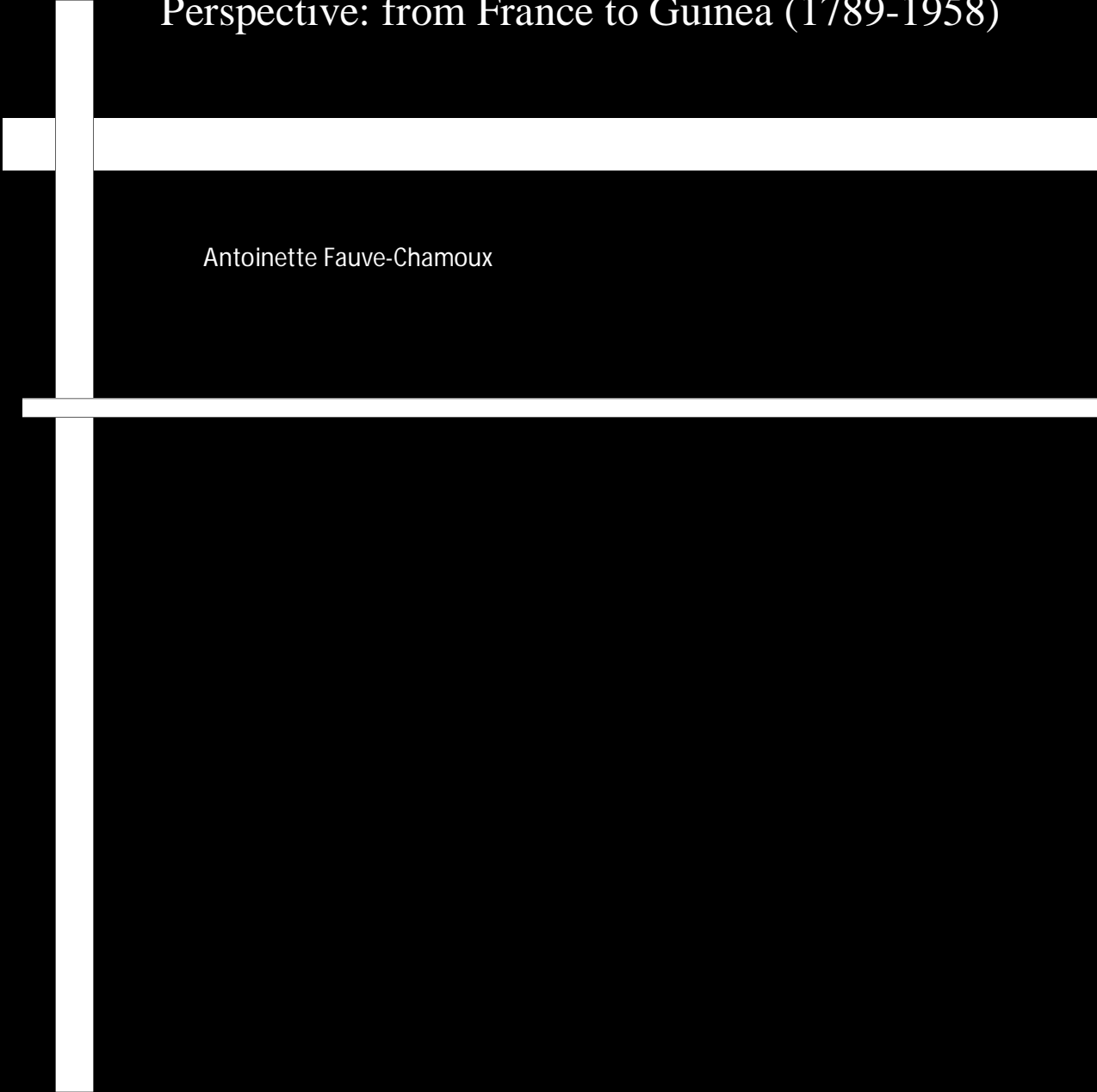




1A

Women in Politics in Historical and Gender Perspective: from France to Guinea (1789-1958)



Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux



The French revolution of 1789 led to the development of new political systems, based on democracy, which expanded worldwide. For the conference which took place in Aligarh in February 2012, participants were encouraged to study the extent of women's participation in the political structure had been effective under different political systems. As a European historian of early-modern times, I have always been looking for women in the archives and trying to trace them along their life course and to reconstruct their mentality and specific agency on society. I had to make a choice for this study, as a female historian, looking for women in politics in the past. I decided to explore the question in two directions.

My first part will explore the presence and actions, in early modern France, of women related to French Revolution movements. The second part will concern the degree of political participation of women of the French Empire, under the French colonial constitution (*Code de l'indigénat*), focusing on French West Africa. I selected, as a case study, what happened in Guinea during the mid-20th century, when women played an important and unique political role in this new African independent and socialist state.

LOOKING FOR ACTIVE WOMEN IN ARCHIVES AND HISTORICAL LITERATURE

As a female historical demographer and social historian, I observed thousands of female births, marriages and deaths in early-modern parish registers, before the French Revolution took place in 1789. Married women worked as mothers and house keepers, raised children and looked after ageing people, but they also produced goods and merchandise on the market. Women paid taxes as single women or widows. In censuses, they were mentioned as members of their household or heads of household with or without an occupation, business or social status declared. They ruled houses, were running farms, sold on the streets and bought on various markets, worked in shops, at home, or were domestic servants in private houses or institutions. Women were mentioned in notarial records, signed (or not) their marriage contracts or a will, transmitted properties to children or to other people (kin or not). They also transmitted knowledge, cultural norms and symbolic values. Some had problems with various courts of justice. But female presence in politics was rare, mostly inexistent. Certainly, in some rural and urban contexts, they appear on fiscal roles and even on the lists of the militia, when, being heads of household, they were expected to answer to the requisitions of the municipal authorities, as in early modern Rheims Champagne city (Fauve-Chamoux, 2000). According to Regine Pernoud, before 1498, in the urban assemblies or rural districts of the French kingdom, women,



when they were heads of their family, being single or widow, possessed the voting right (Pernoud, 1980).³¹ This was to elect representatives of the guilds of craftsmen, or storekeepers, or to elect local inhabitants to some municipal responsibility. Noble widows endowed with a fief and religious abbesses could vote for representatives at the *États Généraux*.

Studying gender roles in 16th century Lyon, a large and prosperous French town, Natalie Z. Davis considered that some women were occasionally politically visible in the public life of their city. But it had never been to the point however that they could become a member of the Assembly of inhabitants or part of the municipal Council (Davis, 1979, p. 120). But this was different in some Pyrenean communities, where women could be heiresses, and represented their “house” and family at the General Assemblies of the village, if they were heads of household, being a widow or single (Fauve-Chamoux, 2002).

Some female reformers, revolutionaries and early feminists appeared during the 18th century, the time of enlightenment, in 1) their quest for freedom, individual choice, sexuality, parenthood, 2) their quest for political, national, cultural identity – including religion – and 3) their fight for social rights and education. Until the development of women’s history as an academic discipline in the 1970s, women who tried to resemble men were subjects of attention. Some were suspected to be homosexual and were called Amazons or Lesbians (Blanc, 2003; DeJean, 1989).

In the last decades of the 20th century, female historians succeeded in putting women in the light. Women appeared as owners, producers, being peasant wives, artisans in shops, cottage industry and factory workers. They had some economic, family or community power; they transmitted material and non material assets (skills, culture, language and secrets) at various levels of societies.

