges IV. The rising middle class of the first decades of the nineteenth century was eager for the social and societal gossip which had previously been denied to them, and this kind of journalism accordingly prospered. It marked the beginning of an intricate balance between censorship and information control at governmental level. Stamp duties increased the cost of publications. They were conceived to curb the radical press and discourage lower classes from acquiring a certain kind of information, but shared copies were exchanged at clubs, or within family circles, and those who could not read instead attended public readings of the newspaper. Consequently, as the press was becoming so influential, the Government offered money to the *Observer* to support their views. From 1816 to 1840 the paper accepted such bribes. It was a most successful period for the *Observer*, which “had the biggest sale of any stamped Sunday newspaper.”²² As editor J. L. Garvin explained in 1922, the newspaper earned a long-lasting existence in public consciousness: “gradually it came to hold the same place as the *Times* held on other days. From the Regency onwards the *Observer* found itself mentioned in novels and plays as a familiar institution.”²³

Joseph Snowe succeeded Doxat, but his relative sobriety and unpopular support of the North during the American Civil War prompted a sharp decline in sales. In 1860, circulation had dropped to 3,000 copies. Julius Beer bought the *Observer* in 1870 and hired Edward Dicey for the position of editor. Beer and Dicey restored the newspaper to its initial respectability. The focus became literature and politics with a special attention to foreign affairs. Consequently, J. Grant, who had previously worked as a reporter for the *Observer*, declared in 1872 that it had become “one of the safest contemporary papers to be put in the hands of ladies.”²⁴ The *Observer* had been famous for publishing scoops, and the shift of focus did not alter this specificity: Dicey “would constantly remind his staff that the *Observer* was not a weekly paper, but a daily one that just happened to come out only one day in the week, bringing the latest news of Saturday.”²⁵ “Special editions for important news” were advertised on the second page of the newspaper during this period and accordingly the *Observer* was the first to announce the capture of Napoleon III and the defeat at Sedan.²⁶ Beer

²¹ Donald Trelford, *The Observer at 200* (London: Quartet Books, 1992), 1.

²² Miliband, *The Observer of the Nineteenth Century*, ix.

²³ James Louis Garvin, *The Observer 1791-1921 A Short Record of One Hundred and Thirty Years* (London: Observer House, 1922), foreword. See also for more recent appraisal *DNCJ: Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Gent: Academia Press, 2009).

²⁴ Garvin, *The Observer*, foreword.

²⁵ Eilat Negev and Yehuda Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street: The Life of Rachel Beer: Crusading Heiress and Newspaper Pioneer* (New York: Bantam, 2011), 94.

²⁶ *The Observer*, 4 September 1870, special noon edition.

and Dicey were also ambitious for the quality of the content of the *Observer*: Joseph Hatton described it as “a thoughtful high-class political journal” in 1882 and the *Quarterly Review* depicted “an admirably conducted newspaper of the highest character [...] the tone of its articles is dignified and sensible.”²⁷

These efforts improved the quality of the newspaper but did not affect the poor number of sales. By the end of the 1870s, just before Julius Beer’s death, circulation remained around 3,000 copies. When he assumed the editorship of the *Observer* in 1893, Julius’s son Frederick Beer reduced its price from four to two pence to make it more competitive with penny newspapers. Frederick Beer kept Dicey as editor until the latter left in 1889. There followed a quick succession of candidates to the position: Henry Duff Traill, Clement Kinloch-Cooke, Frederick Beer himself, in April 1893, with Charles Lincoln Freeston as subeditor, until Rachel Beer took over in October 1896.

3.1.2 Rachel Beer: family, feminism, and professionalism

Rachel Beer (1858 – 1927), née Sassoon, was the first woman editor of two British national Sunday papers: the *Observer* (1896–1901) and the *Sunday Times* (1894–1901). Her family had fled Baghdad and moved to England at the beginning of the nineteenth century. She married Frederick Beer in 1887. Both husband and wife were of Jewish decent and heirs to large fortunes.²⁸ They became leading London socialites and frequently appeared in society pages of the time.²⁹ Rachel Beer wished to get involved in the running of the *Observer* soon after her marriage, but her contributions were not well received by the editorial staff. This prompted Frederick Beer to purchase the *Sunday Times*, another leading newspaper, on 2 July 1894, of which Rachel became owner and editor. Two years of professional rivalry followed as Frederick had taken up editorial functions on the *Observer* since 1893, but the competition never seemed to impede their marital well-being. When Frederick’s health declined in 1896, Rachel started editing the *Sunday Times* and the *Observer* simultaneously. Rachel and Frederick Beer had no children, and upon Frederick’s death, on 30 January 1901, his widow suffered from what would now be known as acute mental depression. She was declared of unsound mind by a Master in Lunacy, at the request of her own family and the verdict became official

²⁷ Joseph Hatton, *Journalistic London. Being a Series of Sketches of Famous Pens and Papers of the Day* (London: S. Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882), 199. Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 100.

²⁸ Rachel converted to Anglicanism the day before her wedding, see Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 137.

²⁹ Mrs Beer’s name appeared regularly in the press as a hostess or confirming her attendance to social events with details of her dress. An example: “the performance will be held at 7, Chesterfield Gardens (by kind permission of Mrs Frederick Beer) to-day, May 24, at three o’clock, when Miss Dorothea Baird will make her début as a reciter...” “People, Places, and Things,” *Hearth and Home*, no. 367 (26 May 1898): 101.

in 1903: she was stripped of her rights and her autonomy and lived for the rest of her life in a large mansion in Tunbridge Wells attended by three mental health nurses. After her death on 29 April 1927, her family buried her at Tunbridge Wells Borough Cemetery, away from the Beer family mausoleum, with the short epitaph: "Daughter of the late David Sassoon."

During what remained of 1901 after the death of her husband, Rachel gradually abandoned her responsibilities and left the *Observer* to its own management. The four following years were disastrous for the periodical and affected, in retrospect, Beer's professional reputation. The paper was reduced, in one description, to "a venerable and respected survival of 'the old journalism'" with a circulation which had supposedly shrivelled to "a mere handful."³⁰ According to Northcliffe, it "lay derelict in the Fleet ditch."³¹ Indeed, between 1902 and 1905 the newspaper lost many subscribers and buyers. Yet when Alfred Harmsworth (who became Lord Northcliffe) acquired it in 1905, its circulation was officially a little over 3,000 copies, which was the same figure as the one Frederick Beer inherited from his father.

Until Negev and Koren's biography was published in 2011, Rachel Beer was almost entirely forgotten. In her own time, however, Beer was admired by her own sex, for whom she blazed a path, and was noticed at an international level for her work on the Dreyfus case. The periodical the *Woman's Signal* (1894 – 1899), edited by women, followed and praised the advancement of her career: "The appointment of Mrs Beer to the editorship of the *Sunday Times* adds one more to the list of women's successes in journalism – this one perhaps the most brilliant, the *Sunday Times* being the only general newspaper that has a woman at its head."³² Yet her exceptionality proved difficult to deal with, even within the active, albeit peripheral, women's movements of the late Victorian period.

A few months after Rachel assumed her role as editor of the *Sunday Times*, the Society of Women Journalists held its winter session. Miss March Phillips was to discuss the topic 'Women as Editors,' but 'having reflected that one swallow does not make a summer,' she changed her focus to 'Women in Journalism.' Mrs Beer's case demonstrated that women did not lack 'sufficient resource, critical faculty, and discrimination to take command of a paper for general readers,' but she was still the only exception to the rule.³³

³⁰ Collin, *The Observer and J. L. Garvin*, 1 and 6.

³¹ Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 269.

³² "Concerning Women," *The Woman's Signal*, no. 40 (4 October 1894): 215.

³³ Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 170.

Beer's professional reputation spread in Britain, and her name appeared in the satirical press,

The day on which no Lawson nor Harmsworth may appear,
The day kept strictly sacred to Church and Mrs Beer ³⁴

Beer's reputation also went beyond national borders. In January 1899, the *Jewish Herald*, an Australian periodical (1879 – 1920), quoted the *New York Independent*, about the career of Rachel Beer. This example reflects the international impact of Beer's work for the *Observer* and illustrates the world-wide awareness of the unfolding Dreyfus case:

Justin M'Carthy, the well-known British member of Parliament, writes a recent number of the *New York Independent* as follows:— 'The heroine of the hour at present in London is Mrs Rachel Beer, wife of the proprietor of the *Observer* and the *Sunday Times*, and herself the directress of one or both these papers. These are the two great Sunday papers of London, and the present excitement all comes of the Dreyfus case.'³⁵

Moreover, Beer can be regarded as an actor in the international feminist movement that rallied in support of Dreyfus. As Blum and Carduner-Loosefelt argue, "The Affair gave women an excellent opportunity to mobilise as intellectuals, in public universities, journals, networks and of course in the press."³⁶ Although Beer's name is hardly mentioned today in feminist scholarship, the French journal *La Fronde* (1897–1905), whose editor, Marguerite Durand, was also a fervent supporter of Dreyfus, paid tribute to her work: "Mrs Beer is a worthy and intelligent lady, a strong feminist and a great friend of the *Fronde*."³⁷

Out of respect for her husband, Beer remained discrete where it concerned her editorial duties for the *Observer*. In an interview for *Woman*, she described to Arnold Bennett her vision of her responsibilities: "I recognize that though I am his wife, I do not own the *Observer*, and I am far more scrupulous concerning my work for it, than for my *Sunday Times*, which is quite my own property."³⁸ She respected all Frederick's policies regarding the paper's frequency, price, and format. There were very few images published in the paper, as established years earlier by Julius Beer. Each issue contained eight pages, to which Rachel Beer irregularly added a supplement of up to seven pages in times of war. Her articles and

³⁴ "Private Views: Mostly Unpopular No. IV. – What are we?" *Punch* 117 (7 June 1899): 265.

