MANUALS FOR WOMANHOOD:
Woman's Role as Defined in the
pages of Zhenskoe Dielo,
1910-1914

A Thesis

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To my parents
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Thank you to my adviser Eve Levin for her patience. Thanks also to the other members of my committee, Drs. Allan Wildman and Mark Grimsley. To my dear friend Margaret, thanks for the cheerful response to all my numerous phone calls and your support through my periods of doubt.
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INTRODUCTION

After leafing past the dewy gaze of the cover model in "milkmaid" costume and perhaps reading through Staryi Pedagog's (Old Pedagogue) editorial on child suicide rates, the female reader of Zhenskoe Dielo (Women's Affairs) in June 1911 would have been greeted by the following article on page seventeen:

What is Femininity?

Often people discuss their fears that if women are given rights and all careers are opened to them, they will lose their femininity...In the interests of women's liberation, I must contest this opinion.

Some say femininity is the sum of the moral qualities of women: modesty, gentleness (krotosti), thrift, patience, elegance, tact, nobility, and such. I can in no way agree with that definition of the word femininity. It would immediately offend men. Is it possible that grace, tact and nobility are all specifically women's qualities and that men, in order to acquire them, must behave 'like a woman' or, simply put, become effeminate...

And so I repeat, I can in no way agree with that interpretation of the word "femininity." My definition is not thought out. I hoped that the readers of Zhenskoe Dielo, more perspicacious than the writer of these lines, would describe...how the word "femininity" should be understood.¹

Presuming that her readership would agree that traditional notions of femininity and feminine attributes failed to

¹"Shto takoe zhenstvennost'?" Zhenskoe Dielo (hereafter known as ZhD) 12 (15 June 1911): 17.
reflect accurately the tumultuous world of Russian women in 1911, the anonymous author assumed an antagonistic stance towards traditional definitions of femininity, e.g. "modesty, gentleness, thrift." Her aggressive tone, as well as her statement that feminine qualities could be part of a man's personality without denying him his male status or making him effeminate, indicated a non-traditional stance on gender roles that contradicted past definitions completely inaccurate.

Despite this bravado, the author managed to maintain the core of the conservative gender definition that she attempted to argue against. The author did not completely reject the traditional characteristics of femininity, nor did she regard them as incompatible with women's liberation or professional activity. Instead, she expanded the definition so that the qualities became universal and non-gender specific. She called not for a definition of femininity that excluded, "elegance, tact, nobility, and such," but one that made them non-exclusive and ascribed them to men as well. Men could lay claim to the positive qualities ascribed to femininity without compromising their masculinity or becoming, "effeminate." Women did not become unfeminine. Women's liberation and equality would not negate femininity as reactionaries feared. Women's roles could expand without their abandoning traditional qualities and without overturning traditional expectations for women.
The tension between radical redefinition and devotion to conventional modes expressed in this article permeated the articles of Zhenskoe Dielo (Women’s Affairs) from its establishment in 1910 to the eve of World War I. Articles detailed debates on women’s political, professional, and domestic rights and espoused views commensurate with the platforms of the bourgeois feminists. The magazine filled its pages with a contradictory set of statements, images, and models that oftentimes challenged the prevailing images of women and women’s place, while simultaneously and surreptitiously upholding traditionally precious beliefs and models, such as motherhood, marriage, and prudent sexual roles.

This thesis attempts to address this tension, form from diverse and contradictory images a cohesive picture of the role for women presented by the magazine, contribute to the still inadequately researched field of Russian women’s history and ultimately participate in the ongoing attack on the totalitarian model of Russian historiography.

The study of the magazine evinces several questions about the lives of Russian women from 1910-1914. To what extent were women presented as members of the public sphere, as professionals, and as a power at home? How much encroachment onto men’s traditional prerogatives did the magazine deem acceptable and prudent? Did the seeming contradictions in the depiction of women’s role represent an effort by the editor
and writers to slowly infiltrate a traditional system with non-traditional ideas or did they reflect a reluctance by on the part of the editor and the readers to give up old, familiar, and comfortable roles in exchange for an unknown and uncertain future? Did the authors express non-traditional ideas as a veneer over traditional ones hoping to maintain the older value systems? Or, instead, did they seek to give the new value systems the legitimacy of association with old ideas to comfort those women, embroiled in, and frightened by, the changes of the times?

Women's Rights: Educational, Political, and Professional

Zhenskoe Dielo emerged into a political and social environment characterized by rapid change, fervid political debates, and vibrant characters. Opportunities for women to educate themselves rose throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, most visibly during the reign of Alexander II (1855-1881), who allowed in his reform of 1856 for the creation of secondary schools for girls. Though education was supposed to be available to all, costs were prohibitive to anyone outside of the major urban areas. Daughters of the gentry, government officials, and townspeople constituted the majority of enrollees.²

²See E.D. Dneprov, "Zhenskoe obrazovanie v doreformennoi Rossii," in E.P. Fedosova, Bestuzhevske kursy - pervyi zhenskii Universitet v Rossii (1878-1918), ed. E.D. Dneprov (Moscow, 1980), 23; cited, along with other information on women's education in Christine Johanson, Women's Struggle for
Alexander allowed women into higher and professional education in the 1870s, but this reform was short-lived. The four women's higher courses established in Moscow, St. Petersburg, Kazan, and Kiev were closed in 1886. Only the Bestuzhev courses, a separate non-degree program for women with university level instructors, survived at St. Petersburg University. In the wake of the Revolution of 1905, all the university towns introduced advanced courses for women, but in the backlash, many women were expelled because of sexism thinly veiled as suspicions of revolutionary sympathies. Still, Richard Stites estimated that in 1914 there were 25,000 women in the ten universities available to them.\(^3\)

The rising literacy statistics indicated the impact of these schools even though women's education proceeded in fits and starts. In the 1910s in Moscow and Petrograd, 25.5 and 43.8 percent of women were literate, respectively. Among industrial women workers in both cities, only 5.9 percent were literate.\(^4\) Literacy rates for women in peasant villages were doubtless even lower. However, it does not follow that only urban women were literate, because the Russian upper classes often moved between the city and country. Aristocratic women

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\(^3\)Stites, 166-169.

generally did have some urban connections because most of the education facilities were located in towns.

The presence of women in universities undermined traditional views of women and allowed the ambitious individuals to communicate with others like themselves. In the 1860s, women held positions of authority within the political and revolutionary organizations but not until the turn of the century did they agitate explicitly for women's rights as an end in themselves and not simply as an addendum to another political platform.\(^5\) These educated women from the more privileged classes formed the vanguard of the women's liberation and women's rights movements.\(^6\) The most important of these first groups, The Mutual Philanthropic Society was founded in 1905. Although it dissolved in the wake of the 1905 revolution, it still paved the way for succeeding organizations.

The leading political parties which formed with new legality after 1905, showed little sympathy for feminist causes. Considering the "woman question" (as it was called) of less import than the general lack of liberty for the entire population, Aleksandra Kollontai and the SDS (Social Democrats) supported universal suffrage. However, she also criticized the "bourgeois" feminists (non-revolutionary women

\(^5\) For the most encompassing study of feminist organizations see Stites. For the most depth look into the MPS see Edmondson, *Feminism.*

\(^6\) Ibid., 101-102.
activists) for their contentions that women's interests overrode the drive for class struggles. Of other political parties, only the SRs (Socialist Revolutionaries) and KDs (Constitutional Democrats) supported women's suffrage sporadically. Their scant support for feminist gains and women's rights became especially apparent in the wake of the 1905-1907 revolution which "brought precious little to Russian women." The duma, created in the wake of the 1905 uprising, allowed some minor play of involvement in government for male citizens. Women, unable to vote, tried to influence major political powers with petitions and lobbying to little avail.