But women as a force in politics remained hardly visible (Bridenthal and Koonz, 1977; Hufton, 1992, 1997), even when they were not always restricted to the private sphere and totally submitted to some male domination (Sogner, 1988). We would like to consider now women who took part in the French Revolution, women from the working class who expressed themselves in the streets, but also educated women who launched feminist ideas.

³¹ During the early Ancien regime, for adult French women, the right to vote, when head of household, was suppressed by a royal edict registered by the French Parliament in Paris in 1498. Later, another edict, in 1593, also **registered by the Parliament of Paris, forbade any woman to take an official occupation or office for the State, as a civil servant.**



WORKING CLASS WOMEN AND FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY DEBATES

On 5 October 1789, a group of Parisian women organized themselves and marched on Versailles, residence of King Louis XVI, 15 miles away. They were angry over the high price of bread. On the way, men joined. They reached Versailles at 4 o'clock, gained an audience with the king. He agreed to their demands about food prices and he accepted to return to Paris, provided he could bring his family members. Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) painted such a typical working woman of the time, a « femme du peuple de Paris », a *marâchère* woman growing and selling fresh vegetables on the market.³² After this October 1789 episode, a group of women presented to the National assembly a petition proposing a decree giving women equality.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen had been adopted on 26 August 1789 by the *Assemblée nationale constituante* [the National Constituent Assembly]. It made a strict distinction between French citizens who had full political rights and those who did not.³³ Those who were deemed to hold full political rights were called “active” citizens. They must be French males, at least aged 25 years old, paid taxes equal to at least three days work, and could not be defined as servants (Thouret, 1996). This means that women, children, minors, poor people, slaves, foreigners, servants³⁴ and many others were deprived of political rights. The concept of “passive citizens” was then forged to encompass those populations that had been excluded from political rights. Adult women were proud to be “citoyennes”, but they had no right to vote.

During the French Revolution, many women used to follow political debates while knitting (*citoyennes tricoteuses*) for merchants. The year 1793 was marked in Paris by a strong political commitment of working women stemming from popular circles in the fight against the *Girondist* party and the moderate. We find them knitting woollen socks or stockings in the public stands of the meetings of Paris “sections” or the *Convention*³⁵ assembly, besides the *sans culottes*, defending the action of the Jacobins leaders.³⁶ Knitting socks and stockings was for them a regular job, a proto-industrial

³² A famous portrait painted by Jacques Louis David is preserved in Lyon, Musée des Beaux-Arts, often called “The fishwoman”.

³³ On 29 September 1789, Jacques-Guillaume Touret, presented a report “on **the Basis of Political Eligibility**” for the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly (Touret, 1996). It constituted main basis for subsequent legislation on qualifications for voting.

³⁴ To be considered as an “active citizen”, it was necessary “to not be at the moment a servant, that is to say, in personal relationships that are all too incompatible with the independence necessary to the exercise of political rights” (Touret, 1996, p. 82).

³⁵ The *Convention* was the first elected Assembly of the First Republic (1792–1804).

³⁶ See estampe by Pierre-Etienne Lesueur, « Les tricoteuses jacobines ou de Robespierre », Musée Carnavalet, Paris, Réunion des Musées Nationaux (Figure 1). A large number to these women received 40 pence a day to come to the stand of the Jacobins and applaud the revolutionary motions, Year 2” [1793-1794].



activity. Merchants gave them raw material (here balls of wool) and ordered work to be done. At the same time, some women received a little financial support from the Jacobins Club for spending hours listening to the debates and acting as devoted supporters of the revolutionaries: the Jacobins gave women 40 sols a day for sitting and standing in the gallery to applaud the revolutionary motions, which is attested by an illustration of the time [Figure 1]. In no way they were losing their working time. In the French provinces, women organized discussion groups called “Clubs” or “Societies for women” (see map in Godineau, 1988, p. 114). These were more middle class women, wives of local men active in the revolutionary movements. They engaged in social actions and news dissemination. They also discussed the project concerning divorce (the law allowing divorce in France was promulgated on August 30th, 1792).³⁷

Mirabeau, the famous revolutionary figure said: «without the women there would have been no revolution»³⁸ (Aubaud, 1993). Nevertheless some women paid with their life what they expressed in words or action in favour of the recognition of women’s rights, when they defended vulnerable people and were engaged against slavery. Such was the case of Olympe de Gouges, who was sent to the guillotine in 1793.

OLYMPE DE GOUGES (1748-1793) AND THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN (1791)

“Marie Gouzes”, born Manon Philipon³⁹ and went by Olympe de Gouges (1748-1793) was a French writer and early feminist. Born in 1748, in a family of Montauban, a French south-western provincial city, she was the daughter of a master artisan and her mother was the daughter of a rich textile merchant/fabriquant (*maître tondeur de draps*). One of the rumours that circulated about her origins was that her mother had been the mistress of marquess Jean-Jacques Le Franc of Pompignan, playwright. She received a good education in Montauban (Lacourt, 1900). Aged 17, in 1765 she married Louis-Yves Aubry, a catering officer serving for the house of Gourgues, a noble family. After three years of marriage and a child, a son, she deserted her husband and went to Paris – where her sister was living – looking for celebrity. She

³⁷ On August 30th, 1792, the French legislative Assembly declared that marriage could be solved by divorce. It rehabilitated divorce, a legal category existing under Roman law that Catholic Canon law had suppressed. The law authorizing the divorce in France was adopted on September 20th, 1792 by the National Assembly and modified by decrees of 1793 and 1794. Divorce was included in the Napoleonic *Civil code* of 1804, but later suppressed under the Restoration political regime by the law of 8th May, 1816. After decades of debates, divorce was restored only at the end of the 19th century, under the Third French Republic, with the law of July 27th, 1884 (Fauve-Chamoux, 2001)

³⁸ The Comte de Mirabeau, born 1749, while a noble man, was elected in 1789, at Aix-en-Provence as a delegate of the Tiers-Etat. He died from illness on 2 April 1791, while being Chair of the *Assemblée Nationale* (elected on 30 January 1791).

³⁹ Olivier Blanc rectified numerous erroneous assertions concerning Olympe de Gouze’s life and family origins (Blanc 2003).



changed her name to Olympe de Gouges, organized a theatre and became a successful female writer. In September 1785, she was sent to jail in Bastille, for an anti-esclavagist theater drama, entitled *L'esclavage des Noirs* (Chalaye and Razgonnikoff, 2006), later published in 1792 under the title: *L'esclavage des Noirs ou l'heureux naufrage*.

Inspired by the *Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen* [*Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*] adopted on 26 August 1789 by the French National Constituent Assembly, Olympe de Gouges published the *Déclaration des droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne* [*Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*] in 1791, constructed as a strict parallel of the 1789 *Déclaration*, with the same number of articles. The first page was an introduction (*Preamble*), stating as follows:

“Mothers, girls, sisters, all representatives of the nation, ask to be represented in the National Assembly. Considering that the ignorance, the oversight or the contempt of women rights are the only causes of the public misfortunes and the corruption of the governments, we resolved to expose in a solemn declaration, the inalienable and sacred natural rights of the woman, so that this statement, constantly present to all members of the society, reminds them ceaselessly their duties, so that the acts of the power of the women, and those of the power of the men will be able to be compared all the time with the purpose of any political institution, and therefore more respected, so that the complaints of the citizens, based henceforth on simple and indisputable principles, always turn in the preservation of the constitution, the good customs, and in the happiness of all.” Consequently, the sex which is superior in beauty as in courage in the maternal sufferings, recognizes and declares, in presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, the following rights of the Woman and the Citizen.” (*Preamble, Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen, 1791*)⁴⁰.