³⁵ "Two Notable Women," *The Jewish Herald* 20, no. 492 (6 January 1899): 34.

³⁶ "L'Affaire offre aux femmes une possibilité tout à fait inédite de se mobiliser en tant qu'intellectuelles, notamment dans les universités populaires, dans les revues, dans les réseaux et bien sûr dans la presse," Françoise Blum et Muriel Carduner – Loosefelt, "Du Genre en Histoire des Intellectuels," *Mil Neuf Cent. Revue d'Histoire Intellectuelle (Cahiers Georges Sorel)* 16 (1998): 133–43, 137.

³⁷ "Mrs Beer est une femme de valeur et d'intelligence, féministe convaincue, et grande amie de la FRONDE," Marguerite Durand, "Les Aveux d'Esterhazy," *La Fronde* 2, no. 292 (26 September 1898): 1.

³⁸ quoted in Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 199.

editorial notes were never signed.³⁹ The leaders, usually one to three articles, were soberly printed under mastheads with the date and a title. Beer's overview of foreign politics followed in the "Notes" section. She covered news from many countries and there was usually only one article on home affairs for every five or six columns on foreign affairs. Frederick Beer had done away with the "Correspondence" section in which the reader would find letters to the editor. The frequency of appearance of these letters was not regular: one or two every third week or so, on average. They often discussed home politics or matters such as the 'Crown and the Church,' which might be the reason for their intermittence, as these only took up a small part of Beer's focus. The arrangement of the letters was the result of the editor's effort to place them in a relevant succession of topics. She would wedge them between articles from foreign correspondents, sorted under individual headings. They appeared after the editorials, or on the last pages of an issue. If Beer published a supplement, some of the letters could be found within. They were addressed to the editor, with the customary salutation "Sir," which Beer seemed not to oppose – in contrast to letters sent to the *Sunday Times*, which were headed "Dear Madam," her apparent ambivalence either because she felt she was acting as *Observer* editor by proxy, or because to be a woman at the head of the *Observer* might not be appealing to some of her readers.⁴⁰

3.1.3 Gender difference and social politics: Beer models her sense of justice on the *Observer*

The *Observer* was said in 1882 to embrace "moderately" liberal views.⁴¹ Before Julius Beer made it a 'higher class' journal, the *Observer*'s gossip and crime columns were traditionally imbued with great values such as the defence of the poor and the support of basic freedoms. Beer did not depart from these tendencies because they mirrored her own principles. Her approach to journalism, and more particularly her sense of justice, was different from that of a male editor, typical of the period. She did not have their university education as a foundation for her ideologies. She did not exchange ideas with politicians and other male journalists at London dinners and clubs. Consequently, she could hardly come to understandings with men in power to help her decide what the *Observer* should or should not

³⁹ Beer's name is mentioned only once in the *Observer* in the by-line for "Light Upon the Dreyfus Case": "a conversation with the directress of the *Observer*, Mrs Rachel Beer." Beer's work with Esterhazy enables us to ascertain the authorship of her leading articles and "Notes," which are written in the same style with similar points of reference. See for example Esterhazy's *Les Dessous de l'Affaire Dreyfus* (especially chapters six and seven).

⁴⁰ According to former editor of the *Observer* Donald Trelford (1975-1993), "Rachel caused polite amusement by insisting that letters to the editor be prefixed 'Dear Madam'" (Trelford, *The Observer* at 200, 2).

⁴¹ Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 100.

disclose, and she had no ready access to figures and gossip concerning the state of armies, because generals would not confer with her on those matters.⁴² Beer used this independence from traditional circles of influence as a strength, that enabled her to view her profession as an opportunity to disseminate her own opinions. Despite the care she took with her husband's property, the political tone of the *Observer* shifted from moderately Liberal to Independent, as it matched those opinions.

Beer adopted a Victorian attitude towards world politics that closely resembles the "social politics" of the time described by today's historians.⁴³ This stance is derived from the influential motherly figure represented by Queen Victoria, and supported women's claim to take part in world affairs in the sense that they would address moral issues within the responsibilities of the British Empire. As a caring mother would preside over the wellbeing of her offspring, Beer foresaw the probability of war and conflict, but she believed in preserving peace at the negotiation table.⁴⁴ For example, she condemned the British press for their eagerness at the prospect of war on the eve of the Boer conflict in South Africa: "It will not do for Great Britain to lose her head, for the matter is still one for negotiation."⁴⁵ Negev and Koren refer to Beer's "unique political views and her tenacity" in the *Sunday Times* to underpin her utopian inclinations, of which her defence of the ideals of justice during the Dreyfus affair are another illustration.⁴⁶

3.2 Rachel Beer, the Dreyfus Case and the 'Sponge Metaphor'

Beer's articles for the *Observer* are often mentioned within the immense body of work on the Dreyfus case, yet these articles are usually misattributed to Rowland Strong, her correspondent in Paris, who met Esterhazy and convinced him to be interviewed by Beer in

⁴² Negev and Koren add that although Gladstone was an old friend of her family, he would refuse to discuss politics with her (Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 162).

⁴³ See Elaine Chalus, "Patriotism and Providence," in: *Women in British Politics, 1760-1860: The Power of the Petticoat* ed. Kathryn Gleadle and Sarah Richardson (New York: St Martin's press, 2000), 19 – 38.

⁴⁴ In this she was not always justified, as in the Dreyfus affair when she imagined France to be on the brink of a second revolution.

⁴⁵ [Beer], *The Observer* (24 September 1899).

⁴⁶ Negev and Koren, *The First Lady of Fleet Street*, 165.

London.⁴⁷ In *L’Affaire Dreyfus de A à Z* (1994), Michel Drouin devotes two sentences to Beer that are inspired by Esterhazy’s biased memoirs, *Les Dessous de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (1898).⁴⁸ This significant gap in the scholarship fails to measure the extent of Beer’s influence on the history of the case.

Beer was the first to publish Esterhazy’s confessions, which appeared in the *Observer* on 18 and 25 September 1898, under the title “Light upon the Dreyfus Case.” Her interviews with Esterhazy boosted the newspaper’s circulation considerably.⁴⁹ Yet this exclusive was only the first stage in her analysis of the Dreyfus case. Between November 1897 and May 1899, she closely followed the evolution of the case in France and in the world press. She wrote twenty leaders on Dreyfus and as many shorter articles in “Notes.” During this period, every issue of the *Observer* included some coverage of the case. Other articles relating to the affair were mostly reports by Strong (signed “FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT”), Reuters’s telegrams informing readers of the latest facts, and notes from French correspondents or experts.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ See Boussel, *L’Affaire Dreyfus et la presse* (1960), Wilson, *L’Affaire Dreyfus et l’opinion publique* (1995), Philippe Oriol, *L’Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2014), Bertrand Joly, *Histoire Politique de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Fayard, 2014).

⁴⁸ Drouin arguably describes Beer’s relation to the case from his interpretation of Esterhazy’s memoirs: “Ses exigences excessives vont en effet le brouiller avec l’*Observer*, dont la propriétaire, Mrs Beer, n’hésitera pas, avec une totale absence de scrupules, à publier, sans les payer à leur auteur, les confidences faites sans méfiance à Strong. Ainsi grugé, l’escroc en sera réduit à démentir aussitôt et à intenter une coûteuse action judiciaire contre Mrs Beer. Pour une fois le bon droit est de son côté [...]” (His excessive demands cause him to quarrel with the *Observer*, whose unscrupulous proprietor, Mrs Beer, will not hesitate to publish the revelations he had unsuspectingly confided in Strong. Thus cheated, the scoundrel was forced into immediate denial and bring a costly legal action against Mrs Beer. For once law is in his favour) (Michel Drouin, *L’Affaire Dreyfus de A à Z* (Paris: Flammarion, 1994), 177 – 178). See Esterhazy’s memoirs: “Mme Beer, Strong et Cie ont essayé d’abuser de la situation précaire dans laquelle je me trouvais, loin de mon pays, sans appui, sans un conseil, pour me prêter des aveux que je ne leur avais jamais faits et pour publier, malgré moi, des documents que j’avais confiés à Strong, comme à mon ami, mais nullement à Mme Beer pour ses journaux.” (Mrs Beer, Strong, & co tried to take advantage of the precarious situation which I was in, far from my country, with no support or counsel, to make up confessions I had never made and publish, in spite of me, some documents that I had placed in Strong’s care, as a friend, but never for Mrs Beer and her newspapers) (Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, *Les Dessous de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Fayard Frères, 1898), 96).

⁴⁹ See Trelford, *The Observer* at 200, 2.

⁵⁰ “French Correspondent,” “The Key to the Mystery,” *The Observer* (13 November 1898): 5; “Dixi,” “The Case of Colonel Picquart ‘The Plot Revealed’,” *The Observer* (4 December 1898): 5; “Dixi,” “The Origins of the Bordereau,” *The Observer* (11 December 1898): 5.

3.2.1 The Political Subplot of the Dreyfus Case

The Dreyfusard/anti-Dreyfusard divide, *Le Figaro* and Emile Zola

Before Beer entered the debate over the Dreyfus case, the story was already well reported by the Parisian press, but the official Dreyfusard/anti-Dreyfusard divide did not yet exist. The essayist and journalist Bernard Lazare, considered the first supporter of Dreyfus, published a series of articles in his favour in *L'Echo de Paris*, between November 1894 and August 1896. Mathieu Dreyfus had been working towards proving his brother Alfred's innocence with Bernard Lazare since the beginning of 1895, but the main obstacle to their efforts was the hostility of public opinion, and they were therefore compelled to wait, as Mathieu Dreyfus explains in his memoirs,

Newspapers closed their doors on me. I had pointlessly tried *Le Figaro*; the friend I had there came back to me and said, on behalf of M. de Rodays [the editor of *Le Figaro*], that nothing could be done in the current state of confusion and excitement of public opinion. I saw the director of *Le Journal*, M. Xau, who gave me the same answer and added 'if you have documents, publish them, but not now. You will need documents to sway public opinion.'⁵¹

In November 1896 Lazare still had to wait. His book in favour of Dreyfus, *Une erreur judiciaire. La vérité sur l'affaire Dreyfus* (1896) was published abroad, in Brussels (Belgium).