The easy acceptance of women into the radical and revolutionary movements of the late nineteenth century did not translate into their liberation in society and from societal rules. Though allowed to hold property, women were unable to enter into the professions, education, travel, or engage in business contracts without approval from either their father or husband. Inheritance laws discriminated against women, and the church imposed strict prohibitions on marital separation and divorce. Liberal jurists chose the expansion of women's


8Stites, 210; for more detailed information, see Edmondson, Feminism.

9See Stites, 204, 210.
rights as a battlefield from which they hoped to launch attacks to improve the rights of male citizens, but they made little progress.\textsuperscript{10}

Women who entered professions faced discrimination. They were allowed to enter the educational and medical fields, but restrictions kept them from full recognition. The personal lives of female teachers and postal and telegraph workers were subject to strict regulation and women doctors, lawyers, and engineers battled fiercely for recognition of their educational attainments.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Literature as a Vehicle of Political and Social Discourse}

In the eighteenth and nineteenth century, literature had constituted the primary tool for the dissemination of

\textsuperscript{10}Inheritance laws were equalized in 1912 and the Holy Synod relaxed divorce/separation laws in 1914. For a more thorough explanation of jurists' tactics in regard to women's and men's rights see Wagner, 65-84.

\textsuperscript{11}Teachers were required to submit medical proof of their virginity. This was overturned in 1913. See Christine Ruane, "The Vestal Virgins of St. Petersburg: School Teachers and the 1897 Marriage Ban," \textit{Russian Review} 50 (April 1991): 162-182. Postal and telegraph employees were banned from marrying co-workers, see I. P.-v, "The Woman's Question from the Postal Aspect," \textit{ZhD} 12 (1915), 1-2; "Chronicle of 'Women's Affairs,'" (hereafter known as "Chronicle") \textit{ZhD} 2 (1914), 18; and report of ending the ban see, "Chronicle," \textit{ZhD} 14 (1914), 20. Increasing numbers of women entered medicine (1911/12 - 22,000 in 1915/16 - 44,000) but they still did not receive the same benefits as men. Women were allowed private practice in 1880, they received the title lekar ("healer") but had no access to table of ranks in 1904. Women were allowed to teach with men in women's gymnasium for equal pay and pension in 1911, see Johanson, 77-101. On women lawyers and engineers, see, "Chronicle," \textit{ZhD} 12 (1911), 23.
political and social ideals in Russia. In periods of strict
censorship, it provided a less regulated pathway to the
public. Writers consequently earned great prestige and moral
suasion. In women's novels, literary expression garnered
respect for the author and renown for the heroine of her
novel. After 1905, an entire field of women's novels
developed, exploring controversial themes of women's sexuality
and women's roles, and constituting one of the most successful
forms of popular literature. These novels far surpassed the
sexual and social venturing of the mid-nineteenth century
heroine Vera Pavlovna of N. Cherneshevskii's novel, *What is to
be done?* They treated sexuality extensively and without
bashfulness. Societal norms on sexuality and women's place
came under an attack incited and explored by literary devices.

The most infamous of these novels appeared in 1907. In
Sanin, by Mikhail Arsybashev, the amoral and scornful chief

12Engelstein, 399.

13The heroine of the novel, Vera Pavlovna, entered into
a "fictional" marriage - one that freed her from the bonds of
patriarchal authority but did not require of her a wifely
commitment - she eventually used this freedom to join with a
man she loved, unencumbered by her "husband." Pavlovna became
the model for generations of women and the treatment she
received from her male peers became the norm for men of the
liberal intelligentsia. Later in the novel, she went on to
form a sewing cooperative thus illustrating her political
role.
protagonist, explored many avenues of vice. His lifestyle gave rise to an entire sub-culture in the cities. Saninism became a style of behavior for the young, replete with boulevard sex clubs.\textsuperscript{14}

Other novels similarly explored the seedy side of life. In 1909, Kuprin's Yama appeared and fictionalized the lives of prostitutes in the city. Verbitskaia's The Keys to Happiness became very popular with the voyeuristic female set because of its love/lust triangle of two men and one woman. For the moralists, Tolstoy's Kreutzer Sonata and its emphasis on the evils of lust, became quite popular.\textsuperscript{15}

The popularity of "thin" journals of a cosmopolitan nature and less political leanings, like Zhenskoe Dielo, also rose.\textsuperscript{16} Zhenskoe Dielo emerged in, and addressed itself to, this environment by exploring issues of law, suffrage, education, the professions, and roles for women in marriage. It attuned itself to women of the upper classes by examining

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Stites, Women's}, 185-188. See also Englestein's final chapter on the boulevard in Keys, 359-420.

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Ibid.}

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Jeffrey Brooks, xvii, 109, 111; and Englestein, 359-420.}
issues such as the question of nannies, the servant crisis in other countries, and the psychological "disease," hysteria.\textsuperscript{17}

The advertisements in the magazine also aligned with an enlightened bourgeois image. Advertisements for women's medical courses, minutes of international women's congresses, and even for a practicing woman doctor specializing in midwifery and women's internal and nervous disorders appeared. Clearly, the readers of Zhenskoe Dielo could contemplate seeking higher education, pursuing a medical career, or traveling abroad.

\textit{Historiography}

The historiography of Russia and the Soviet Union rarely addressed the place of public, but non-political, discourse on any subject, much less that on women's social and domestic roles. The politically volatile relationship of Russian governments in the pre-revolutionary and Soviet periods with the scholarly community hobbled the field of Russian/Soviet

\footnote{\textsuperscript{17}On nannies, Ek, "Letters of Mother," ZhD 21 (1911), 4; on servant problem, "Foreign Chronicle: America," ZhD 12 (1911), 22; on hysteria, N.M. Kishkin, "Sick Women's Notes," ZhD 6 (1910), 6-13; and Tarnovskaia, "Fatal Women," ZhD 11-12 (1910), 6-8; industrial and poorer women were discussed in reference to charity and romanticized fiction, see "Provinces," 6 ZhD (1910), 13; and fiction, "Flowers," ZhD 11-12 (1910), 8-10.}
studies. The political agenda of the American government also interfered with the paramount objective of historical analysis. In *Rethinking the Soviet Experience: Politics and History since 1917*, Stephen F. Cohen detailed political considerations in the United States which forced scholars towards politically valuable topics and a negative bias.\(^1^8\) Blinded by ideology, the majority of works from the American scholarly community of the 1950s and 1960s espoused a conception of Russian development that scholars now term the "totalitarian model."\(^1^9\)

Other biases hampered Soviet scholars. The discussion of the pre-revolutionary years was necessarily bent to accommodate ideological considerations: everything of significance in history presaged the October Revolution and the coming triumph of the working class and its vanguard, the Communist Party.