Olympe de Gouges was a pioneer when she asked for the institution of divorce – first and only right conferred to the women by the Revolution⁴¹ – which was adopted at the

⁴⁰ Translation by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, from the French.

⁴¹ See above, note 7.



instigation of the Girondist party, a few months later. She also asked for the abolition of religious marriage and its replacement by civil marriage, a contract signed by cohabiting sexual partners. She suggested that children born from consensus unions could be recognized by their parents as legitimate. All this was really revolutionary at the time, even when Gouges fought for free paternity search and recognition of children born out of wedlock. One of her calendar entries attests to a new system of mother and child health care within a welfare state (see *Lettre au Peuple ou projet d'une caisse patriotique, par une citoyenne*, septembre 1788). Horrified by the level of maternal mortality in urban hospitals, she suggested the creation of specific maternity hospitals (Mousset, 2003).

OLYMPE DE GOUGES: A COURAGEOUS AND FATAL POLITICAL COMMITMENT

Olympe proposed seventeen articles in her *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen* (1791), mirroring the seventeen articles of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, beginning, as mentioned above, with a *Preamble*, and ending with a *Postambule*. Article X is particularly interesting, given that, condemned to death, she later died in Paris on November 6th, 1793, executed by the guillotine.

“A woman has the right to mount the scaffold; she must equally have the right to mount the rostrum, provided that her demonstrations do not disturb the legally established public order” (Article X, *Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*, 1791).

Olympe de Gouges claimed for women their right to participate in political life and universal suffrage. On 3 July, 1790, Nicolas de Condorcet had already proposed, without success, to give the right to vote to women in an article of the *Journal de la société de 1789* (Condorcet, 1790). His argument was⁴² that: “It would be necessary to prove that the natural rights of women are not exactly the same as those of men or to show that women are not capable of exercising them, which is unbearable.” (*Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité*, 3 July 1790).

And, other than the institution of divorce (August 30th, 1792), already mentioned, Olympe's feminism encouraged the adoption of several other official decrees which aimed at

⁴² «Il faudrait prouver que les droits naturels des femmes ne sont pas absolument les mêmes que ceux des hommes ou montrer qu'elles ne sont pas capables de les exercer, ce qui est insoutenable.»



improving the condition of women and recognizing their rights (Siedziewski, 1998). By comparison, Mary Wollstonecraft, an English-Irish feminist, may seem rather set back, with regard to the conquering and courageous position of Olympe de Gouge.

Wollstonecraft published in 1792 *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*, immediately translated into French (Wollstonecraft, 1792a & 1792b) where she was seeking “to persuade women to endeavour to acquire strength, both of mind and body, and to convince them that the soft phrases, susceptibility of heart, delicacy of sentiment, and refinement of taste, are almost synonymous with epithets of weakness” (Mary Wollstonecraft, 1792). In this essay, the author insisted on the equality between men and women, particularly for access to education, but not much on the possible role of women as political actors, even if she claimed that civil and political rights belonged to both sexes. *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* is considered in England as the first feminist book, written by a woman. It was immediately disseminated in France as « **Défense des droits de la femme** » – a title more neutral in French than in English⁴³ (Wollstonecraft, 1792b) –, and published also by Peter Edes in Boston. Actually, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) lived in Paris for a while in 1792, and therefore was inspired by Olympe de Gouge. Mary was a witness of Robespierre’s politic of Terror. It would be interesting to check to which extent Mary was in personal contact with Olympe, who was a celebrity of the time. Anyway, if she did not take much risk in this writing, from her experience in Paris, upon her return to England, Mary Wollstonecraft later published **An historical and moral view of the origins and progress of the French Revolution and the effect it has produced in Europe** (1794). In Mary’s view, the political sphere did not constitute the privileged place where an emancipation of women could take place while, for her part, Olympe de Gouge went to the end of her political commitment.

In her essays of spring 1793, Olympe denounced the increase in power of the dictatorship from the *mountain* party, expressing the dangers of dictatorship particularly with the implementation, on April 6th, 1793, of a Committee of public safety (*Comité de Salut Public*), which could send members of parliament to prison. After the indictment of deputies of the Girondist party in the *Convention* Assembly, on June 2nd, 1793, Olympe protested with vigour, which was considered against the law of March, 1793 allowing severe repression of the writings questioning the republicans.

Olympe was arrested and condemned to death by the Revolutionary Court, in August 1793. She was finally executed

⁴³ The French word “défense” is softer than “vindication”.



and died on the scaffold, 6th November, 1793. She paid her action in politics with her life, but many social changes that she proposed contributed later to improvements of the human condition within human society, men and women together. She did not die for nothing. In particular, slavery was abolished in France in 1794, after her death, and, for sure, Olympe de Gouges had been an ardent advocate of abolition.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN FRANCE (FEBRUARY 1794): A VERY LONG STORY

At the end of seventeenth century, following Jean-Baptiste Colbert, his prime minister, King Louis XIV had regulated the conditions of slaves with the *Code Noir* (1685) that applied only to the French colonies because slavery had been abolished in Metropolitan France since the 14th century⁴⁴; any slave brought to Metropolitan France would be immediately considered free (Niort, 2007).

The *Code Noir* of 1685 regulated the civil status of slaves, recalling at the same time dispositions taken by Louis XIII by his edit of 23 April 1615 against Jews and stating obligation for slaves to be Catholics and baptised. Articles 9 and 13 fixed the slaves' civil status and how it was transmitted to children. Slavery condition was hereditary. Children of slaves were born slaves and they could not get married without the authorization of their respective masters (article 11). Women benefited from specific rights: a female slave who married a free man became immediately free and her future children were all free. A free woman who married a slave would give birth to free children. On the other hand, if children were born from illegitimate unions, they would be slaves. Any child born to a slave belonged to the master of the slave mother if the master of the husband was not the same person. The slave family was protected in principle, provided that the slave parents were legally married by a catholic priest: slave husband and wife, and their children below the age of puberty, if they were under the power of same master could not be seized and sold separately: let us declare invalid seizures and selling which could occur (*Code Noir*, 1685, article 47).

With the French Revolution, on April 4th 1792, all free colored people were granted full citizenship. The revolt of slaves in the largest French colony of St. Domingue island in 1791 had marked the beginning of the Haïtian Revolution led by Toussaint L'Ouverture. After this revolt, the institution of slavery was first abolished in St. Domingue in 1793 by Sonthonax, who was the Commissioner sent to St. Domingue

⁴⁴ On 13 July 1315, the king of France, Louis X le Hutin, by royal edit, proclaimed that, according to natural law, anyone is born free [*selon le droit de nature, chacun doit naître franc*]. Since then, any slave setting foot on the French ground should be freed [**le sol de France affranchit l'esclave qui le touche**].



by the *Convention*, in order to safeguard the allegiance of the population to revolutionary France.