The Dreyfusard movement owed its origins to a conflict of opinions among the members of the editorial team of *Le Figaro*, the Parisian right wing liberal and conservative periodical and the oldest national daily still in print in France. *Le Figaro*, which was one of the most respected periodicals in the world at the end of the nineteenth century and the most widely read journal of opinion in France and abroad at the time, debated the Dreyfus affair yet struggled to maintain a coherent stance.⁵² On 25 November 1897, the French writer and journalist Emile Zola coined, in its pages, the celebrated phrase "la vérité est en marche, rien ne l'arrêtera plus" (the truth is coming and nothing can stop it), after the vice-president of the Senate, Scheurer-Kestner, disclosed the conclusions of his inquiry in November 1897.⁵³

⁵¹ "Les journaux continuaient à m'être fermés. J'avais vainement frappé à la porte du Figaro ; l'ami que j'y avais envoyé était revenu me dire, de la part de M. de Rodays, qu'il n'y avait rien à faire dans l'état d'affolement, d'excitation de l'opinion publique. J'avais vu le directeur du Journal, M. Xau, qui m'avait fait la même réponse et qui avait ajouté : 'Si vous avez des documents, publiez-les, mais pas en ce moment. Il vous faut des documents pour retourner l'opinion publique'." In Mathieu Dreyfus, *L'Affaire telle que je l'ai vécue*, 58.

⁵² These misunderstandings within the editorial team and conflicting views in articles affected the circulation of *Le Figaro*, which dropped to 30,000 in 1899 (and 20,000 in 1901 compared to 75,000 in 1896).

⁵³ Emile Zola, "M. Scheurer-Kestner," *Le Figaro* 43, no. 329 (25 November 1897): 1.

Zola's position, however, jarred with declarations of neutrality made that same month by "Vidi," another editorial writer for *Le Figaro*: "We want to be informers and not commentators in this affair."⁵⁴ Likewise, Jules Cornély, who joined *Le Figaro* in late December 1897, did not support Zola's public outcry, but rather advocated another policy, by demanding a status quo.⁵⁵ The day after Zola was condemned for libel, Cornély wrote a leading article for *Le Figaro* ending in a call to close the Dreyfus case: "No one will benefit from the continuation of the terrible crisis we have gone through. Let us end it."⁵⁶ This policy eventually became popular with the French public, as I discuss below, with the sponge metaphor.

As the case became prominent in the French press in the following weeks, Beer published her first impressions on 28 November 1897: "The unfortunate man [...] was found guilty by a military tribunal, sitting in secret [...] What the nature of the evidence was, what the actual admissions of the accused were, what motive was imputed, and how it was proved, nobody is able to state."⁵⁷ Beer immediately understood that the point at issue was not Dreyfus's guilt or innocence but an opposition to or support of republican ideals: She consequently denounced the lack of transparency and honesty in the case at a relatively early stage. On 9 January 1898, she writes: "Everything is possible to a tribunal possessed by an over-mastering prejudice which takes no account either of evidence or of common sense."⁵⁸

Beer's judgement anticipates Emile Zola's article for *L'Aurore* on 13 January 1898, "J'accuse . . . !" which denounced the general plot against Dreyfus in an open letter to the President of the French Republic three days after a military trial had established Esterhazy's innocence. The left-oriented periodical *L'Aurore* (1897 – 1914), a four-page daily newspaper launched by Ernest Vaughan and Georges Clémenceau in October 1897, was the first periodical to unanimously defend Dreyfus in the French press.⁵⁹ *L'Aurore* became a haven for Dreyfus supporters, and especially for Zola, who had previously worked for *Le Figaro*. *L'Aurore* reported record sales of 300,000 copies for Zola's "J'accuse . . . !" and around 150,000 for several weeks after the publication.⁶⁰ The title of the article, chosen by Vaughan and Clémenceau,

⁵⁴ "[Nous voulons] être en cette affaire, pour le public, des informateurs et non pas des commentateurs," "Vidi," "Le dossier de M. Scheurer-Kestner," *Le Figaro* 43, no. 318 (14 November 1897): 1.

⁵⁵ See also Paul Lafage, "A travers la presse: l'incident Cornély," *Le Gaulois* 31, no. 5893 (23 December 1897): 2 (reprint from *Le Soir*).

⁵⁶ "Personne de nous n'a intérêt à ce que dure l'abominable crise que nous venons de traverser. Terminons-la," Jules Cornély, "La Condamnation," *Le Figaro* 44, no. 55 (24 February 1898): 1.

⁵⁷ [Beer], "Secret Trial," *The Observer* (28 November 1897): 4.

⁵⁸ [Beer], "The Dreyfus Case," *The Observer* (9 January 1898): 4.

⁵⁹ Clémenceau remarked upon a possible miscarriage of justice in an editorial published on November 1, 1897. *L'Aurore*'s stand was followed by *Le Siècle* that became Dreyfusard in January 1898.

⁶⁰ Janine Ponty, "La presse quotidienne et l'Affaire Dreyfus en 1898–1899," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 21–22 (1974): 193–220, 195.

echoes the demand for justice that Beer had spelled out in her editorial a few days before. Zola condemned the inertia of the French government and summarized the frustrated efforts of a handful of officers, civilians, politicians, and journalists who had been collecting and publishing proof of Esterhazy's guilt in the face of official denial.⁶¹ The French government reacted immediately by bringing suit against Zola and *L'Aurore*.⁶²

Blowitz makes the following observation on the effect of Zola's article in France: "The thunderbolt hurled by Zola made the Dreyfus case a political affair; and immediately the cry of *Vive l'Armée* having given anti-Republican and anti-Liberal opposition a formidable watchword, France fell asunder into two camps."⁶³ In other words, Zola's article did not result in a return to impartial justice, rather, it made the Dreyfus crisis political, by shifting the debate from a question of guilt or innocence of one man to a complex political conflict which involved the whole country. "J'accuse . . . !" asserted the existence of a Dreyfusard movement, but it also rallied the anti-Dreyfusard movement, whose adherents were not, as nearly the whole country was, during the first two years of the affair, convinced of Dreyfus's guilt, but were in favour of preserving the honour of the French Army. The anti-Dreyfusards were politically leagued against the Dreyfusards, whom they considered the enemies of the French Republic. From the moment of the publication of Zola's article, a large number of French periodicals chose to represent either the Dreyfusard or the anti-Dreyfusard side.⁶⁴

In "J'accuse . . . !" Zola puts most of the blame on Armand Du Paty de Clam and scorns General Mercier for his weakness of spirit.⁶⁵ Beer, by contrast, digs more deeply into the hidden hierarchy of the crime. She exposes the higher official's responsibility for the actions of Du Paty de Clam. In her leading article for 13 February 1898, she dismisses Du Paty de Clam's "grotesque statement," and names Mercier four times to condemn his reprehensible silence: "Général Mercier refused to answer, and silence in such a case is damning."⁶⁶ In these first articles on Dreyfus, Beer highlights the dangers of militarism in France with her characteristic irony. For instance, she puts inverted commas around the phrase "the honour

⁶¹ As for example Colonel Picquart, Scheurer-Kestner, Mathieu Dreyfus, Lazare.

⁶² The trial took place 7 – 23 February 1898. Zola was condemned to the maximum penalty: 3,000 francs and a year in prison.

⁶³ Blowitz, "The French Press and the Dreyfus Case," 582.

⁶⁴ The most popular anti-Dreyfusard periodicals were *La Libre parole*, *L'Intransigeant*, *Le Gaulois*, *La Patrie*, *La Croix*, *Le Moniteur universel*, *La Gazette de France*, *L'Éclair*, *Le Petit journal*. The famous Dreyfusard papers were *L'Aurore*, *Le Siècle*, *Le Radical*, *Le Petit bleu*, *La Petite république*, *La Fronde*, *Le Temps*, *Les Débats*, *Le Matin*, *Le Petit parisien*. But there was also the works of caricaturists, which were plastered on public walls in the shape of posters, sold in shops as postcards or assembled in journals created from and for the affaire Dreyfus, of which the *Sifflet* by Ibels is an example of Deyfusard propaganda whereas *Psst...!* (Caran d'Ache, Forain), for example, was anti-Dreyfusard.

⁶⁵ Zola, "J'accuse . . . !" *L'Aurore* 2, no. 87 (13 January 1898): 1–2.