\(^1^9\)Centuries of despotism reinforced the Russian tendency in favor of authoritarian governments which pursued their aims in reckless disregard for the welfare of the people. Russia and the Soviet Union which succeeded it, were both backward states dominated by a ruling class that strove for total control of the country.
In both countries, political history, focusing of course on men, dominated. Since most western historians were embroiled in elucidation of the totalitarian model, they focussed primarily on political interpretations. Soviet scholars ignored women because they did not constitute a distinct social class or have political power.

In the 1970s, younger historians in the United States challenged traditional, political interpretations of the Soviet and Russian experience and a tremendous gulf emerged between the interpretations of Cold War historians and the "new cohort."\(^2^6\) This left contemporary scholars hard-pressed to first, rewrite earlier historical works, then progress beyond elemental research, in addition to attacking the totalitarian model and attempting to replace its monolithic insistence on oppression with a more flexible system of analysis, these younger scholars introduced new archival sources and new topics of study, including study of women.

Scholars of Russian women generally focussed on the same political and social milieu as the profession's mainstream, that is, the government, the party, the working class, and certain professions. Scholars studied Russian women who occupied posts of importance in political parties before and after the revolution, and they studied legislation directed towards women to ascertain official policy regarding women's status. Some studies tackled the regime's voluminous legislation and attempted to deconstruct their meaning for women, while others explored beyond the laws and their presentation of an ideal society to the real society beyond, examining women's actual behavior as evidenced by criminal proceedings against society's transgressors.21

The lives of women in the major political parties of the left constituted one major and well-plumbed area of Russian women's history. These works concentrated on the lives of those women who left the most voluminous, visible, and accessible papers - the women who were most radical, literate, and unique. Works such as Barbara Evans Clemencs' spectacular biography of Aleksandra Kollontai and Barbara Alpern Engel's rich study of women of the intelligentsia in the nineteenth century exposed the motives and lives of radical women.22 Along with radicals, women artists left a residue of their thoughts and actions, but studies that center on artists, as those that focus on political activists, do not reflect the general mores and role expectations of society because of their exceptional status.23

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Richard Stites' extensive study of politically active women, written in the 1970s, constituted by far the most extensive work on the women of pre-Revolutionary Russia. A thorough treatment of women's political involvement, it suffered from a lack of data on the actual life-styles of non-radical women, especially women of the middle and upper classes.\textsuperscript{24} Although its conceptualizations now appear dated, in comparison with more recent publication in the rapidly-developing field of women's history, the book remains a valuable and insightful examination of the interactions between the political and radical women of Russia.

But focussing on militant women, scholars inadvertently neglected conventional women, or they accepted uncritically the negative portrait radical and feminists drew of them.\textsuperscript{25} A new generation of historians began to fill this gap in the mid-1980s. They placed new emphasis on the experiences of the less-vocal majority. However, though pioneering works of


\textsuperscript{25}The basis for this idea came from Barbara Alpern Engel's essays, "Women in Russia" and "Engendering Russia's History: Women in Post-Emancipation Russia and the Soviet Union," Slavic Review 51:2 (Summer 1992), 309-321. See also by Engel, "Transformation versus Tradition," in Russia's Women, 135-147.
peasant and lower-class women's history emerged, middle and upper-class women's histories remained absent. Two works studied the issue of elite women's self-image, although neither approached the problem from conventional historical sources. Barbara Heldt's analysis of literary models for men and women revealed how men's and women's writings on woman's role differed greatly. She described how male authors depicted their heroines' unattainable, "terrible perfection" which became the image of the ideal woman. Joyce Stetson Toomre examined expectations for women within the home in her study of the most popular cookbook of turn of the century Russia, Elena Molokhovets' A Gift to Young Housewives. However, neither of these works delved deeply enough into popularly held expectations for women's public and private life.

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Even in the work they accomplished, scholars of women from 1905 to 1917 only began to explicate gender roles and assumptions in the key period. Laura Engelstein produced the most extensive treatment of gender roles and mores in her 1993 book examining the political and legal debates of turn of the century Russia in relation to the definition of "proper" sexual behavior. Her work did not examine whether these norms and debates reflected actual behavior, and she only touched upon their reflection in mass culture.

Though Engelstein, Engels, Clements, and Stites wrote about women of the intelligentsia and middle classes their studies were necessarily selective and illuminated only those faces in the front of the crowd. Many more women stood behind these. They may be mute and non-political, but their lives may be illuminated through a careful analysis of the mass literature produced for their edification.

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Zhenskoe Dielo: Importance, Content, and Value as Source

The magazine Zhenskoe Dielo reflected a general and amorphous ideal which can be deconstructed into a more realistic and accurate profile of the women who read it. Although a considerable number of women's magazines circulated in the early twentieth century, Zhenskoe Dielo is particularly deserving of study. The length of the run of the publication, from 1910 through the tumultuous years of war and into 1917, indicated that it commanded a fairly stable readership and should have enjoyed some degree of influence through World War I and into 1917. Further, the magazine had a male editor but a female publisher, along with both male and female contributors. Because the magazine mixed politics and fiction, it was capable of attracting a broad cross-section of the public and being a mass appeal magazine. Important figures of the times contributed to the magazine, including

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ZhD managed to stay in publication through the economically devastating years of the first world war and into 1917. Although other women's magazines folded quickly. The first Zhenskoe Dielo, published at the turn of the century, only lasted 3 years. The second ZhD's expanded profile may be responsible. The first only dealt with political issues, though according to Aleksandr Kollontai, it was also a tool of the bourgeois feminists, see Toward a History of the Working Women's Movement in Russia, trans. and ed. Alix Holt (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977), 49.

\[32\]
The publisher - E.S. Krasheninnikova, the editor - L. Rodionov, as presented in ZhD 18 (1913) 32.
A.A. Andreev, I. A. Bunin, and A.A. Verbitskaia, demonstrating its place in the artistic mainstream.33

Other scholars have acknowledged the magazine’s significance, but no one has closely studied its contents.34 Linda Harriet Edmondson, author of the most influential book on Russian feminists, categorized it as a "moderate journal," which offered a "bland mixture" in tune with bourgeois feminist ideas.35 Rose L. Glickman also identified Zhenskoe Dielo as a mouthpiece of the bourgeois feminists, alongside Zhenskii Vestnik (Women’s Herald) and Sciuz Zhenshchin (Women’s League) though she suggested that Zhenskoe Dielo was of a less conservative strain than these other magazines.36

33For larger listing of contributors, see Appendix B. Verbitskaia’s novel, The Keys to Happiness, was a racy tale of sexual liberation. She considered herself a feminist and at the turn of the century the demand for her women’s novels was greater than that for classics. For more see Engelstein’s historical sketch in Keys, 396-414.

34The bourgeois feminists have remained excluded from historical studies beyond institutional histories.

35Edmondson attributed this "blandness" to the male editor’s interest in distancing his magazine from the more radical branches of feminism such as those in Great Britain. She cited the League of Equal Rights and the Mutual Philanthropic Society, organizations interested in political rights, as the political platforms of ZhD in her Feminism in Russia, 1900-1917 (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1984), 126, 135.