On 4th of February 1794, the *Convention*, under the leadership of Maximilien Robespierre, abolished slavery in France and in its colonies. Abbot Grégoire and the Society of the Friends of the Blacks (*Société des Amis des Noirs*), in the hands of Jacques Pierre Brissot, had been active in the abolitionist movement which had laid important groundwork in building an anti-slavery action. The first article of this law stated that “slavery was abolished” in the French colonies, while the second article stated that slave-owners would be indemnified with a financial compensation for the value of their slaves. The Constitution of France, passed later by the *Convention* on 22 August 1795, established the *Directory* government. The *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* had to include that slavery was abolished.

As mentioned above, in September 1785, Olympe de Gouges had already been sent to jail in Bastille, for an anti-slavery theater drama, entitled *L’esclavage des Noirs* [*The Slavery of Blacks*], later published in 1792⁴⁵. Moreover, *Reflections on the Negroes men* (1788), was an essay also published by Olympe de Gouges, which had allowed her to become a member of the *Société des Amis des Noirs*. As an abolitionist, she was later posthumously mentioned by Abbot Grégoire, in the “List of the brave Men” (sic) who pleaded the cause of the “unfortunate Blacks” (1808). Before the Revolution, she had written:

“The sort of Negroes, always interested me in its pitiful fate. Those whom I could question never satisfied my curiosity and my reasoning. They are treated brutes, beings which the Sky had cursed; but by moving forward in age, I saw clearly that it was the strength and the prejudice which had condemned them to this horrible slavery, that the Nature had no part in this and that the inequitable and powerful interest of the Whites had made everything.” *Réflexions sur les hommes nègres* [*Reflections on the Negroes Men*] (1788).

But slavery, abolished in 1794, was restored in 1802, for the French colonies, a few years later, by Napoleon, giving up to the colonial lobby. But France was dramatically defeated

⁴⁵ According to her *Préface* – where she explains her argument –, Olympe de Gouges sent the text of her theatre drama in 1783 to the *Comédie Française*, under the title *L’esclavage des Noirs*, which was first printed in 1786, represented in December 1789 and reprinted with a *Préface* in 1792 (Gouges, 1792). The text of the manuscript given on December 28th, 1789 to the prompter man, before the performance, was preserved in the collection of the *Comédie-Française* in Paris. This censored version has been recently published for the first time (Gouges, 2006).



in Saint-Domingue. This country achieved independence and brought an end to slavery on 1st January 1804. Soon later, Britain banned the importation of African slaves in its colonies in 1807 (*Act for the abolition of the slave trade*), and the United States followed in 1808. Britain fully abolished slavery throughout the British Empire with the *Slavery Abolition Act* of 1833, while slavery in the United States was only abolished in 1865 with the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In the French colonies, slavery was re-abolished on 27 April 1848, by the decree-law Schœlcher⁴⁶, and about the same time, France started colonising Africa. The Native population in Africa, in several countries, was transported to mines, forestry, and rubber plantations under isolated, harsh working conditions, often compared to slavery. Comparatively, Julia Seibert has shown how black men and women were suffering from “unfree” labor in Belgium colonial Congo, at the beginning of the 20th century (Seibert, 2012).

Frederick Cooper recently published provocative reflections not only on the nature of colonialism but also on the way of writing its history nowadays and about the process of decolonization (Cooper, 2005).⁴⁷ Cooper’s 2005 volume is principally an interpretive work and his writings present interesting overviews comparing situations in both French and British colonial empires, distinguishing different legal and socio-economic contexts (Cooper and Burbank, 2012). But, surprisingly, the gender dimension was not considered by Cooper.

We would like to learn more about what happened in the French colonial Empire after the abolition of slavery, between February 1794 and 1802 and after 1848 and whether there was any change in the degree of participation of women in the life of their community, under colonial laws, rules and local customs and, if possible, compare legislation and practice with other colonial regimes. Recent international research edited by **Marcel van der Linden offer rather pessimistic conclusions under the title *The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade* (van der Linden, 2011). Even, for Pieter C. Emmer, comparing situations, in Britain, France, the Netherlands and the colonial labour market in the 19th century, “as always, the trouble is with the French” (Emmer, 2011). The legislation concerning the native people in the French Empire during 19th and 20th centuries was specific.**

THE FRENCH CODE DE L’INDIGENAT, 1881

⁴⁶ The French state, under the Second Republic (1848–1852), bought the slaves from the *colons* (white colonists; *Békés* in Creole language), and freed them.

⁴⁷ Prasenjit Duara commented and discussed Frederick Cooper 2005 book: “To think like an empire”: An essay based on Frederick Cooper’s *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*, *History and Theory*, 46.2, 2007, 292–298.



Established in 1881, the *Code de l'indigénat* was a specific legal code for the native people in the French Empire, defining the way of governing them (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2007a; 2007b; M'Bokolo, 2004). Originally, the word “native” means the one who was engendered on the spot, or who is “of the place”. But the use which was made of this word in colonial societies lead to distinguish between those who had the power (the colonists) who were not subjected to this code, and those who were subjected to it, the natives. This was also a penal code applicable only to the “subjects” of the French Empire, overwhelmingly the native men and women of the colonies. It included a bunch of repressive legal and statutory dispositions against the only natives, applied by the colonial administration (Asiwaju, 1979; Mann, 2009). This regulation was instituted for the first time in Algeria in 1881 and then exported to most of the other territories of the French colonial Empire. Its effects in the French colonial empire of 19th and 20th centuries were multiple. Actually, the Code contradicted the basic principles of French penal law affirmed during the Revolution. Conceived as a “practical way” to impose colonial order, it was often denounced as a “legal monster” by its contemporaries.

Set up at first during the conquest of Algeria, then established by the law of June 28th, 1881, the *Code de l'indigénat* defined “special breaches of the natives”. Two categories of citizens were distinguished the *French citizens* (of metropolitan origin) and the *French subjects*, that is the black Africans, the Malagasies, the Algerians, the West Indians, the Melanesians, etc., as well as the migrant workers. The *French subjects* subjected to the *Code de l'indigénat* were deprived of the major part of their freedom and of their political rights; men and women kept only their personal civil status, religious and customary identity.

This regime was extended to Cochinchina in 1881, New Caledonia and Senegal in 1887, Annam Tonkin in 1897, Cambodia in 1898, Madagascar in 1901, in *Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF) in 1904, and in *Afrique Equatoriale Française* (AEF) in 1910. Tunisia and Morocco escaped the *Code de l'indigénat* because they were under a specific protectorate regime.

In her work in progress, Emmanuelle Saada stresses the interrelations between law and violence in the French colonial empire in the 19th and 20th centuries and contributes to a broader history of legal incapacities and the law of “exceptions” from broader rights regimes in the French empire (Saada, forthcoming). Her study stands at the intersection of the history of French colonial rule and the history of law, connecting intellectual and political history with the analysis of administrative and legal practices. She considers that the post-revolutionary French legal system, based on the universality of



the “subject” in the situation of colonial domination, delineated within itself a space “outside law,” marked as “temporary” and “exceptional.” Women as men suffered from this situation up to the decolonization movements. While Frederick Cooper did not consider the gender dimension of the question, Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch was heavily concerned by a gender approach of African colonial history.