⁶⁶ [Beer], "the Zola Trial," *The Observer* (13 February 1898): 4.

of the French army” and sarcastically remarks, “It is plain that France would have another military dictatorship to-morrow, if there were any man popular enough for the job.”⁶⁷

Beer’s first attempt to reinstate justice: “Light upon the Dreyfus Case”

Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy has been historically portrayed as an agent working for the French government and even as a double agent working for Germany as well.⁶⁸ It has relatively recently been proved, nearly a century after his deeds, that he betrayed French military secrets to the Germans solely for personal profit.⁶⁹ Esterhazy fled to London on 1 September 1898, the day after the suicide of Colonel Henry, who had confessed to forging the documents in the secret dossier, and thus jeopardized Esterhazy’s position. Rowland Strong provided the latter with a bed in his own rooms at 6, St James Street. At this point, Esterhazy reckoned on selling the story of his crime to the highest bidder. He also approached the *Pall Mall Gazette* and threatened to sell his story in Belgium when his relations with Strong were getting tense. He had already negotiated a publication of his memoirs in instalments with the Parisian publisher Fayard Frères. Esterhazy was interviewed many times by both Strong and Beer and received £500 for his service.⁷⁰ The resulting article, “Light Upon the Dreyfus Case,” published in two instalments on 18 and 25 September 1898, has been critically acclaimed as the masterpiece of Beer’s career.⁷¹

The debate on Dreyfus peaked in the French press in September 1898, as Ponty remarks in her analysis of the French press during the Dreyfus case, “No month witnessed so many shifts of opinion than September 1898.”⁷² The second instalment of “Light Upon the Dreyfus Case,” which contained irrefutable proof of Dreyfus’s innocence, was meant to tip justice in favour of the accused, as it appeared the day before the Dreyfus case was referred to the Court of Cassation on 26 September 1898. In France, however, the content of the article

⁶⁷ [Beer], “Notes,” *The Observer* (16 January 1898): 4, and [Beer], “The Military Crisis in France,” *The Observer* (20 February 1898): 4.

⁶⁸ See Henri Guillemin, *L’Énigme Esterhazy* (Paris : Gallimard, 1962) and Jean Doise, *Un secret bien gardé. Histoire militaire de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris : Le Seuil, 1994).

⁶⁹ Marcel Thomas, Vincent Duclert, and other recent specialists.

⁷⁰ Robert J. Maguire, *Ceremonies of Bravery: Oscar Wilde, Carlos Blacker, and the Dreyfus Affair* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 147, and Marcel Thomas, *Esterhazy ou l’envers de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (Paris: Vernal Philippe Lebaud, 1989), 347. Esterhazy was extremely unreliable. Despite having confessed his crime in front of several witnesses, including the writer Oscar Wilde during a dinner with Rowland Strong, he denied under oath having said anything to either Strong or Beer when summoned to testify in France in the Cour of Cassation in January 1899.

⁷¹ Trelford, *The Observer at 200*, 2.

⁷² “Il n’est pas d’autre mois plus fécond en bouleversements d’opinion que Septembre 1898” (Ponty, “La presse quotidienne et l’Affaire Dreyfus en 1898–1899,” 216).

met with a tide of passive denial. *Le Figaro* was mainly responsible for this attitude, especially under the influence of Cornély, whose objective was to choke the affair.⁷³ As a prelude to “L’Eponge,” Cornély had suggested in February 1898 “Let us organise silence [around the case].”⁷⁴ On 1 September 1898, the day on which Esterhazy arrived in London, Cornély pursued this line of thought, even though, after Henry’s confessions and suicide, he was finally convinced of Dreyfus’s innocence: “We must organise a moral disarming. Because no one, absolutely no one, except perhaps newsagents, will benefit from this ungodly fratricide and hopeless fight.”⁷⁵ The day after the publication of Beer’s scoop, Cornély, published a leading article in *Le Figaro* entitled “Tranquillité,” (tranquillity) in which he critiqued the haranguing speeches of anti-republican leader Paul Déroulède, as exaggeratedly vociferous and ineffectual. He wrote, “We listen with indifferent dilettantism to speeches that flow like spurts of lava and read articles that run like splashes of vitriol.”⁷⁶ Once more, Cornély made the affair political.

The French press was reluctant to reprint Beer’s “Light Upon the Dreyfus Case.” *La Fronde*, *L’Aurore* and *Le Siècle* expressed no wonder at Esterhazy’s confessions but acknowledged Beer’s article as an important step towards overturning the verdict, while other national newspapers that referred to Beer’s articles adopted either a critical or a non-committal stance.⁷⁷ Havas, a French press agency, remarked,

A journalist for the *Observer*—who sheltered Esterhazy for ten days—claims to have received from him some details of the utmost interest on the Dreyfus case; and especially with regards to the *bordereau*. “The *bordereau*, he says, was his favourite topic of conversation.” Here follow the terms in which the English journalist makes Esterhazy

⁷³ As explained above, *Le Figaro* sought to publish objective evidence in an attempt to foil biased journalism and ultimately generate conciliation and appeasement in France.

⁷⁴ “Ce que nous aurions de mieux à faire, tous, orateurs et publicistes, ce serait d’organiser le silence” Cornély, “La Condamnation,” *ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁵ “Organisons un désarmement moral. Car personne, absolument personne, excepté peut être les vendeurs de journaux, n’a intérêt à ce que continue cette lutte impie, fratricide et sans issue.” Cornély, “Le Drame,” *Le Figaro* 44, no. 244 (1 September 1898): 1. Cornély was torn between two feelings; the first was that the affair had taken too much importance. The second was that because Dreyfus was innocent justice would necessarily clear him. He wrote in later articles: “It is beyond any doubt: Alfred Dreyfus will be cleared” (“Il n’y a pas de doute à avoir: Alfred Dreyfus sera acquitté”) Cornély, “La Révision,” *Le Figaro* 45, no. 148 (28 May 1899): 1, and “Dreyfus will be cleared, it is a certain fact. It cannot be otherwise” (“Dreyfus sera acquitté, c’est certain. Il ne peut pas ne pas l’être”) Cornély, “La Politique de l’Eponge,” *Le Figaro* 45, no. 158 (7 June 1899): 1.

⁷⁶ “On écoute avec un dilettantisme parfait, des discours qui ressemblent à des coulées de lave et des articles qui ressemblent à des aspersions de vitriol” Cornély, “Tranquillité,” *Le Figaro* 44, no. 269 (26 September 1898): 1.

⁷⁷ In *L’Aurore* and *Le Siècle*, see P. H. Dubois, “Les Aveux d’Esterhazy,” *L’Aurore* 2, no. 343 (26 September 1898): 1–2, and Joseph Reinach, “Les Aveux du Uhlan,” *Le Siècle* 63, no. 22,837 (26 September 1898): 1.

speaking. We reproduce this speech out of sheer curiosity and decline all responsibility as to its content.⁷⁸

Most newspapers commented on Esterhazy's financial motivation rather than the content of his confessions. In other words, the reception of "Light Upon the Dreyfus Case" in French newspapers shows that the article did more than reveal Esterhazy's confessions and whereabouts in London to the world; it strongly suggested that Esterhazy's guilt was already known in France. Beer's intervention not only disseminated details of the Dreyfus scandal internationally, but also revealed how justice was being handled, or rather mishandled, in France.

3.2.2 The Sponge Metaphor: The Political and the Religious Subplots combined

An example of partial justice

As she continued to publish reports on the Dreyfus case, Beer keenly noted the transformations of a metaphor circulating in the world press during the months preceding the trial in Rennes. The sponge metaphor is derived from the French expression "passer l'éponge" (to wipe the slate clean). Cornély was the first to employ this metaphor to discuss the Dreyfus case in his article "L'Eponge" published in *Le Figaro* on 23 May 1899. Seeking a solution to the social and political crisis in France, he used the expression "passer l'éponge" to argue that Dreyfus and the military officials who were responsible for the scandal should be forgiven. His article was thus another attempt to stem the tide of agitation surrounding the Dreyfus drama.

In his article, Cornély coined the expression "la politique de l'éponge" (the politics of the sponge). For those who supported Cornély's idea, the sponge metaphor became another political tool. Gaston de Galliffet, the French Minister of War under the Dreyfusard Waldeck-Rousseau government (22 June 1899 – 7 June 1902), recommended Cornély's policy in a letter to *Le Journal des débats*. In early June 1899, he had confided this in a letter to his friend Geneviève Straus, a French *salonnière*: "An *idée fixe*: M. Cornély's sponge, that I recommended

⁷⁸ In *Le Figaro* and *Le Siècle*: "Un rédacteur de l'*Observer*—qui a donné l'hospitalité à Esterhazy pendant dix jours—dit avoir reçu de lui des détails du plus grand intérêt sur l'affaire Dreyfus ; mais surtout en ce qui concerne le bordereau. 'Le bordereau, dit-il, était le thème favori dans ses conversations.' Voici en quels termes le journaliste anglais, dont nous reproduisons le récit à titre de curiosité et en lui laissant toute la responsabilité, fait parler Esterhazy" (G. Daremay, "L'Article de l'*Observer*," *Le Figaro* 44, no. 269 (26 September 1898): 2; "Esterhazy et le Bordereau," *Le Siècle* 63, no. 22,837 (26 September 1898): 1).

in a letter to the *Débats*.⁷⁹ In the same letter, Galliffet pursues this idea of using the sponge metaphor: “The sponge is generosity and careful wisdom combined.”⁸⁰ The thought was echoed on 8 June 1899 in the Dreyfusard French periodical *Le Matin*: “They [the French government] kept on repeating it – it was the politics of peace and accord, it was the politics of the sponge, that they pass on odious memories.”⁸¹ The sponge metaphor became an example of partial justice, in the sense that the prickly question of Dreyfus’s guilt could be evaded in favour of political peace. In other words, Cornély, Galliffet, and the sponge metaphor ‘followers,’ much as in the biblical example of the Judgement of Solomon, applied justice to the situation in France, as opposed to repairing the harm initially done to Dreyfus.