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The difficulties of source availability and obtaining circulation statistics presented problems for systematic research. Though the magazine was accessible in the United States, the microfilm set proved incomplete.\footnote{In the microfilms of the magazine, the following issues were available: 1910 - 6, 11-12, 29-30; 1911 - 12, 13, 16, 17, 21; 1912 - 0; 1913 - 8, 9, 12, 13, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23; 1914 - 1, 5, 6, 12, 14. I found that the quality of the microfilms varied from legible to cryptic. The most interesting were the scratch paper, hand-written notes attached to the covers of magazines whose full text was not included, "Don't photograph!" (Ne Snimat!), with no reason given for the omission.} However, the formulaic construction of the articles and their compliance to the same general themes indicated that the sampling of magazine articles available constituted an adequate representation of the overall content.

Although circulation statistics could not be obtained, Zhenskoe Dielo clearly commanded attention from its milieu. Even in the absence of a list of subscribers, it was possible to reconstruct the desired readership profile of the magazine and the magazine's ideal woman. The image the magazine broadcast to its public reflected one of the models with which some women attempted to attune their lives. When the editor of Zhenskoe Dielo selected the copy and advertisements for his magazine, he created more than a mixture of articles and pictures; he created a finished and cohesive image of life.
how to behave within the home and in public space, how to raise children, act, dress, and how to respond to issues abroad and at home. The program set forth by the editor encompassed a wide array of women's issues and concerns. Foremost was commentary on the women's question, public role, and educational struggles. Histories figured prominently, but domestic expectations and childcare discussions were not far down the list. Lighter selections on famous women - both contemporary and historical - followed. The final section of the magazine consisted of such items as:

9) Illustrations and caricatures 10) Correspondences from the provinces and abroad 11) Miscellany, fashion, handiwork, housekeeping 12) Legal department 13) Announcements and advertisements. 39

The editor did not present a magazine entirely seriously minded. Not all advertisements hawked educational and socially enriching products. Beauty aids such as soap, cold cream, and methods to develop "a beautiful bust" also received their column space. 39 Not all reports were serious either.

39For complete list, see Appendix B. Editors, ZhD 6 (February 1910): ii.

39Two different feldsher academies in ZhD 29-30 (1910), ii; women's congress notes (945 pages of them!) in ZhD 12 (1910), ii; woman doctor's ad, ZhD 21 (1911), 32. Engelstein explores the burgeoning sexuality ads, Keys to Happiness 359-369; The ads for beauty hints and creams appeared in every magazine.
"Miscellany," a regular feature of the magazine contained short, often humorous, accounts. One report covered an American magazine's interview with famous beauty Lina Kavalera and her beauty secrets. It also reported "the ten commandments for good wives" from the queen of Romania (including gems like, "never begin a fight with your husband...remember he is a man, not a god"). In this same column, appeared tales from exotic America telling of night life in New York, the story of a girl who killed a record number of flies, and a dog that lived through a terrible fire. It is not surprising that the editor grouped this offering at the bottom of his program along with, "fashion, handiwork, housekeeping."  

Contributors certainly gave opinions and suggestions along with their works, and the reading public made their will known through letters and the power of the purse. The magazine's ideal woman and her role in society necessarily reflected the popular conceptions of women's place in society. Its survival as a consumer object depended upon its attractiveness. The model of femininity, professional participation, and domestic responsibility presented by the

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40 "Miscellany," ZhD 16 (1911), 24.
magazine was not as a package equally attractive to all women or one that they would attempt to emulate in its entirety. Perhaps a woman purchased the magazine for only one or two of its features and found the rest of the contents distasteful. Magazines attempted to construct an ideal reader in their pages that would appeal to their audience; the sculpted ideal can be presumed to embody the public's wishes.\footnote{Jeffrey Brooks emphasized the symbiotic relationship between media and public in \textit{When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917} (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).}

The magazine reflected a general ideal, one which can be constructed from the magazine's features and presented as a more personal profile of some of the women of Russia in 1911 than that drawn from legislation, political platforms, or artistic women's diaries and works.

\textbf{Zhenskoe Dielo's Readership}

The literacy statistics given earlier implied that the readers would have to be largely middle-class, urban or urban-educated women because of the placement and expense of the schools. This would largely eliminate peasantry and factory women. The women were obviously interested in political events both at home and abroad, and the central place these
topics took in the magazine's presentation would imply that
this was of greater import to the readers than the magazine's
other features.

The contents of the magazine suggested several things as
well. With the preponderance of articles on education and
teaching techniques and the aforementioned statistics on the
burgeoning numbers of teachers in the capitals, it does not
seem to be a far leap to believe that many of the readers were
female teachers. The frequent use of phrases in French,
English and German also suggested the educational attainment
attributed to the average reader. The fashion pages,
travelogues, and advertisements for jewelry, spas, and
expensive beauty treatments suggested a wealthy and
cosmopolitan readership as well - or at least a group of
readers who could imagine some of these things within their
reach, an impossibility for the average factory worker.

Zhenskoe Dielo addressed women's relationships to
political, professional, and social spheres both directly and
indirectly. It spoke directly about women's appropriate role
through its news and editorial columns, commenting on, for
example, government policies involving women and women's

42 For a chart of contents, see Appendix A.
status at home and in foreign lands. The magazine also indirectly insinuated women's appropriate roles and ideals in practice in historical sketches (more panegyrics than histories) and fiction.

This study will shed light onto the popular perceptions of gender roles for women of the middle and upper classes from 1910-1914 and, by showing their political and social aspirations, contribute to the ongoing dissolution of the totalitarian model.
CHAPTER I
POLITICAL ROLES

Now off the presses and ready for sale,
The new book by Vera Mikhailova
RUSSIAN LAWS AND WOMEN
The first collection of laws on women - on our
existing laws. With this publication, the
publishing house furthers the fight of all
conscious and intelligent women for a better
future. It is imperative for you to know the real
state of Russian women in Russian law.\(^3\)

Zhenskoe Dielo regularly presented a feature entitled, "The
Foreign Chronicle," in which it informed readers about
foreign women's situation from professional to domestic.\(^4\)
The accounts tended to be terse and devoid of bias except in
their selection of subject matter. Certainly, choice of
material indicated the extent to which an idea was considered
worthy of attention. A large part of the news briefs detailed
political roles for women abroad, particularly emphasizing the
suffrage issue.

\(^3\)Advertisement, ZhD 5 (1914), 37.

\(^4\)Longer explorations of the status of women in one
specific country were included but adhered to the same
reporting outline as in the briefs, see S. Berdaev, "Women's
Movement in India," or N. Alpha, "Women's Question in Persia,
in ZhD 11-12 (1910) 16-17, 4-6; or S. Galbershtadt, "Women's
These concerns for women's political roles spilled into the regular features and articles of the magazine as well. On average two or more articles or small news items dealing with women's suffrage appeared in each issue. They covered everything from the suffragettes in England and their terrorist acts to Germany's suffragists petitioning for voting rights.45

Zhenskoe Dielo proposed political roles for women through its multiple accounts on foreign suffragists' struggles and reports on international suffragist conferences.46 When turning to the domestic news section, the magazine concentrated less on suffrage and more on women's professional and marital roles. Perhaps the hostile stance of the existing political parties (including other women in the socialist groups) to what they considered a secondary issue convinced the women on the magazine's staff not to press the separatist issue of suffrage.47 A duma-issued statement of 1914 contended, "Women must unite. They must follow not after the feminists and suffragists, but in step with the workers of

45For a large list of suffragettes' terrorist acts, see "F.C." ZhD 12 (1914), 20-21, and for Germany's women, see "F.C." ZhD 11-12 (1910), 19-20;


47On women's groups (socialist) opposing suffrage and comments on women's "inopportune" timing see Stites, Women's, 191, 200-202; see also Edmondson, Feminism 58-82.
democracy [noga v nogy s rabochei demokratiei]." For example, this statement and the magazine's international attention to suffrage indicated that women were concerned with the vote and it was a desired right. Perhaps the authors felt the domestic issue too contentious and decided to press other reforms in the magazine that they felt were just as needed in Russia.