COLONIAL LEGISLATIONS VERSUS AFRICAN CUSTOMS

In 2007, in a special issue of *Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines*, Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch edited a rich collection of studies dedicated to legislations and customs. She investigated the state of the art and the amount of knowledge accumulated then for a gendered history of law in Africa. She demonstrated that women's presence in law and justice were more studied and evidenced in English publications than in French ones (Coquery-Vidrovitch 2007a; 2007b). Therefore she compared recent research all over the African continent so as to confront diverse evolutions in the British colonial Empire and overseas territories, and in the French colonial Empire.

The so-called *Grands Coutumiers* collected by French colonial officers in the 1930s, constitute important and useful historical sources on private law, as are, in English speaking regions, collections of court judgments, and, later on, *Family codes*. Collected in archives and in jurisprudence files, court cases are extremely informative about female position and customary rights. Three major topics appear to have been well studied by historians of Africa, up to now: 1) questions dealing with marriage (including the *shari'a* rules and women's “witchcraft” and popular rituals), 2) polygamy, divorce, extra-marital relations, adultery, heritage and 3) the *brideprice* question (*lobolo*), sometimes improperly called *dowry*, which plays a major role in order to understand how African native females took account of land customary laws and labour laws and defended their traditional rights to property and assets.

Based on Coquery-Vidrovitch's overview, we could follow the basic evolution of women's rights from pre-colonial times to the present, passing through colonial customary laws and western colonial laws and we shall take the opportunity of a coming international meeting in South Africa to learn some more about work in progress in African universities⁴⁸. It seems that women were keen to distort rules that intended to limit their customary rights. Actually, at Madagascar, they knew quite well how to use and manipulate laws, under French

⁴⁸ See the session jointly organized by Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, Béatrice Craig and Jacqueline Ravelomanana on “Gender, property and legal reforms, 18th-20th centuries”, *XVIIth World Economic History Congress*, Stellenbosch University, South Africa, 9-13 July 2012, an international conference organized by the International Economic History Association (IEHA) with The Economic History Society of Southern Africa and The Department of Economics, Stellenbosch University.



regime, so as to improve their legal conditions over time. Jacqueline Ravelomanana gives examples of how native women succeeded in imposing their traditional matrimonial customs in Madagascar (Ravelomanana, 2012).

Under colonial systems, women tried their best to become more visible. The case of Guinean women is particularly interesting, given the topic of the present study. Encouraged by their leaders, they were pioneer in fighting for their emancipation and political freedom. Guinea was formerly part of the French colonial Empire and of *Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF) [French West Africa]. AOF was a federation of French colonial territories in Africa (Figure 2).

The federation existed from 1895 up to 1960. It included 1) Mauritania; 2) Senegal; 3) French Sudan (now Mali); 4) French Guinea (now Guinea); 5) Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast); 6) Dahomey (now Benin) and 7) Niger. Upper Volta, now Burkina Faso (with Ouagadougou city as capital) formed the eighth colony; French Upper Volta, was, for a period, parcelled between its neighbours. French Sudan also contained a large portion of what is today the eastern part of Mauritania.⁴⁹

GUINEAN WOMEN IN POLITICS GAINING THEIR RIGHT TO VOTE (1958)

Throughout the vast French colonial empire, Guinea (a population then of 2.5 million people) was the only territory to vote "No" to the proposition offered by *Président du Conseil* Charles de Gaulle while the French President was René Coty.⁵⁰ The question was about a new Constitution, within a Fifth Republic.⁵¹ In the French colonies, the referendum also aimed at creating a "French Community" (*Communauté Française*). Guinea was the only country to reject the referendum and to reach immediate independence.⁵² Male Guinean people voted

⁴⁹ For situation maps, we recommend to consult the following figures for the African continent: 1) Map of colonial Africa in 1913 (before World War I), including the German colonies; 2) Map of colonial Africa after World War II, after the sharing of the German colonies, with steps in decolonisation process (Thobie, *et al.*, 1990, p. 603); 3) Map of Africa in 1968, with successive steps of decolonisation (Thobie *et al.*, 1990, p. 606-7). The *Afrique Occidentale Française* (AOF) [French West Africa] was a federation created in 1895 which included French Guinea (now Guinea).

⁵⁰ The referendum of 28 September 1958, asked French people to ratify the project of Constitution prepared by the Constitutional Consultative Committee and the Parliament under the aegis of Michel Debré and of *Président du Conseil*, General de Gaulle. The referendum intended also to create a *French Community* in the French colonies. Guinea was the only country to reject the referendum and to reach independence.

⁵¹ For adoption of the French Constitution, the question was: "Do you approve the Constitution which is proposed to you by the Government of the Republic?" Guinean people (only men) followed instructions given by Sékou Touré and 94.4 % voted "no". They rejected the *French Community*.

⁵² When the official results were published in France, they gave separate figures for Guinea, saying that: "The national Commission in charge with the counting of votes specified: "As regards the territory of Guinea, the Commission noted that, by a majority of the votes, the electorate of this territory rejected the project of Constitution and, as a consequence, refused the integration to the Community. The Commission decided, as a consequence not to insert the results of this territory into the global results of the referendum and to have them appear apart."



for independence from France and this country left *Afrique occidentale française* (AOF). With this main political change and a Constitution for Guinea, Guinean women finally gained the right to vote (1958). At the time of the political campaign and the Referendum, they had composed a song expressing all together national identity, a vote for independence and in support of the Guinean leader, Sékou Touré:

Guinea says “No”
De Gaulle says “Yes”
One must vote “No”
Comrade Sékou Touré, one must choose
the “No”
Yes, one must choose the “No,” Sékou
Touré
In any case, we vote “No”
(Camara, 1979, p. 111).

Without Guinea, a new republican Constitution was adopted in France on 4 October 1958, together with the Fifth Republic. Results of this Constitutional Referendum were a considerable victory for the Guinean branch of the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (RDA) [African Democratic Rally], a political party officially called *Parti démocratique de Guinée*. RDA had members in each of the fourteen territories of French West Africa, French Equatorial Africa, the United Nations trust territories of Togo (until 1955) and Cameroon (Manning, 1988; Schachter Morgenthau, 1964, p. 400). While every other RDA branch, in Africa, had decided to stay behind de Gaulle politics, the Guinean RDA, under the leadership of Sékou Touré (1922-1984), a young trade unionist (*Union générale des Travailleurs d’Afrique Noire*) who had taken leadership of the *Parti démocratique de Guinée* in 1952, found the way to complete an immediate independence from France, initiating a wave of decolonization that later swept across Africa.

Sékou Touré had studied Marx writings and the life of Vladimir Lenin and, as first President of Guinea, organised a socialist regime (Kaba, 1988). Sékou Touré’s great-grandfather, Almamy Samory Touré (1830-1900), a Malinke, had resisted French colonisation in West Africa in the past. He had then chosen to be a Muslim (Boahen, 1990). In Guinea, people belonging to the Malinke ethnic group were heavily engaged in trading networks and their associated Muslim communities had connected diverse parts of what would become Guinea⁵³ (Schmidt, 2005a). In the nineteenth century, the politico-religious empires of the Tukolor leader, El-Hadj Umar b. Saïd Tall, and the Malinke leader, Samori Touré, had brought

⁵³ Jallonke people (Susu, Limba, Landuma, Baga, Bassari) and Fulbe people (Peul and Tukolor,) who were residents of the Futa Jallon Guinean region, traded extensively with coastal peoples (Schmidt, 2005a, p. 991).



together vast territories. According to Africanist historians, despite the nation-building efforts of party leaders, ethnic and class rivalries were permanent⁵⁴. Sékou Touré and his friends of the nationalist movement, having already support from the rural masses, tried deliberately a large alliance with popular Guinean women. The growing role of Western-educated elites was much contested at the grassroots. But historians consider that the legacy of political, economic, religious, and cultural interaction linked Guineans to one another. For Eric Hobsbawm, Guineans had «the consciousness of having belonged to a lasting political entity» (Hobsbawm, 1990). Prasenjit Duara, in comparative perspective, made similar claims for premodern China, India, and Japan (Duara, 1996).