This conception of partial justice, expressed through the sponge metaphor, travelled through various international publications in France (*Le Siècle*, *Le Temps*, *L’Aurore*), Belgium (*L’Indépendance Belge*), the Netherlands (*Leeuwarder Courant*), and Sweden (*Dagens Nyheter*), where it fostered perplexity and sometimes anger. On 7 June 1899, the Dutch press suggested to replace the sponge with a more explicit metaphor, another domestic object, the broom, that evokes the need to hide away accumulating filth: “Not the sponge, but the broom!”⁸² On 16 October 1899, the Swedish press noted the intent of French politicians behind the use of the expression by translating and reproducing a letter by deputy of Haute Vienne Jean Codet, dated 7 October 1899: “It is the ‘politics of the sponge’ they say. No it is not! It is the politics of peace, through forgiveness and oblivion.”⁸³ On 20 October 1899, the Belgian press was more critical: “Would this policy of the sponge not be a policy of deceit and ambiguity?”⁸⁴ “G.B.,” for *L’Aurore*, on 25 December 1899, slighted Cornély in reference to Henry’s forged documents:

⁷⁹ “Une idée fixe: l’éponge de M. Cornély que je me suis permis de recommander dans une lettre aux *Débats*.” Michel Leymarie, *La Postérité de l’Affaire Dreyfus* (Orléans: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 1998), 38. I have not been able to find a published letter in *Le Journal des Débats*, however, on 10 June 1899, the content of Galliffet’s proposal is referred to, without the reference to the sponge, in a short paragraph (“Une proposition d’amnistie,” *Le Journal des Débats* 111, no. 160 (10 June 1899): 2). Since the beginning of the case the ministers of war who succeeded Mercier (Jean-Baptiste Billot, Jacques Godefroy Cavaignac, Emile Zurlinden, Jules Chanoine, Charles de Freycinet, and Camille Krantz) had all been avowed anti-Dreyfusards in a united effort to protect the word and virtue of the army. Galliffet, nominated by Waldeck Rousseau to the same post on 22 June 1899, was known to be more favourable to Dreyfus.

⁸⁰ “L’éponge c’est la générosité en même temps que la prudente sagesse,” Leymarie, *La Postérité de l’Affaire Dreyfus*, 38.

⁸¹ “Il [the French government] ne cessait de le répéter – c’était la politique d’apaisement et de concorde, c’était la politique de l’éponge à passer sur des souvenirs odieux.” A. Rambaud, “Politique d’apaisement,” *Le Matin* 16, no. 5,583 (8 June 1899): 1.

⁸² “Niet de spons, maar de bezem!” “Buitenlandsch Overzicht,” *Leeuwarder Courant*, no. 132 (7 June 1899): 1.

⁸³ C’est la “politique du coup d’éponge”, a-t-on dit. Eh bien! Non. C’est la politique de l’apaisement, par le pardon et par l’oubli”, “Utrikespolitik,” *Dagens Nyheter* (16 October 1899): 3.

⁸⁴ “Mais par ailleurs cette politique du coup d’éponge ne serait-elle point politique de duperie et d’équivoque ?” “France – Courrier de Paris,” *L’Indépendance Belge* 70, no. 293 (20 October 1899): 1.

“The father of the sponge for forgers.”⁸⁵ Cornély’s concluding paragraph asserted, “The best of all politics is the politics of the sponge [...] We claim to belong to He who has forgiven. We will forgive.”⁸⁶ The expression “passer l’éponge” implies as much to forget as to forgive. By employing this metaphor, Cornély meant to establish a link between his Catholic ideology and the Dreyfus affair. To the mind of many of his detractors, the introduction of the French word “politique” (politics), in this expression, jarred with the notion of forgiveness and the original purity of the intention.

The shifting religious subplot

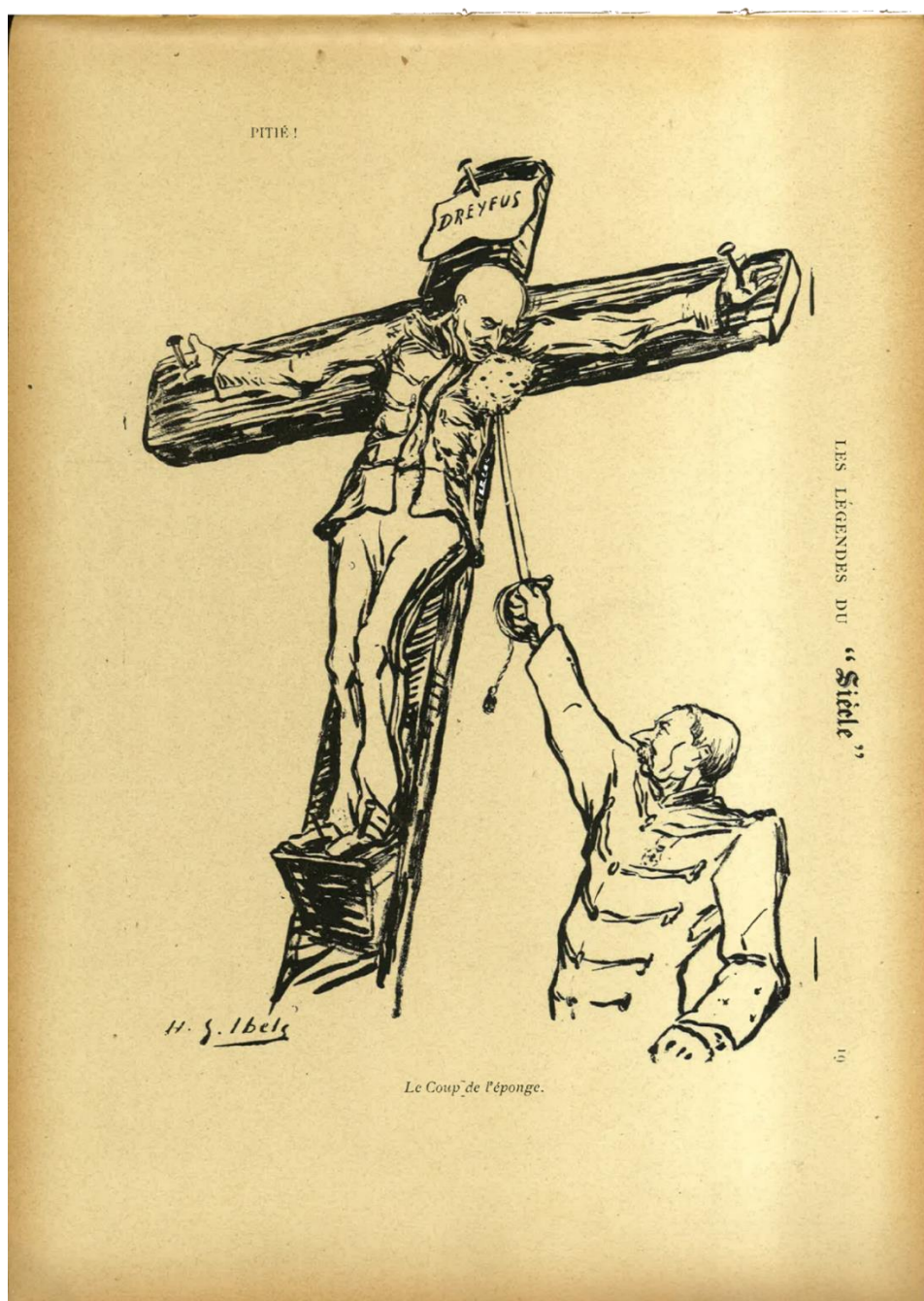
The development of the sponge’s meaning continued with the distortion of Cornély’s religious message, which was most clearly illustrated by Henri-Gabriel Ibels in a cartoon that appeared in *Le Siècle* on 18 September 1899.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ “Le père de l’éponge pour faussaires,” B. G., “L’Eponge,” *L’Aurore* 3, no. 798 (25 December 1899): 1.

⁸⁶ “La meilleure de toutes les politiques, c’est la politique de l’éponge . . . Nous nous réclamons de Celui qui a pardonné. Nous pardonnerons,” Cornély, “L’Eponge,” *Le Figaro* 45, no. 143 (23 May 1899): 1.

⁸⁷ Ibels’s album *Les Légendes du “Siècle”* (1899) holds the drawing that appeared in *Le Siècle*. The drawing was so popular that Ibels reproduced it several times. One copy is dedicated to Joseph Reinach, a fervent Dreyfusard whose son Adolphe was the son-in-law of Mathieu Dreyfus. It can be found at the BNF. Norman Kleeblatt published a copy of the drawing that Ibels had sent to his friend Arthur Byl residing in America, which then became part of the collection of Mr and Mrs Herbert D. Schimmel, of New York (Kleeblatt, *The Affaire Dreyfus*, 260).

Figure 6 : “Le Coup de l’Eponge”



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⁸⁸ Illustration from Ibels's album *Les Légendes du "Siècle"* (Paris: Le Siècle, 1899), 19. Courtesy of Bibliothèque publique et universitaire Neuchâtel.

Scenes of crucifixion were popular sketches during the Dreyfus affair. As a response to the anti-Dreyfusards who often assimilated Dreyfus to Judas, Ibels depicted him as Jesus.⁸⁹ Ibels twisted Cornély's proposal to wipe the slate clean by calling on a more specific biblical reference, the Holy Sponge, which was dipped in sour wine and offered to the dying Jesus.⁹⁰ The sour wine, or vinegar, pointed to the bitter after taste of calls for forgiveness as Dreyfus continued to suffer false accusations during the summer of 1899 leading up to the verdict of Rennes. In the drawing, Dreyfus is crucified and nailed to the cross in an analogy to Jesus, another falsely accused Jew. He is fully clad in a tattered army uniform, symbolizing his unbending loyalty to the French Army.⁹¹ Dreyfus thus sacrifices himself as Jesus offered his life to Christian followers. In the biblical text by St John, the sponge is offered on a hyssop branch, a medicinal plant traditionally used for purification and purgation. But here a sponge is placed at the tip of Mercier's sword, signifying that instead of showing mercy to the martyr, General Mercier adds insult to injury and stabs the victim a second time, as did French justice with the verdict of Rennes. With his drawing, Ibels picked up with irony the last words of Cornély's article ("We claim to belong to He who has forgiven. We will forgive") while he denounced the sponge as a ploy of justice. This religious subplot, which suggests a failed reenactment of the Christian Crucifixion, supposes that Dreyfus was and would remain a victim.