Importantly, while the magazine reported on challenges by foreigners to the existing political order that used violent means, damaged public property, or created public spectacles, they did not, by their phrasing, condone these actions, often referring to the perpetrators as "combative" or as "terrorists" engaged in vandalism. They never referred to combative methods used internally.

Contributors joined in this condemnation of radical method, referring to the English suffragettes and saying that their movement was, "taking on more and more dangerous and revolutionary forms," and if they continued it could assume a "completely undesirable hue." According to Stites, all the feminist groups generally condemned confrontational methods,

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48 No party was named in connection with the statement, see "Chronicle," ZhD 6 (1914), 18.

49 For "combative" (voinsbuioshii), see "Miscellany," ZhD 12 (1915), 22; for "terrorists" and vandals, see "F.C." ZhD 12 (1914), 21.

and radicals tended to gravitate to other movements.\textsuperscript{51} The suffragists' hunger strikes received less condemnation, and it could be assumed that the Russian radical tradition led women and men to be more accepting of such protest because of its early iconization in popular culture.\textsuperscript{52}

Consequently, since violence and sabotage were not condoned, non-violent and passive forms of protest became the only acceptable means of changing the societal order. This left arguments of logic as the main tool for suffragists. When asserting women's rights to suffrage, the magazine's debates advocated an internal political role for Russian women with an argument which centered not on women being comparable to men, but on women's distinctive world view, experiences, and problems. I. Popov presented the argument that "vital cultural questions cannot be decided," without women and mothers needed representation for their protection.\textsuperscript{53} This same contention, emphasizing women's special attributes, qualifications, and needs, entered into other political rights

\textsuperscript{51}According to Stites, "The very presence of a continuous large scale revolutionary movement that included women in prominent places inhibited the feminist movement from splitting into 'suffragettes' and suffragists' as it did in England." See, Women's, 212.

\textsuperscript{52}Maxwell's \textit{Narodniki Women} is just as sensationalist in content as its title implies, but it did manage to convey a sense of the reverence and fervency with which women such as Vera Zasulich, an early Russian martyr and rebel, were worshipped. For a less impassioned but more thorough and scholarly treatment of the radical women, see Engel \textit{Five Sisters} and Stites, Women's, 138-154.

\textsuperscript{53}I. Popov, "Women on the road!" ZhD 13 (1913), 2-4.
agendas. M. Blandova maintained that women needed to be given the right to be jurists because, "women jurists can help male jurists to see shadings of situations arising from familial complications."\(^{54}\)

In response to contemporary critics who feared the masculinization of women if they entered the male sphere, advocates for women's rights maintained that women would not lose their feminine qualities in their proximity to politics. The magazine voiced this argument: "let a woman work in politics, arts and serve in the factory and office. It needn't prevent her being a good mother."\(^{55}\)

In the light of this emphasized femininity, the magazine presented contemporary women in active political roles, such as candidates, leaders of international organizations for women's rights, and as important political and philosophical figures. The activities of well known female political figures of the time, such as Rosa Luxemburg and Emmeline Pankhurst, received news briefs and other women, such as Annie Furugelm and Baroness Berta von Zutner commanded more extensive treatment.\(^{56}\) Both Furugelm and Zutner exemplified

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\(^{54}\) M. Blandova, "The Legal Rights of Women," ZhD 23 (1913), 1-2.


\(^{56}\) For Luxemburg only, see "F.C.,” ZhD 19 (1913), 18; for both, see "F.C.,” ZhD 14 (1914), 19-20.
the femininity with which, according to the magazine’s earlier arguments, women enriched the political arena.

An interview with Furugelm, the chairwoman of the Finnish Union for the Electoral Rights of Women, emphasized her accomplishments in international organizations. At the same time, the magazine sought to assure readers of Furugelm’s essentially feminine nature. They described her as “gentle, feminine, and at the same time [emphasis mine], firm and unshakably steadfast in her principles - humanitarian and tolerant in relations with associates.” The description implied a basic incompatibility between femininity and commitment to principles, as though it was odd that these two qualities should both be contained within the character of a woman.

Baroness Berta Zutner received the most press by far, but articles still emphasized her femininity. A pacifist of some fame, mentored by Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy and possessing international connections, her speeches, her receptions, her influence over male leaders, and even her birthday received special notice. In her obituary of 1914, she was praised with the highest of accolades:

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58 Berta Von Zutner, "Baroness Von Zutner on the Widespread idea of Peace in Russia," ZhD 18 (1913), 6; greeting to French, see "Foreign News," ZhD 6 (1910), 14; Austria’s leader influenced by Zutner’s pacifism, see "F.C.,” ZhD 14 (1914), 20; and birthday, see "Berta Zutner," ZhD 12 (1913), 9.
When Berta von Zutner left this world, the strongest example of modern womanhood passed as well...Only the ancient world had such heroic characters that embodied cold and unbending will alongside a clearly feminine mystique and precision of soul...in our modern, impoverished heroism, Baroness von Zutner stood on the height of heights.  

Zutner married a young idealist instead of the rich man her family favored, and though her family shunned her, she never regretted the decision. Her husband always treated her chivalrously; they had a strong and mutually supportive relationship. Zutner struggled for the acceptance of her ideas and at first received only jeers. Even Tolstoy was not always kind, but soon, people began to listen to her. Her pacifism "was not just one act, but an entire lifetime, every hour giving herself fully...without a wish to think of private interests but in the name of a great idea filling all of her life."  

The magazine's portrayal of Zutner furthered their ideal depiction of the eternally feminine within the context of her political career. First, and most clearly, the author emphasized her connection to heroines of old and the "feminine mystique and precision of soul," with which she approached life. These characteristics were given as distinctive attributes of a feminine spirit which permeated not only ages...  

59A. Tezi, "From the Private Life of Baroness Berta von Zutner," ZhD 14 (1914), 3-5.  
60Ibid.
of old but selected women of the present - an eternal feminine. Her happy marriage indicated her success in a traditionally female sphere and stressed her feminine nature first, and her political endeavors second. Also, her achievements were recognized by a great man, implying that worthy women would be accorded attention it if they were persistent and demonstrated capability.

The choice of political ideology and the verve with which she pursued her ideals both harkened back to qualities mentioned in the conventional definition of femininity presented at the beginning of this thesis, i.e. "gentleness...patience...tact, [and] nobility." The commitment to pacifism fit into the conventional definitions of women's attitudes and abilities.