Using a variety of archival and oral sources, Elisabeth Schmidt attributed the African Democratic Rally's extraordinary success to its ability to form a broad ethnic, class, and gender alliance, whose strength rooted in its support among the non-literate masses, particularly women. Considering local disputes over ethnicity, class and gender identities, Schmidt reinterprets the nationalist history of Guinea and its anti-colonial movements with a "bottom up" approach (Schmidt, 2005a; 2005b). Guinean women were considered as forming a quasi autonomous category within the nationalist movement (Bayart, 1981). Adopting Bayart's concept of popular "bottom up political action", E. Schmidt analyzed the political activism of female shopkeepers, needlewomen, peasants, as partly conservative and partly transgressive. They joined the movement as mothers and wives, answering the explicit call of the RDA, and later influenced the objectives of the party as well as the methods of action chosen, especially after the 1953 strike (Schmidt, 2005b).

Women who composed the songs that carried the nationalist message throughout the territory were not literate. If there was a new song, all the women learned it and sang it in the collective taxis, teaching one another in the morning when going to the market. When there was a political event, one of the party leaders came to the market with the song to teach it to the other women.

The colonial administration tried hard by all means to break popular contesting. Official announcement of Barry Diawadou as the winner and Sékou Touré as the loser of the 1954 elections created great anger against the colonial state, particularly among popular women who prepared subversive slogans and songs of protest that were sang on the markets, saying that the colonial authorities had rigged the elections (Camara, 1979; Schachter-Morgenthau, 1964; Suret-Canale,

⁵⁴ The main ethnic groups in French Guinea were: Susu, Baga-Landuma-Mikifore-Nalou, Limba, Peul, Coniagui-Bassari, Malinke, Jallonke, Kpelle-Kissi-Loma (Schmidt, 2005a). For more on the history of ethnic and religious relations in Guinea, see Rodney, 1968. In Guinea, French is the official language.



1964a, 1964b, 1971).⁵⁵ “The other party has stolen our votes.”
Women were not allowed to vote, but they sang:

“Look, people, at the RDA
Look, people, at the RDA
RDA women, unite
Laugh with me, Touré
Laugh with me, Touré”
(Schmidt, 2005a, p. 1010).

An interesting photo was taken in 1954 on Conakry market showing commercial activities of these activist women⁵⁶ (Figure 3) and another document of the same period presents Malinke women working on textile activities at home, in front of their house, in their village community and with their family members, old and young (Figure 4).

On occasions some women wore the RDA group uniforms and referred to symbols.⁵⁷ They participated in the reorganization of the party, and tried to change sexual hierarchy: forming militias, some women dressed as men and adopted some new behaviour manners, even if, in some ways, other forms of transgression already existed before colonization (Rivière, 1968). Interviewed on 8 April, 1991 by Idiatou Camara, recalling the day when she was recruited into the RDA party, Aissatou N’Diaye, from Tukolor-Senegalese origins (not of the Malinke group but definitely a convinced Muslim woman), reminisced that she and a friend had been called to a meeting with Sékou Touré:

“Upon our arrival, he asked us to help him mobilize women... He also said that he had nothing material, not money or gold, to offer in return. If the women would help him, they would do it for the love of Allah, his Envoy, and their cause... He asked us to do this work in the name of Allah and his Prophet, Mohammed” (Schmidt, 2005a, p. 995, citing Camara, 1979).

If the political mobilization of working class Guinean women did not really result in a full emancipation, besides gaining the final great right to vote, traditional gender roles were certainly moved during the 1950s, in this mostly Muslim society. In France, by contrast, secularisation of society was massively progressing, but it took a long time for women to gain the right to vote.

⁵⁵ With territorial elections of 1957, Sékou Touré was elected President of Council. The *Parti démocratique de Guinée* (PDG) became then the unique party of Guinea.

⁵⁶ See photos taken in 1954 on Conakry market and Malinke women spinning and dyeing cloth, Reproduced by permission of FR.CAOM. Aix-en-Provence (Schmidt, 2005a, pp. 1008 & 1011) (Figures 3 ad 4).

⁵⁷ The RDA uniform was a white Guinean *djellaba* robe, with a white payer cap for men (Schmidt, 2005a, p. 978 & 994). The symbol of the party was the elephant.



FRENCH WOMEN INTER-WAR FIGHTS FOR SUFFRAGE AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY

In France, after 1900, members of parliament prepared bills that would allow women suffrage, but all proposals were stopped by the Senate. Groups of women, called “suffragettes”, formed associations and began to claim for the right to vote (Figure 5). Between 1919 and 1936, the *Chambre des députés* proposed several times the vote for women, but the Senate never registered the question on its agenda⁵⁸. Born in 1893 in Northern France, Louise Weiss was a journalist engaged in fighting for equality of civil and political rights for women and men. She militated actively for women’s vote. In 1934, she had founded the association “La Femme nouvelle” [The new Woman]. She was a symbolic candidate at the elections of 1935 and 1936 in Paris, and organized several spectacular actions, intending to draw the attention of the press (Berton, 1999).

On October 6th, 1934, she opened a shop for women on the Champs-Élysées and she placed in the window a map of the world with a large caption: “American women vote, English women vote, Chinese women vote... But French women do not vote” (Berton, 1999). In 1935, the day of the municipal elections, Louise Weiss chained herself to the column of the Bastille place with other activist women and harangued the crowd (Figure 6):

“this place evokes for us the end of the Ancien Régime and the *Declaration des droits de l’homme*. This noble and so renowned *Declaration* is in reality only a masterpiece of egoism: its authors have just forgotten the woman” (Weiss, 1970, p. 89).

On 2 June 1936, in front of the Senate, Louise Weiss, with activists of her group, *La femme nouvelle*⁵⁹ offered to senators pairs of socks wearing the inscription: “even if you give us the voting right, holes in your socks will be repaired”.

In 1936, with the *Front Populaire* government, three women were appointed by Leon Blum as vice-secretaries of State⁶⁰, among them was Suzanne Lacore, in charge with the

⁵⁸ For more information on the history of French women as citizens, see the official web site: www.assembleenationale.fr

⁵⁹ After World War II, once the voting right existed for women, Louise Weiss pursued her activity as a journalist. She engaged then for peace and for the construction of Europe. She died in 1983, aged 90. She had been married in 1934 but divorced two years later. About the disaster of her marital experience, she clearly concluded that divorce, if no family, brought her freedom. “All in all, for lack of happiness, the marriage and especially divorce brought me a civil status which facilitated my existence and opened me sentimental possibilities that, without having passed by these events, I would not certainly have met. Thus, I have not paid at a too high price their unfortunates requirements” (Weiss, 1970, p. 16).