Le Temps (1861 – 1942), another Parisian Dreyfusard newspaper second only to *Le Figaro* in the number of daily sales, alluded to the Holy Sponge on 1 September 1899: "A lot is said about the 'politics of the sponge.' At the moment, the sponge is soaked in vinegar."⁹² In response, *L'Indépendance Belge* quipped on 4 September 1899: "I do not know if we will pass the sponge, we keep on soaking up all the bitterness and spilt vinegar with this famous allegorical sponge."⁹³ In these echoes and additions to the biblical reference, which happened while Dreyfus was being tried a second time, the sponge can be seen as a metaphorically swelling, disgusting object that circulated in the world press, while the innocent, locked up Dreyfus kept on being condemned. The relationship between Dreyfus and the sponge is not

⁸⁹ The most famous cartoon of Dreyfus as Judas is by J. Chanteclair (Lucien Emery) who worked for *La Libre Parole*, a virulently anti-Dreyfusard newspaper, the first that revealed the act of treason in 1894. The caricature *A propos de Judas Dreyfus* appeared on 10 November 1894, three weeks after Dreyfus's original arrest.

⁹⁰ According to John 19: 29–30, "A jar of wine vinegar was there, so they soaked a sponge in it, put the sponge on a stalk of the hyssop plant, and lifted it to Jesus' lips. When he had received the drink, Jesus said, 'It is finished.' With that, he bowed his head and gave up his spirit" (New International Version).

⁹¹ This drawing endows him with dignity in contrast to the caricature of a stripped Esterhazy on a cross that appeared in *Le Sifflet* on 10 March 1899.

⁹² "On parle beaucoup de 'la politique de l'éponge.' Pour le moment, l'éponge est imprégnée de vinaigre" G. Linguet, "Le Procès de Rennes," *Le Temps* 39, no. 13,965 (1 September 1899): 1.

⁹³ "Je ne sais pas si on passera l'éponge . . . on se contente de ramasser avec cette fameuse éponge allégorique tout le fiel et tout le vinaigre répandus," Jean-Bernard, "Le Procès de Rennes," *L'Indépendance Belge* 70, no. 247 (4 September 1899): 1.

unlike a reversal of Oscar Wilde's fictional representation of the accumulating signs of evil and blood that foul and bespatter the hidden picture of Dorian Gray, while the guilty protagonist roams the city of London, unblemished and cherished by all.

Beer did not merely comment on the use of the sponge metaphor nor its various interpretations, she uncovered and exposed it. Beer sought fair justice by redirecting the sponge metaphor to different aspects of the case. She dismissed the religious subplot, and emphasised the guilt of the army, as personified by General Mercier, to denounce the political subplot of the Dreyfus case.

3.2.3 Rachel Beer's Sponge Metaphor: An Allegory of 'Fair Justice'

Beer's intervention in this debate culminated in her leader, "The Sponge," published in the *Observer* on 24 September 1899. To understand the full import of this piece to the unfolding of the case, we must consider how, in the months leading up to the second verdict, Beer employed the sponge metaphor as both a connecting thread and a medium to express her evolving thoughts on the Dreyfus affair. As we see in the following analysis, Beer's critical use of the expression called, in Rawlsian terms, for a "strict compliance to justice."

Beer's reaction to the sponge metaphor

In "Revision at Last" on 4 June 1899, the day on which *Le Figaro* announced the Court of Cassation's decision to retry Dreyfus, Beer introduces the sponge metaphor to establish Esterhazy's guilt: "To all his [Esterhazy's] reiterated and vivacious assertions—made to us and to others—of his responsibility for the bordereau, the responsibility of a soldier acting under orders[,] he applied the impartial sponge, and then we and others became, in his eyes, defamers of his character."⁹⁴ This passage indicates Beer's stung pride, for she had interviewed and paid Esterhazy for the confessions that he later denied under oath, when summoned to testify in France in the Court of Cassation in January 1899, after bringing a suit against the *Observer*. Esterhazy's use of the "sponge," she suggests, is motivated by his deceitful personality. By alluding to Esterhazy's dishonesty, Beer also underlines the deceptive impartiality of the "politics of the sponge." Her peculiar phrase "impartial sponge," which assumed readers' knowledge of the progress of the Dreyfus case, foreshadows the judge's verdict of Rennes.

⁹⁴ [Beer], "Revision at Last," *The Observer* (4 June 1899): 4.

In a “Notes” column published on 11 June 1899, Beer uses the metaphor in another context: “There is a proposal before the chamber to apply a sponge to the whole affair.”⁹⁵ The literal translation of the expression “passer l’éponge” is to pass the sponge (over something), but Beer mostly used the verb “apply” instead of “pass.” By refusing the accepted translation of the French expression, she highlighted not only the difficulty of translating a non-English phrase but also the semantic inadequacy of the expression itself in the context of the Dreyfus case. To “pass” would imply a swift wiping movement, whereas to “apply” suggests dabbing in delicate touches. If Beer’s analysis of the situation in France in 1899 were akin to the process of cleaning a tarnished picture, the purpose of the sponge would be to carefully remove layers of falsehood and reveal the truth. As such, Beer did away with the Dreyfusard/anti-Dreyfusard dichotomy. By employing the sponge metaphor in his account of the Dreyfus case, Cornély inadvertently provided Beer with a tool to clear up the lies and misrepresentations that had plagued the French press. She thus recreated a version of Rawls’s “veil of ignorance,” but not with Cornély’s inadequate approach, which was less focused on discovering the truth than wiping away collective guilt. Beer’s sponge metaphor was used as a tool to attain fair justice by recognising the guilt of the French Army, and the political manipulations of the French Government and the French press.

In a leader published on 25 June 1899, Beer condemns the “policy of the sponge”: “Two months ago he [Galliffet] declared for what is called the policy of the sponge. He proposed to combine justice to Dreyfus and Picquart [head of France’s Intelligence Bureau in 1896 who found evidence of Esterhazy’s guilt] with an amnesty to the criminals of the Etat Major. That policy might be all very well as a matter of expediency if the criminals would accept their defeat. They accept nothing.”⁹⁶ Her use of the passive structure “what is called” distances Beer from the “policy of the sponge” and demonstrates that she will not endorse it. A few lines later, Beer qualifies her reference to “criminals” by noting that the “impudent Mercier is preparing fresh lies for the tribunal at Rennes, [...] no sponge can cure the frenzy of General Mercier.”⁹⁷ Beer comically depicts Mercier as a fiend whose emotional instability prevents him from accepting the rationality of Galliffet’s proposal. Once again, Beer embraces fair justice rather than political compromise, paving the way for her outrage at Dreyfus’s condemnation at Rennes, and, later, at the official pardon that ended the Dreyfus case.

On 23 July 1899, Beer denounces the lies that surrounded the Dreyfus case, using the sponge metaphor repeatedly as a rhetorical device: “Now the Minister of War has said that the sponge should be applied to offences on both sides in this miserable affair. He did not

⁹⁵ [Beer], “Notes,” *The Observer* (11 June 1899): 4. Beer probably refers to Galliffet’s mediation with *Le Journal des Débats*.

⁹⁶ [Beer], “The Crisis in France,” *The Observer* (25 June 1899): 4.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4.

know then what offences had still to be disclosed. He cannot think now that any sponge can efface the crime of that telegram [...] What is certain is that this is no time for political sponges.”⁹⁸ Beer’s repeated references to Galliffet’s proposals indicate the measure of her indignation. The shift from “the sponge should be applied” to “political sponges” undermines the potential efficiency of the policy. Beer debunks the official proposal by using the expression “political sponge” to playfully mock the original formulation of the “politics of the sponge.” In this article she also refers to the humiliations and punishments heaped upon both Alfred Dreyfus and his wife, Lucie. Dreyfus’s enemies had hoped that ill-treatment and despair would lead to Dreyfus’s death during his incarceration on Devil’s Island. He was tortured and put into irons following a rumoured rescue attempt in 1896. Dreyfus was then sent a false telegram asserting that his wife had been unfaithful to him, a deceit which Beer took to heart, triggering, as we see in the excerpt above, her multiple uses of the word “sponge.”

Beer’s reaction to Dreyfus’s second denial of justice

The verdict of Rennes was reached on 9 September 1899. On 10 September, the *Observer* was saturated with news of Dreyfus’s trial. The contrast between reports on demonstrations from abroad (as reflected in headlines such as “Berlin shocked,” “Feeling in Italy,” “Execration in New York,” “Disgust and Indignation [in London]”) and the reported reaction in France (epitomised in the headline “Joy in Paris”) demonstrate the disconnect between the international and the French response to the verdict.⁹⁹ In Beer’s leader in the *Observer* on that day, “The Defeat of Justice,” an article that contains one of the few references to Dreyfus’s Jewishness throughout her coverage of the case, Beer crystallises the feeling of shock and revolt that travelled the world with news of the verdict, but also expressed her own feelings concerning the case: “This is the view the whole civilised world will take of the new sentence upon an innocent man. Ten years’ imprisonment for the crime of being a Jew, for the crime of having survived five years of torture already, for the crime of having proved Mercier to be a villain!”¹⁰⁰ The sarcasm of the second sentence, and the order in which Beer presents the different categories of crime, with her reference to Dreyfus’s Jewishness placed well before the final denunciation of Mercier, and at the same semantic level as “five years of torture,” indicates Beer’s conviction that the menace of military absolutism in France had supplanted the anti-Semitic subplot of the Dreyfus case.

⁹⁸ [Beer], “Justice at Rennes,” *The Observer* (23 July 1899): 4.