The phrases which described her devotion to her occupation were distinctly feminine and reminiscent of the modes of expression for religious experience and martyrdom. This was not the phrasing of saints' tales from medieval times, redolent with devotion to God, but words reminiscent of saints' lives of the nineteenth century, full of sacrifice and devotion to others. This reliance upon religious metaphor was similarly present in the stories of women of the Russian radical tradition - sacrificing themselves for an ideal.61 martyrdom, sacrifice and suffering permeated the descriptions of women in the works of classical Russian authors of the

61See Maxwell and Engels, Five Sisters.
nineteenth century. Devotion, sacrifice and the dogged pursuit of a higher ideal elevated Zutner from the realm of a merely human female of great achievement to a plane of spiritual superiority.

All of these characteristics melded with what developed as the magazine's ideal political role for women - a woman engaged in political pursuits in a distinctively feminine mode, not intruding into men's roles. Politically-active women not only maintained conventional feminine roles but even attained the exalted plane of feminine and spiritual virtue.

The historical sketches provided several more dynamic female actors as models for emulation. The most vivid of these portrayals was that of Manon Jeane Philipon, a woman of the French Revolution. Philipon married a man of political power, Roland de la Plater, not for love, but out of admiration and in imitation of art. She did not divorce her husband when she fell in love with another man, even though this was a prevalent practice among her contemporaries.

Mme. Roland maintained conventional domestic roles, caring for her house and invalid husband, but in politics she obviously possessed the greater savvy. She penetrated the veil of intrigues of court while her husband, ill and confused, did not comprehend the situation. Later in Paris, Mme. Roland became the center of one of the post-revolutionary intellectual circles, though they quickly turned against her when she protested the use of terror. "Bright, young, and
beautiful, " she was the queen of the Girondists. Even at her execution, she walked courageously to the gallows, helping a man who was unable to bear the strain.\(^\text{62}\)

Roland presented a political role model for women that not only met men in the political forum, but surpassed them in knowledge. However, it should be noted that she never held political office. She wielded influence through her proximity to power, both with her husband and the Girondists. Most importantly, she competently completed her domestic roles of devoted wife and mother. Her husband, an invalid much older than she was, still received her devotion and commitment even after she fell in love with another. An unspoken respect for the sanctity of marriage permeated the tale of her faithfulness.

This "super woman" seen in Roland's and Philipon's portraits - active, political, and professional yet possessing almost all the characteristics that conventional definitions of womanhood said she should be - appeared in other historical sketches. Harriet Beecher Stowe's grief at the loss of her sons in the Civil War, told especially poignantly, finished the magazine's discussion of her literary contributions, and hence, reemphasized the motherly affection of this writer of politicized fiction.\(^\text{63}\) In the portrayal of Jadwiga, a Polish

\(^{62}\) V. Kashkarov, "Historical Women," ZhD 11-12 (1910), 10-12.

\(^{63}\) V. K--v, "Harriet Beecher Stowe," ZhD 12 (1911), 7-8.
queen of the fourteenth century, the author stressed her devotion for her husband and her pious religious sensibilities. Shen-Pei-Chzen, active in the Chinese women's movement, was praised for her wisdom and prudence when she refrained from introducing confrontational English suffragettes' techniques in China.

Finally, the sketch of Ekaterina Romanovna Vorontsova-Dashkova highlighted her feminine qualities. An erudite, enlightened woman - contemporary and intellectual associate of Catherine the Great - she was recognized for her scholarship and appointed to the Academy of Sciences. As head, she reorganized the academy. Reassurances of her femininity were not long in coming. They found voice in a lengthy quote from Hertzen, in which he first praised her abilities and then added:

All this is true, but... on top of that Dashkova is a woman and remains a woman for life. Her tender side is unusually developed. For us, that is especially important. In Dashkova is the Russian woman's character - awakened by Peter from its seclusion, declaring its ability and attempting to partake in the ruling of the state, science, and illiterate Russia - able to stand equal with Catherine.

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64. This was only the first installment of the tale, and therefore dealt primarily with her youth. It did begin with a short overview of her contributions. "to her, Poland and Russia owe their present status," see V. Kashkarov, "Historical Women," ZhD 29-30 (1910), 8-11.


For all Hertzen's panegyrics to Dashkova, he still placed her only on par with Catherine, another woman, and not in line with other great men. In all cases, the authors carefully detailed the feminine qualities of a female political figure, such as motherly instincts, devotion to husband, and prudent behavior.

Only one fictional portrayal of a political woman appeared in the magazines examined. A. Pankrotof's romantically heroic Natasha Korneva underwent trials similar to those of Mme. Roland. She married a SD as he departed for exile in Siberia and endured this early separation from her husband. She first went to the Tatars and formed a medical clinic, and then when her husband fell ill, she moved to join him. Korneva later continued her revolutionary work but constantly received reprimands from party leaders because she found herself unable to hate. This was not compatible with her mentor's insistence that one needed to distinguish between friends and enemies; "I must be a bad revolutionary...For me, all people are equal."^67

Korneva remained devoted to her husband, without sexual bond or child to cement their relationship. When he was ill, she fulfilled her wifely duty, gave up her career and went to his side. She was not a good revolutionary in the definition of the SD movement, but obviously her explanation resonated as

the "correct" and human response to such statements of indiscriminate hate. Throughout the story, she participated in everyday revolutionary actions such as the formation of the Tatar medical clinic, which evoked memories of the populists' aspirations, and reflected popular middle-class attitudes towards philanthropic endeavors.

Both direct and indirect commentary on women's political roles presented women who did not use confrontational tactics in the struggle for their rights. Rather, the articles and fiction focused on women who advocated non-violent solutions to human relations (i.e. Stowe's distress at the Civil War, Roland's denunciation of terror, or Korneva's inability to hate). This emphasis on women's non-violent responses to political problems was reinforced by the attention in stories on international political news to peaceful means of protest and the magazine's stand against terrorists. Zhenskoe Dielo's coverage of women's political activity also emphasized the "feminine heart" that women brought to politics in several of the examples, such as Stowe's fight with slavery (with its sentimental appeal to Russians with a legacy of serfdom) and Purgel's gentleness and femininity that accompanied her leadership skills.

The political issues that women addressed also emphasized their femininity. They agitated for the vote to further their cause for social welfare and because women's experience was
essential for the fair dispensation of justice - not for the acquisition of raw political power. As one article stated, as long as men make laws, women will live poorly.\textsuperscript{68} Women featured in the magazine concerned themselves with the influence of government for public health, morality, and welfare. In the cases of political involvement not directly related to social welfare or morality questions, the women did not hold the reins of power. Roland did not participate in the political maneuvering of court or the revolution directly, but simply advised her husband and, later, the members of her circle. Zutner did not hold power either but worked through influence and proximity to power.

The enchantment and romanticism with which the fictional and historical women’s love relationships and motherly affections were reported indicated that this was not a simple ploy to make society accepting of women in power. Rather, a great sympathy and honor for these qualities must have existed among the readers. The magazine favorably portrayed women involved in politics and on an almost equal footing with men, but it inscribed these women with traditional female qualities, domestic roles, and human service concerns. It would seem that these women’s connections to past roles while they forged new frontiers also comforted the new woman that the new would not be totally devoid of the familiar.