⁶⁰ Suzanne Lacore was in charge with the protection of children (Figure 7), Irène Joliot-Curie in charge with scientific research, and Cécile Brunschvicg, in charge with education, who was a close friend of Louise Weiss, and also from Jewish origins.



protection of children (Figure 7). Louis Weiss was approached by Blum, but she declined the invitation, for, she said:⁶¹ “I fought for being elected, not for being appointed”. In 1942, during World War II, General de Gaulle declared that “once the enemy will be kicked off the territory, all men and women from our France⁶² will elect the National Assembly,” and on 21st April, 1944, before France was freed from the German occupation, he ratified a text proposed by the Provisional Government of the French Republic sitting in Algiers, which article 17 stated the vote of women and institutionalised their eligibility: women were declared voters and eligible according to the same conditions as for men. At last, women voted for the first time in France on April 29th, 1945 for the municipal elections and later, on 21 October 1945, for a “general elections” day, concerning the constituent Assembly and a Referendum⁶³ (Figure 8). But we note that it is only in 1989 that a woman, Catherine Trautmann, became a mayor of a large city, Strasbourg, and only in 1991 that a woman became Prime Minister, Edith Cresson.

CONCLUSION

In early modern Europe, women were never restricted to the private sphere. All women, rural or urban, transmitted knowledge, cultural norms and symbolic values, and had a large access to the public sphere, according to local rules of their social communities. They could circulate alone, buy or sell goods on the market, simply walk far away to visit their family members and relatives, work outside home, daily or, when they had no spouse (being single or widowed), be servants for months or years in a private house or an institution. Once married, they had to choose a job compatible with family life and responsibilities, but could rely on paid or unpaid domestic help either to deal with small children or to look after sick and/or dependant family members.

But female presence in politics was rare. Women were not equal to men and did not vote. In most western countries as in countries with a colonial history, female suffrage was accorded after long fighting. In most countries, women were not able to vote until sometime during the twentieth century.

In France, change concerning the right to vote for women happened in 1944. French women voted for the first time in 1945 and could enter the Senate in 1946. Previously, women would gather occasionally for food riots or other

⁶¹ In French : “J’ai lutté pour être élue, pas pour être nommée”.

⁶² In French : “les hommes et les femmes de chez nous”, which means that, in the colonies, natives would still be excluded.

⁶³ For this Referendum of 21 October 1945, two questions were asked: 1/ Is a new constitution needed? (*Faut-il une nouvelle constitution?*) and 2/ Is it needed to limit the powers of the constituent Assembly which is elected simultaneously? (*Faut-il limiter les pouvoirs de l’Assemblée constituante élue simultanément?*)

Concerning the gender balance at the Assembly formed in 1945, only 5,6 % of elected deputies were females.



protests. At the time of the French Revolution, some early feminist women as Olympe de Gouges in France (or Mary Wollstonecraft in Britain) began to publish essays (*Declaration of the Rights of Woman and of the Female Citizen*, 1791, for the former and for the latter, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*, 1792), in order to join open debates and political action, claiming for equal rights for men and women.

For the countries under French colonial regime, historians have been studying many questions as women's rights and their presence in law courts from local archives. Some more needs to be done to compare the level of female participation to political life under specific colonial constitutions. It would be interesting to explore further, in a comparative perspective, to what extent native women were active in politics, in nationalist movements and in decolonisation processes.

In French colonial Africa, Guinean women formed a specific and quasi autonomous category within the nationalist movement, leading to early decolonisation (Locoh, 2001). I chose to present their action and *mentalité* in the 1950s as a case study in the present article, given their cultural and religious specificities. But Guinean women seem to have been largely manipulated by political men and leaders of the nationalist party of their country. The spectacular political movement of popular women ended in Guinea in September 1958, with independence. Significantly, most Guinean women of the time, who had been committed in political action in the 1950s, refused later to comment on this period of their life when they were active outside home, supporting the leader Sékou Touré in the name of their nation and in the name of Allah (Camara, 1979). By contrast, in France, individual independent figures, as Louise Weiss, were certainly not manipulated and used the media for achieving their main goal: obtaining equality of civil and political rights for women, and at last, the right to vote for French female citizens (1944). The right to vote was granted to French women a century and a half after the 1789 French Revolutionists proclaimed: *Freedom, Equality, Brotherhood* [Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité].

REFERENCES

ASIWAJU, Anthony I., 1979, «Control through coercion, a study of the indigenat regime in French West African Administration, 1887-1947», *Bulletin de l'IFAN*, Dakar, 41 (1), pp. 35-71.

AUBAUD, Camille, 1993, *Lire les femmes de lettres*, Paris, Dunod.



BAYART, Jean-François, 1981, « Le politique par le bas en Afrique : questions de méthodes », *Politique africaine*, 1, pp. 53-82.

BERTIN, Célia, 1999, *Louise Weiss*, Paris, Albin Michel.

BLANC, Olivier, 2003, *Marie-Olympe de Gouges, une humaniste à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, Cahors, éditions René Viénet.

BOAHEN, A. Adu (ed.), 1990, *Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935, General History of Africa*, Berkeley, University of California Press [UNESCO General History of Africa, Vol. VII, Abridged Edition]

BRIDENTHAL, Renate and KOONZ, Claudia, 1977, *Becoming Visible. Women in European History*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.

CAMARA, Idiatou, 1979, "La Contribution de la Femme de Guinée à la Lutte de Libération Nationale (1945–1958)," Mémoire de Fin d'études Supérieures, IPGAN, Conakry.

CONDORCET, Nicolas de, 1790, « Sur l'admission des femmes au droit de cité », *Journal de la société de 1789*, n° V, 3 juillet 1790.

COOPER, Frederick, 2005, *Colonialism in question: Theory, knowledge, history*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

COOPER, Frederick and BURBANK, Jane, 2012, **Empires in World History, Power and the Politics of Difference**, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

COQUERY-VIDROVITCH, Catherine, 2007a, « Genre et justice. Les recherches avancées en langue anglaise », *Cahiers d'études africaines*, n° 187-188, pp. 461-494.

COQUERY-VIDROVITCH, **Catherine, 2007b**, « Procès au féminin et changements de société », **Cahiers d'études africaines**, n° 187-188, pp. 449-460

DAVIS, Natalie Z., 1979, *Les cultures du peuple. Rituels, savoirs et résistances au 16^e siècle*, Paris, Aubier-Montaigne [translation of *Society and culture in early modern France*, 1975, Stanford, Stanford University Press.

DEJEAN, Joan E., 1989, *Fictions of Sappho, 1546-1937*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press.



DUARA, Prasenjit, 1996, "Historicizing National Identity, or Who Imagines What and When," in Geoff Eley and Ronald Grigor Suny (eds), *Becoming National. A Reader*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 151–178.

DUARA, Prasenjit, 2007, "To think like an empire": An essay based on Frederick Cooper's *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*", *History and Theory*, 46.2, 292–298

EMMER, Pieter C., 2011, "As always, the trouble is with the French" Britain, France, the Netherlands and the colonial labor market in the 19th century", in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations. The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Marcel van der Linden (ed.), Leiden, Brill.

FAUVE-CHAMOIX, Antoinette, 2000, « Urban population and female labour: the fortunes of women workers in Rheims before the Industrial revolution », **Migration, mobility and modernization**, David J. Siddle (ed.), Liverpool University Press, p. 119-130.