⁹⁹ “Our Correspondent,” “Berlin Shocked,” *The Observer* (10 September 1899): 6; “Our Correspondent,” “Feeling in Italy,” *ibid.*, 6; “Our Correspondent,” “Execration in New York,” *ibid.*, 6; “Our Correspondent,” “Receipt of the News in London. Disgust and Indignation,” *ibid.*, 6; [Rowland Strong], “Joy in Paris,” *ibid.*, 6.

¹⁰⁰ [Beer], “The Defeat of Justice,” *ibid.*, 4.

A week later, on 17 September, as rumours of the forthcoming presidential grace reached her, Beer collected her thoughts under the title “The ‘Pardon’”: “To pardon the innocent is an eccentric proceeding, especially after a trial which was a mockery of justice,” and furthermore, “nobody can seriously believe that a pardon will end the ‘Affaire’.”¹⁰¹ While “The ‘Pardon’” has been recognized as one of the most important articles published in the *Observer* throughout the nineteenth century, it offers only half of Beer’s reflection; she would conclude her reasoning in “The Sponge,” published in the next instalment on 24 September 1899.¹⁰²

“The Sponge” article’s publication date is significant within the context of the Dreyfus affair: 24 September was as near as it could be to the anniversary of the publication of “Light Upon the Dreyfus Case” and almost exactly four months after Cornély’s article. Broadening the metaphor to represent the Dreyfus case and cause, Beer no longer uses the word “sponge” in an experimental way; there is no “applying of” the object, nor does she use adjectives such as “impartial” or “political.” These former rhetorical explorations had served to expose the sponge as an artifice, and to turn it into a tool to demonstrate fair as opposed to partial justice, while she reminded the world of Dreyfus’s humanity, as opposed to the political value of his arrest. As France had denied Dreyfus even partial justice, Beer sheds her former playfulness, her tone becomes more solemn and as such, Beer’s criticism of the metaphor and what it came to represent becomes stronger and harsher. After Cornély’s image of a merciful teacher’s sponge wiping a blackboard clean, Beer’s depiction denounces a misconception of justice that masks incapability and deceit, as France did away with the Dreyfus case without addressing the problems it raised,

The policy of the sponge cannot save France from the moral bankruptcy which comes from the stultification of law. If the Republic cannot, or will not, punish forgers and perjurers when they are in uniform, if General de Gallifet thinks it is consistent with his respect for Colonel Picquart to decorate with the League of Honour such a knave as Major Lauth, who vamped up the fraudulent charge about the forgery of *the petit bleu*, if the inevitable demand of Dreyfus for legal rehabilitation is to be met by another *chose jugée*, ‘this painful conflict’ must be perpetuated.¹⁰³

In “The Sponge” Beer uses the word “justice” six times, “pardon” five times, and “sponge” four times. These terms form a triangle of forces underpinning Beer’s reflection on the Dreyfus case. Whereas Cornély had invoked Christian pardon to justify “la politique de

¹⁰¹ [Beer], “The ‘Pardon,’” *The Observer* (17 September 1899): 4.

¹⁰² Miliband included the essay in her anthology, *The Observer of the 19th Century*; as she explained, “The extracts are those which catch the eye in the middle of the twentieth century [...] they are put together not only to illustrate events but to recapture moods” Miliband, *The Observer of the Nineteenth Century*, vii.

¹⁰³ [Beer], “The Sponge,” *ibid.*, 4.

l'éponge," Ibels's drawing overturned this argument and placed the sponge in the centre of the religious subplot of the Dreyfus case.¹⁰⁴ Beer, however, dismisses this subplot and turns exclusively to the judicial resolution of the affair. In "The Sponge," she deflects the religious overtones of Cornély's article by referring, instead, to the presidential pardon: "It would seem that the "pardon" of Captain Dreyfus is the measure of M. Waldeck Rousseau's courage and of General de Gallifet's sympathy with revision."¹⁰⁵ She writes, "The liberation of the innocent with a stigma on his name is to end the 'Affaire'."¹⁰⁶ This cynical statement, in which Beer uses the word "stigma," which could also refer to the wounds of Christ, points to the underlying truth of a plain miscarriage of justice in the face of the religious and political arguments that weighed on Dreyfus's name, by disconnecting the public debate from Dreyfus's actual predicament and the wiles of French justice. Beer's last words are a warning:

When Mercier is secure and defiant smaller criminals need not be uneasy. If his crimes are to benefit by the sponge, why not theirs? And to the poor Republic that sponge threatens to be an instrument of ridicule and disaster.¹⁰⁷

In these final words, Beer throws the sponge metaphor back at the French while denouncing it as a dangerous innuendo. The shifting metaphor demonstrates how a rhetorical strategy can detach the mind from the seriousness of a crime. The crime of erasing Mercier's guilt remained a painful stigma on French military history, and as Cornély himself admitted in *Le Figaro*, on 24 December 1899, "I am starting to be embarrassed about my sponge, which no one seems to want to use."¹⁰⁸

Conclusion

The Dreyfus case fascinated the world and saturated the press at the turn of the century. While the Dreyfusard French perspective focussed on the injustice towards Dreyfus, as Zola articulated in "J'accuse. . . !" the foreign press used the case to criticize the French military system. After the second trial in Rennes, former Minister of War General Mercier became a key anti-Dreyfusard figure in the international press. W. T. Stead, for instance, published an article in September 1899 in the *Review of Reviews* that points to the responsibility of the

¹⁰⁴ "La meilleure de toutes les politiques, c'est la politique de l'éponge . . . Nous nous réclamons de Celui qui a pardonné. Nous pardonnerons" (The best of all politics is the politics of the sponge . . . We claim to belong to He who has forgiven. We will forgive). Cornély, "l'Eponge," *ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰⁵ [Beer], "The Sponge," *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁶ [Beer], "The Sponge," *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁷ [Beer], "The Sponge," *ibid.*, 4.

¹⁰⁸ "Je commence à être gêné par mon éponge, dont personne ne semble vouloir se servir." Cornély, "Les Haines personnelles," *Le Figaro* 45, no. 358 (24 December 1899): 1.

army.¹⁰⁹ This chapter has shown that during the most decisive years of the Dreyfus scandal, 1898 and 1899, the British editor Rachel Beer played a significant role in bringing the story into the international limelight through her exclusive publications on Esterhazy, her series of articles in the *Observer*, and her criticism of the sponge metaphor. By retracing the origin and shifting meaning of the sponge metaphor, from Jules Cornély's article in *Le Figaro* to its various international echoes, as it travelled through the periodical press, I have argued that Beer's work upon uses of the trope in the press enabled her to delve deeper than any other journalist did into the meaning of the sponge and into the meaning of the Dreyfus case.

The history of the sponge metaphor and Beer's role in its formation suggests its important place in the symbolic dictionary of the Dreyfus case and an innovative vision of transnational justice. When *Le Figaro* published the record of the inquiry of the Court of Cassation in daily instalments from 31 March to 4 June 1899, Cornély was convinced that French justice would clear Alfred Dreyfus's name. He, also, acknowledged the injury left by the miscarriage of justice: "Fools who believe that hiding a wound will heal it!"¹¹⁰ and thereby reflected the expectancy of the worldwide spectators of the Dreyfus scandal. The father of the sponge metaphor advocated a partial vision of justice; a Christian justice that would take into account the political complications of Dreyfus's arrest. This kind of partial justice is discussed by John Rawls in his second major work, *Political Liberalism* (1993), as the result of the "burdens of judgement."¹¹¹ The choice that lay upon the shoulders of French justice forms an example of such a "burden of judgement," as France was torn between Dreyfusards and anti-Dreyfusards in a formidable political crisis, when a threat to the stability of the Republic affected the decision of French justice. However, when the verdict of the second trial in Rennes failed to recognize the lies and prejudice which resulted in Dreyfus's martyrdom, Beer rejected this conception of partial justice.

In this chapter I demonstrated how Beer symbolically used the sponge metaphor to recreate a version of Rawls's "veil of ignorance," by wiping away the political lies and the religious complications entailed by the wide-scale press coverage of the Dreyfus case. Building on an analytical and unbiased observation of the situation in France, because her opinion came as that of an outsider and as a woman in the political world of periodical editing, Beer made a "considered judgement" of the Dreyfus case.¹¹² In answer to *Le Figaro*'s and Cornély's power of influence, Beer's adoption of Rawlsian reflections on fair justice

¹⁰⁹ William Thomas Stead, "Character Sketch," *The Review of Reviews* (September 1899): 241–245.

¹¹⁰ "Insensés qui ignorent que cacher une plaie ce n'est pas la guérir!" Cornély, "La Dernière Semaine," *Le Figaro* 45, no. 142 (22 May 1899): 1. For a portrait of Cornély and his opinions see Oriol, *L'Affaire Dreyfus*, 799 – 800.

¹¹¹ Rawls, *Political Liberalism*, 54 – 58.

¹¹² According to Rawls's definition, "considered judgements are simply those rendered under conditions favourable to the exercise of the sense of justice." Rawls, *A Theory of Justice*, 47.

potentially initiates an ideal democratic debate, modelled on deliberative principles, which she put to the test of public and open scrutiny in the pages of the *Observer*.

Unfortunately, Beer's sponge metaphor was, at the time, vastly ignored. After the "Sponge" article on 24 September 1899, nothing was published in the *Observer* on Dreyfus nor on anything concerning France, either by Beer or her correspondents, until 5 November 1899.¹¹³ On that day, five lines from a correspondent appeared at the bottom of page four, under the heading "Echoes of the Dreyfus Affair." Dreyfus is said to be "in almost perfect health" and Colonel Picquart "is about to get married."¹¹⁴

¹¹³ During the two-month interval, Beer discussed issues in Germany, Austria, China, Samoa, Russia, India, Bulgaria, South Africa, Canada and even Japan. The "English and French relations" column was replaced by Anglo-German relations.