\textsuperscript{68}S.Z., "Women in Antiquity," ZhD 11-12 (1910), 14.
CHAPTER II
PROFESSIONAL ROLES

FIELDSHER-MIDWIFE SCHOOL
under the formal supervision of Dr. G. L. Roginskii
in Moscow.\textsuperscript{69}

90 RUBLES A MONTH
Work for all in convenient (udobnyi) home work.
Distance not a problem. Terms sent free.\textsuperscript{70}

Zhenskoe Dielo paid considerable attention to women's professional participation. Similar parameters delineated what traditional role expectations a woman must fulfill in order to enter the public and professional sphere. Reports from the "Foreign Chronicle" figured prominently: women making professional advances in law, education, and medicine - most notably Mme. Curie - received column space and women's professional clubs, some replete with pictures.\textsuperscript{71} Foreign

\textsuperscript{69} Advertisement ZhD 1910, 29-30.

\textsuperscript{70} Advertisement ZhD 8 (1913).

\textsuperscript{71} Mme. Curie, "F.C.,” ZhD 21 (1911), 22; and "Chronicle,” ZhD 23 (1913), 18. For professional clubs see "F.C." for a London version with interior shots throughout the magazine ZhD 11-12 (1910), 20; or A.D., "The Society of Peters burg Lawyers," ZhD 9 (1913), 18; or Klavdia M---i, "About One Woman’s Club," ZhD 22 (1913), 3-6.
artists received notice along with discussions of women's role in wartime and an aviatrix or two. 72

The balance of news briefs on women's professional and public sphere activities were located in the domestic news. Here also, accounts on women in the law, education, medicine, and the arts figured prominently. Photos of women artists, dancers, and authors graced the covers and their works appeared in the pages in between. A not atypical section of the "Chronicle of 'Women's Affairs'" contained twelve news briefs of which ten dealt with women's education and professional roles, reflecting the common wisdom that the road to women's equality lay along the path to economic independence. 73 By extension, education logically received stress as the training provided for the journey. The magazine narrated the triumphs and pitfalls of women's education as well.

72 For example, see Sarah Bernhardt and French women aviator in "F.C.," ZhD 17 (1910) 22; The reports on French women entering military service were not as revolutionary as they first appear, "They [women] can't do anything on the front lines, but is it possible that they can't serve in the rear?" see, "F.C.," ZhD 8 (1913), 21.

73 For sample "Chronicle" content, see ZhD 12 (1915), 20. On woman's financial independence and the need for establishment of women's banks, see N. G---r, "Citadel of Equal Rights," ZhD 5 (1914), 5-6; and Taisa Khitrovo, "Women and Cooperation," ZhD 12 (1914), 2-4. For economic equality as the road to women's sexual emancipation, see Taisa Khitrovo, "Love, the Tango, and women's Equality," 14 (1914), 12-15. One interesting account of women's wage slavery and the evils that could result (rape, abuse) was seen in S. Nikolaivich's account of two Russian women in Cuba, see "On the Tobacco Plantation," ZhD 23 (1913), 15.
Issues of women’s professional life and competence both in foreign and domestic venues received more extensive treatment within the body of the magazine. The general arguments centered on women’s competence—such as the abilities of women lawyers and engineers—and the suitability of women for certain professions—such as teaching—implying that the magazine saw no difference between men’s and women’s professional abilities. They expected equal treatment and equal pay.

Greater discontent still was evident for professions from which women remained barred. The opposition to the prevailing system of discrimination got at times bitterly self-righteous. One news brief on women’s education reported how, "opponents of higher women’s education are about to bite their tongues," in response to reports of women’s splendid performance on university examinations. A report on the expulsion of women from a dental school in Kharkhov ended with a tirade contending that women doctors, "have always been considered equal to men and that does not need to be proven. It has long

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74 On lawyers and engineers, see "Chronicle," ZhD 12 (1911), 23 on teachers, see N.R. Chekhov, "The Role of the Teacher in the History of Public Education in Russia," ZhD 8 (1913), 2-3.


been shown in life."77 A lead editorial questioned obstinately:

There is a widespread...opinion that men, by their nature, are more capable and smarter than women. Let’s assume that’s true. Why, in that case, do able men, even geniuses by nature(!) [genial'movo ot prirody(!)] sit for years in the university and other institutions of higher learning that don't even let in women?78

Another report went beyond the inequality of the system and postulated reasons for men’s intransigence:

They [men] give and maintain conditions for women more difficult than for themselves. A few, with laudable candor and a little cynicism confess, 'we don't wish for competition' the rest repeat with blind obstinacy, 'women will lose femininity,' and 'the family will suffer.'79

News briefs reported on adaptive strategies which women employed to bring them nearer their chosen professions, such as a society of women lawyers formed in St. Petersburg, all of them working behind the scenes as clerks and researchers.80

For teachers, the direct commentary merely gave mention of their professional roles and then moved on to in-depth examination of the status of the profession. In these cases,


78A. Katkova, "Our Little Holiday," ZHD 6 (1914), 1.

79Taisa Khitrova uses a Kollontai article as a springboard for this examination of women's oppression. I doubt that Kollontai would have been pleased, see "They Go On," 23 (1913), 7.

the acceptability of the profession was not in question. Women had toe-holds as instructors and attention turned to the status of their educational opportunities and the obstacles in the roadway. Discussions had progressed to what could be considered more secondary issues, such as administrative bureaucracy in school teaching or pre-requisites for administration.

In fact, the question of women's competence had progressed to the point where women cited their greater ability to teach. "What have women teachers brought to our schools?" one lead editorial asked, and proceeded to answer - greater qualifications and more devotion to duty. But this was not enough for the article, which praised women teachers not only for their equality with men, but for their superiority. The article contended that women's presence had stamped out corporal punishment in schools and that by extension, this led to no beating of children in the countryside. Perhaps it would permeate the state, and so, singlehandedly, Russian women teachers' actions would have brought about peace; "the all-Russian fist will retreat, at last, to the realm of history." 

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81See Ruane, "Vestal Virgins," and Stites, 173; On marriage ban for school teachers, the opening of a dental school, and the hope of a surgical clinic for women in Moscow, see "F. C.," ZhD 29-30 (1910), 18; and for mention of changing prerequisites or students with children, see "Chronicle," ZhD 13 (1911), 21; on administration see Old Pedagog, "Circulation Control," ZhD 13 (1912), 4-5.

82N.R. Chekhov, "The Role of the Teacher," 2.
Reminiscent of the arguments for women's political participation, the author supported women's abilities as genetically determined by sex. In this case, the author went one step further contending that this inherent teaching ability made woman's teaching vocation the most important profession on earth:

Because, is it possible that on the earth there is anything more important than the nurturing/teaching of future generations, the nurturing of future human kind? In that affair the woman-mother, woman-teacher manages much better than man.\(^3\)

By extension, women became the most competent professionals in the most important profession on earth. This became the greatest argument for women's acceptance into the professions.

Historical sketches depicted these ideas in practice in professional women's lives. Some followed the pattern established with the earlier political sketches, emphasizing femininity and female roles alongside professional participation, while others did not address these qualities at all.