FAUVE-CHAMOIX, Antoinette, 2001, « Marriage, widowhood and divorce », *Family life in early modern times, 1500-1789*, **The history of the European family** (vol 1), David I. Kertzer and Marzio Barbagli (eds), Yale University Press, Yale, p. 221-256.

FAUVE-CHAMOIX, Antoinette, 2002, « Strategies of household continuity in a stem-family society : from heirship to headship », Renzo Derosas and Michel Oris (eds), **When Dad Died, Individuals and families coping with distress in past societies**, Peter Lang, Bern, p. 121-140.

GODINEAU, Dominique, 1988, *Citoyennes tricoteuses. Les femmes du peuple à Paris pendant la Révolution française*, Aix-en-Provence, Alinea.

GOUGES, Olympe de, 2006 [1788], *Réflexions sur les hommes nègres* [*Reflections on the Negroes men*], in Chalaye Sylvie and Razgonnikoff, Jacqueline (eds), Paris, l'Harmattan.

GOUGES, Olympe de, 1993, [1788], *Lettre au Peuple ou projet d'une caisse patriotique, par une citoyenne*, in **Écrits politiques**, vol. 1 (1788-1791), Blanc, Olivier (ed.), Paris, Côté-femmes.

GOUGES, Olympe de, 2006 [1789], *L'Esclavage des nègres, version inédite du 28 décembre 1789*, Chalaye Sylvie and Razgonnikoff, Jacqueline (eds), Paris, l'Harmattan.



GOUGES, Olympe de, 2003 [1791], *Déclaration des droits de la femme et de la citoyenne*, Paris, Fayard [*Declaration of the Rights of Woman and the Female Citizen*].

GOUGES, Olympe de, 1792, *L'Esclavage des noirs, ou l'heureux naufrage, drame de trois actes en prose, représenté à la comédie française en décembre 1789*, Paris, veuve Duchesne, veuve Bailly et les marchands de nouveautés.

HOBSBAWM, Eric J., 1990, *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, myth, reality*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

HUFTON, Olwen, 1997, *The prospect before her. A History of women in Western Europe, 1500-1800*, London, Fontana Press.

HUFTON, Olwen H., 1992, *Women and the limits of Citizenship in the French Revolution*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

KABA, Lansiné, 1988, "From Colonialism to Autocracy: Guinea under Sékou Touré, 1957–1984"; in Prosser GIFFORD and William Roger LOUIS (eds), *Decolonization and African Independence, the Transfers of Power, 1960-1980*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

LACOURT, Léopold, 1900, *Les Origines du féminisme contemporain. Trois femmes de la Révolution : Olympe de Gouges, Théroigne de Méricourt, Rose Lacombe*, Paris, Plon, Nourrit et Cie.

LOCOH, Therese (ed.), 2001, *Genre et sociétés en Afrique: implications pour le développement*, Paris, INED.

MANN, Gregory, 2009, «What was the Indigénat? The Empire of Law in French West Africa», *Journal of African History*, 50, 2009, pp. 331-353.

M'BOKOLO, Elikia, 2004, *Afrique noire. Histoire et Civilisations*, Paris-AUF, Hatier, 2 vol.

MANNING, Patrick, 1988, *Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa, 1880–1985*, New York, pp. 148–149.

MOUSSET, Sophie, 2003, *Olympe de Gouges et les droits de la femme*, Paris, Le Félin.

NIORT, Jean-François, 2007, *Du code noir au code civil: jalons pour l'histoire du droit en Guadeloupe : perspectives comparées avec la Martinique, la Guyane et la république d'Haïti*, Paris, L'Harmattan.



PERNOUD, Régine, 1980, *La femme au temps des cathédrales*, Paris, Stock.

RAVELOMANANA, Jacqueline, 2012, *Droit de propriété et genre, hier et aujourd'hui à Madagascar*, Communication au Congrès international d'Histoire économique, Stellenbosch, South Africa, from 9-13 July 2012..

RIVIERE, Claude, 1968, « La promotion de la femme guinéenne », *Cahiers d'Études africaines*, VIII (3), 31, pp. 406-427.

RODNEY, Walter, 1968, "Jihad and Social Revolution in Futa Djalon in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 2 (June 1968), pp; 269–274.

SAADA, Emmanuell, forthcoming, *The Colonial Rule of Law: The "Native Code" in the French Empire (19th and 20th Centuries)*.

SCHACHTER-MORGENTHAU, Ruth, 1964, *Political Parties in French speaking West Africa*, Oxford, The Clarendon.

SCHMIDT, Elizabeth, 2005a, "Top Down or Bottom Up? Nationalist Mobilization Reconsidered, with Special Reference to Guinea (French West Africa)". *The American Historical Review*, 110. 4 (October), pp. 975-1014.

SCHMIDT, Elizabeth, 2005b, *Mobilizing the Masses: Gender, Ethnicity and Class in the Nationalist Movement in Guinea, 1939-1958*, Portsmouth, Heinemann.

SEIBERT, Julia , 2011, "More continuity than change? New forms of unfree labor in the Belgian Congo, 1908-1930", in *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations. The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Marcel van der Linden (ed.), Leiden, Brill.

SIEDZIEWSKI, Elisabeth, G., 1998, "The French Revolution as the turning point" in *A History of Women in the West, vol. 4: Emerging feminism from Revolution to World War* (revised edition), Fraisse, Geneviève and Perrot, Michelle (eds), Harvard, Harvard University Press, pp. 43-56.

SOGNER, Sølvi, 1988, "Historical features of women's position in society", *Conference on Women's position and demographic change in the course of development*, Asker-Oslo, Liège, IUSSP, pp. 1-17.



SURET-CANALE, 1964a, Jean, *Afrique noire occidentale et centrale, l'ère coloniale (1900-1945)*, Paris, Éditions sociales.

SURET-CANALE, Jean, 1964b, *La République de Guinée*, Paris, Éditions sociales.

SURET-CANALE, Jean, 1971, *French Colonialism in Tropical Africa, 1900-1945*, New York. Pica Press.

THOBIE, Jacques, MEYNIER, Gilbert, COQUERY-VIDROVITCH, Catherine, and AGERON, Charles-Robert (eds), 1990, *Histoire de la France coloniale, 1914-1990*, Paris, Armand Colin.

TOURET, Jacques-Guillaume, 1996 [1789], “**Report on the Basis of Political Eligibility**” in *The French Revolution and Human Rights: A Brief Documentary History*, Hunt, Lynn (ed.), Boston/New York, Bedford/St. Martin's.

VAN DER LINDEN, Marcel, (ed.), 2011, *Humanitarian Intervention and Changing Labor Relations. The Long-term Consequences of the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, Leiden, Brill.

WEISS, Louise, 1970, *Mémoires d'une Européenne*, Tome 3, *Combat pour les femmes, 1934-1939*, Paris, Albin Michel.

WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary, 1792a, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*, London, J. Johnson.

WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary, 1792b, *Défense des droits des femmes suivie de quelques considérations sur des sujets politiques et moraux : ouvrage traduit de l'anglais de Mary Wollstonecraft et dédié à M. l'ancien Evêque d'Autun*, Paris, Buisson.

WOLLSTONECRAFT, Mary, 1794, **An historical and moral view of the origins and progress of the French Revolution, and the effect it has produced in Europe**, London, J. Johnson.