¹¹⁴ "Our Correspondent," *The Observer* (5 November 1899): 4.

Conclusion

Fredrika Bremer worked on her novel *Hertha* with her friend and translator, the English poet Mary Howitt. Bremer foresaw the impact of her feminist novel and had her book published in several languages and countries almost simultaneously – while retreating to neutral ground, according to Howitt, “Away from the storm amongst the mountains of Switzerland.”¹ The English version, translated by Howitt in close collaboration with Bremer, appeared in Britain and America in June 1856, before a Swedish edition appeared, in August 1856.² A French version of *Hertha* came out the same year, and a German translation soon followed in 1857.³

In the English version, Howitt and Bremer elaborate on the Swedish version. The passage quoted below is an addition to the chapter “Hertha’s dream,” placed immediately after Hertha’s conversation with the matrons, which I discussed in the introduction to this dissertation.

‘Should I find justice and truth if I did so?’ Asked Hertha, sorrowfully, as she turned her glance from the council of matrons to the assembly of young men. Here she saw a vast number of young fellows smoking cigars and rocking themselves in rocking-chairs, whilst in a half-sleepy voice they asked, ‘What is truth? What is justice?’ After which they blew forth such a quantity of smoke that Hertha was nearly choked.⁴

In this passage, as it was adapted for British and American readers, the protagonist turns from the council of matrons to the assembly of young men. The gaze and attention of the reader is thus redirected towards the people’s reception of Hertha’s demands. A rift separates the female characters from the male characters who accept and promote their respective positions, nested in a warmth of conformity. Howitt metaphorically depicts this attitude as a

¹ Howitt, *Twelve Months with Fredrika Bremer in Sweden* (London: Jackson, Walford and Hodder, 1866), 44.

² *Hertha*, translated by Mary Howitt (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1856). The American edition appeared with a special dedication by the author to her publisher in New York, George P. Putnam.

³ The French translation is by Auguste Geffroy (1856), and German translation by Gottlob Fink (1857).

⁴ *Hertha*, trans. by Mary Howitt (London: Arthur Hall, virtue & co., 1856), 94.

screen of smoke set before the eyes of her contemporaries. The men are given the attributes of power; they are congregated in a club-like atmosphere and blow smoke from their cigars. Yet they are young and speak in “half-sleepy” voices: they pose as school pupils, characterised by youth and a reluctance to learn. In other words, the screen of smoke is produced and encouraged by the people, who are themselves the victims of a political system that escapes their control. Hertha is “nearly choked,” because the immediacy of her demand cannot be answered by society, as it is represented in the novel.

Bremer and Howitt’s radical message calls for a fundamental re-organisation of power structures in the European public sphere. This dissertation has shown how Bremer’s collaborative, multilingual initiative was inspired, imitated, and followed by women periodical editors in Europe in the nineteenth century. By looking at the work and transnational influence of a selection of women periodical editors, I have analysed one of the evolutionary strands that transformed European society from its patriarchal and imperial conception of governance in the nineteenth century, to the adoption of more democratic political systems in the twentieth century. More specifically, I highlighted the major role played by women editors in the gradual displacement of power, from the monarch or governing entity towards the people. Throughout the dissertation, I combined political theory and periodical scholarship to demonstrate how these women editors became conductors of deliberative democracy by spreading the concepts of liberty, equality, and justice via the nineteenth-century periodical press to an increasingly large portion of the European population.

Chapter One focussed on the first stage of deliberative politics, by reasserting the liberty of each individual to participate in public life. The starting point of the dissertation was the development of the French Revolution as the deputies of the *Assemblée Constituante* struggled and failed to impose a government-by-the-people in the immediate aftermath of French absolutism. I explained in Chapter One how Madame de Staël observed and analysed these early attempts. I visualised the different stages of Staël’s analysis in a series of representations that showcase Staël’s ideal of power distribution in the public sphere and her observation of the disruptive forces that jeopardise this ideal. Staël saw human emotions as elements which can cripple the smooth running of a representative democratic system. As a witness of the Revolution, Staël was struck by the immediacy of emotions which cloud reason and good judgement. She saw the viciousness of the people on the streets and the vanity of the men at the tribunes. Through several diagrams, I explained Staël’s conception of periodicals as public platforms situated between the people and the political decision makers. The role of periodicals, and more particularly the role of the periodical editor, according to Staël, should be to provide a filter between the people and the political decision makers. One that enables a virtuous system of communication, of needs and ideas, so that any individual can participate in public life and take their place in the political public sphere. To make this model workable, Staël travelled to London where she met and engaged with British circles of

periodical editing. She used her reputation and her private networks of influence to infiltrate these circles. She traded on the publication of her work with several London-based publishers and editors. With this case study, I showed how Staël promoted her personal career and made her presence felt as a woman in public life in an early attempt to liberate the public sphere.

In Chapter Two, I scrutinized the principle of equality from two angles: gender equality and political equality, by analysing Sophie Adlersparre and Rosalie Olivecrona's co-editorship of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, the pioneering feminist Swedish periodical. The women's emancipation movement in Sweden and the rest of Europe was the result of a collective effort, which gained momentum in the middle of the nineteenth century through the work of key international public figures such as Fredrika Bremer, variously in literature, international meetings, and charity organisations. I showed how Adlersparre and Olivecrona promoted Bremer and other women's rights activists and so persuaded the Swedish people of the legitimacy of their efforts in the pages of their periodical. My in-depth analysis of the content of *Tidskrift för hemmet*, aided by graphic representations and tables, has shown how the periodical became a forum for public deliberation which was open to a gender-balanced public sphere. Adlersparre and Olivecrona generated a societal debate in which they participated with the use of pseudonyms, or signatures. The anonymity, or semi-anonymity of these signatures was a method to encourage public participation. I argued that Adlersparre and Olivecrona staged their own 'conflict' as an editorial strategy, to season an ongoing democratic debate that showcased the progress of the women's emancipation movement in the Swedish public awareness, while legal measures in favour of women's rights were enacted in Swedish law. Adlersparre and Olivecrona integrated women's new prerogatives both in the text of law, by being at the forefront of these measures, and through Adlersparre's own social activism.

In the third and final chapter, I investigated two years of the French Dreyfus scandal, from the perspective of the periodical press, and more particularly that of British newspaper editor Rachel Beer, who propelled the story to the international public sphere, through a close reading of the international press between 1897 and 1899. I showed that Beer's world exclusives in the *Observer* were only the preliminary stage of her analysis of the Dreyfus case. She continued to report on the case and examined the transformation of a metaphor – *passer l'éponge* – which appeared in the world press during the months leading to Dreyfus's second trial. While the metaphor circulated, it picked up a variety of meanings that testified to the various subplots that made the Dreyfus affair an international scandal.

The sponge metaphor was first coined by Jules Cornély in *Le Figaro* and was later depicted for *Le Siècle* by Henri-Gabriel Ibels. I showed how these two examples illustrate the political and religious complications that embarrassed the French Government and caused French justice to falsely condemn an innocent man. While the tracing of the sponge metaphor in many periodicals across the world contributes to our understanding of the emergence and

dissemination of news exclusives in a transnational context, this chapter especially emphasised Beer's understanding and application of the sponge metaphor as an example of "fair justice." I showed how Beer could navigate the negative reaction of the French press and speak freely of the weakness of French justice in a biased political environment because she belonged to a foreign context, as a British subject, and as a woman. Her judgement culminated in her leading article entitled "The Sponge," yet, as I demonstrated through the number of articles she wrote and the evolutions of her thoughts on the Dreyfus affair, this conception of justice was not the matter of a moment but the result of a patient scrutiny of the elements surrounding the Dreyfus case, as well as her own participation in its development. Chapter Three thereby has highlighted the importance of a transnational approach, as well as the process that led to the construction of a conception of justice from the perspective of deliberative politics.

As I have shown in my three chapters, women in the nineteenth century did not have the formal attributes of power yet they were, paradoxically, freer than some men to express themselves in the public sphere. While she was politically exiled from her country, Staël traced her own route within male circles of influence in periodical editorship. She showed how a woman could make a difference, by using her reputation, talents, and networks, to open a path in the narrow circles of power and politics. Adlersparre and Olivecrona proved that the intimacy of the home, where women held a central position, could become the 'antechamber' to public life. Within this intimate sphere, they created a public forum for women to discuss their role and duties in society. Finally, Rachel Beer's exclusion from the traditional, male circuits of periodical editorship enabled her to find alternative ways and resources in her profession to give her the freedom to publish her views in the pages of the *Observer*, because she was subject neither to peer or political pressure nor affected by the call of conformity.

Moreover, as Bremer's and Howitt's example illustrates, women meticulously attended to language questions, in order to reach out to a proportion of the population that did not share the elite's multilingualism but was becoming increasingly literate. At a time when literary works were often addressed only to those who could read them in their original language, Staël took great care in the translation of her work. Adlersparre and Olivecrona were both professional translators as well as periodical editors. Adlersparre published her translated pamphlets and works in *Tidskrift för hemmet* for the benefit of the Swedish people. Finally, as I showed in my third chapter, Beer was the only one who contextualised the French phrase *passer l'éponge* for the English people, when journalists around the word simply reported the French terms or used a literal translation. Her argument in favour of "fair justice" stems in great part from her linguistic criticism. Women editors attended specifically to languages so that they could spread news efficiently and reach different social classes in several European countries. This effort contributed to the decentralisation and

democratisation of power because it enabled the distant and less educated to participate in public life.

Taken together, the three chapters of the dissertation addressed deliberative politics from the perspective of nineteenth-century women editors, Staël, Adlersparre, Olivecrona, and Beer, who set out to empower and persuade the people through an ongoing democratic debate and reclaim public sovereignty in the original Aristotelian sense.

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