The historical sketch of Aleksandra Viktorovna Potanina reflected the emphasis on femininity and traditional roles seen in the political sketches. Potanina, wife of a famous ethnographer of the eighteenth century, carried on her own work collecting herbarium and sketching local costuming as she travelled alongside her husband into Asia. She survived

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\(^3\)Ibid.
deprivation and danger and even brought success to the ethnographic mission because of her peaceful character. She objected to taking along weapons; coming in peace, they achieved much more.84

The descriptions of Potanina herself centered on her hard-working nature. "She worked all day," and was ever busy. She died when she refused to cancel an expedition to Tibet even though she was ill. Once again, her death in face of devotion reflected the tales of saints' lives, but even more so, the epitaph from the magazine brought this comparison out. She endured "sacrifices...like an ideal of beauty and femininity...bore peace, love and contentment as much as she participated in the achievement of general human happiness." The comparison to saint-like martyrdom does not end with this statement, but goes on to question how many sacrifices she made, "for the benefit and glory of mankind."85

Potanina provided a perfect example of a feminized professional woman. First and foremost, Potanina carried on her very successful professional life in the shadow of her husband. She performed her primary duty as wife surviving great hardship and even dying in the observation of her duty to be help-mate to her husband wherever he would roam. Secondly, her special female attributes made her more well-

85Ibid., 3.
suited to her work than a man of similar interests. She exhibited feminine characteristics of passivity and prudence which became her asset in ethnographic work and in fact, gave her success above that of her war-like comrades. She became the mother of all mankind in images redolent with sacrifice, caring, and martyrdom.

The story of Zinaida Sergeevna Mirovich, historian, also emphasized her feminine qualities. She struggled to get her education and when the universities were closed to women in 1887, "she did not wish to carry on a genteel, superficial way of life and went on to study history."\textsuperscript{86} She wrote her first work on Mme. Roland and went on to translate for the stage, speak at conferences and found one of the first women's clubs in Moscow. Of course, she "passionately loved children and hoped for a better future for the next generation," and all who knew her spoke of her as an "unusually mild person, always busy with thoughts of others, never thinking of herself."\textsuperscript{87}

In contrast to the previous historical sketch of Pontanina, the author emphasized Mirovich's refusal of a conventional lifestyle. "Genteel" and "superficial" women's roles were not for Mirovich, and in fact she did achieve much in the professional sphere. However, since professional women must be feminized to be acceptable, she loved children and

\textsuperscript{86}Ekaterina Ek, "Memories of Zinaida Sergeevna Mirovich," \textit{ZhD} 18 (1913), 3-4.

\textsuperscript{87}Ibid.
possessed a mild nature. Interestingly, the stress on feminine qualities was not as strong for Mirovich as for Pontanina, while there was more stress on the diversity of Mirovich's professional role and less on that of Potanina's personal life.

Elizaveta Feodosovna Kozmina suffered many trials in attaining her education. She started in the medical courses and with their shutdown, turned to law, sitting through the classes behind a screen in order not to disturb the men. After obtaining her certification, she set up a private practice catering to the humbler elements of society, and she battled on and off with the government, whose male officials could not figure out what to do with women lawyers. Along the way she was helped by men of influence and finally achieved, through her struggle "without friends or family," a minor inroad for women lawyers.88

One reason for the change in the tenor of this historical sketch, the lack of a family or married role for Kozmina, could be the author. In this case a man wrote the elegy to a woman of power. This account was far less romanticized than that of Mirovich or Roland. Perhaps men, because they had longer and with more legitimacy participated in the public sphere, identified more easily with the course to power and profession. Therefore, the stumbling blocks along the way and

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88V. Svenitskii, "Forgotten Woman (Zabytaia)," ZhD 16 (1911), 4-5.
did not receive special stress. By not mentioning Kozmina's private life, the author placed his subject completely in the public sphere. The author might also tacitly be arguing that a woman could not combine law practice or any successful professional endeavor with marriage and children.

More likely the actual separation of spheres within the Russian family accounted for the author's emphasis. Among the gentry a strict division between the sexes was traditionally observed in Russia, and young boys usually separated from the mother at about age seven and were transferred to the father's sphere of influence.\textsuperscript{89} Young girls, brought up under the strict, pervasive, yet loving supervision of their mothers, perhaps felt greater sensitivity to romantic and domestic elements of a story and then emphasized them in the retelling.\textsuperscript{90} The author's emphasis of political problems and ambivalence towards family connections reflected his upbringing while the romanticized versions that women produced resonated with their own childhood experiences. Heldt, working with men's and women's autobiographies, concluded that women in contrast to men, included copious information on motherhood and children.\textsuperscript{91}


\textsuperscript{90}Ibid., 32-34.

\textsuperscript{91}See Heldt, 67-68.
Male figures were not entirely absent from the biographic sketch; several men proffered Kozmina help along the way. This male intervention not only legitimized Kozmina’s ascent within traditional norms of male control, but it also implied that truly gifted and exceptional women would be recognized by the establishment and helped along their way. Hence, the magazine perpetuated the notion that women who performed to a certain standard would succeed in spite of the sexism permeating the workplace. This undercut the magazine’s rhetoric on the problems of sexist employment practices by implying that these male standards would not hinder the genuinely exceptional or persevering.

Fiction selections containing professional women were meager, including only the aforementioned story of the revolutionary Natasha Korneva and the romanticized lives of two working women, a ticket seller and a jeweler. In all the examples, women’s work received an unfavorable portrayal as women faced the arduous task of receiving fulfillment from work without the usual joys of life. Korneva worked hard, but considered herself a bad revolutionary, and in revolutionary definitions she performed unsatisfactorily because she was not arrested and not militant. The ticket seller was tormented by the swinging doors of the theater that allowed her to glimpse the beauty within but did not allow her entrance to the beauty of life. Likewise, the jeweler grew bitter as she wasted her talents on an unappreciative audience swayed by fads,
receiving only grief and bitterness from her labors. The melancholy sweetness of all of the portrayals suggested that these trials were to be expected and did not go so far as to discourage women's involvement in the professions entirely.

The discussion of women's professional roles focused less on protest than logistical problems. The authors promoted women's role as professional educators or doctors readily and defended their rights to practice. Women's right to education enjoyed support and encouragement.

It should be noted that the professions highlighted were thought to be suited to women and welcomed women out of need or for their cheap labor. According to Christopher Read, the industrial boom from 1891-1903 set an unprecedented demand for qualified white collar workers and pressed the need for educated individuals and educators from 1900 onward. In 1900 there were 10,000 teachers, by 1914, there were 30,000, many of them women.92 Women teachers were cheaper and more easily manipulated than men (they were unable to find other work easily), and they satisfied the demand for education resulting from the explosion of bureaucracy. As such, they filled a gap and did not invade already occupied and treasured male space.

Similarly, women feldshers - doctor's assistants - were not threatening in medicine, a traditionally low paid, low

92Christopher Read, Culture and Power in Revolutionary Russia: The Intelligentsia and the Transition from Tsarism to Communism (Houndmills, England: Macmillan, 1990), 6-8.
status field. Women in medical practice, like those in teaching, endured less harassment for challenging traditional roles because both professions were considered uniquely suited to women's nurturing abilities. Korneva limited her clients to workers and the poor, thus exemplifying the stereotype of women's talent for care-giving and philanthropy. Mirovich made her way studying Mme Roland and not male history and Potanina's work obviously filled a gap but did not threaten her husband. In all these cases, an increasing demand for competent professionals, a limited labor pool, and a low esteem profession interacted to form a space where women were acceptable.

In practice, women professionals were to remain feminine, but no mention was made of motherhood. Perhaps, this reflected the amount of teachers in the readership. Given the bans and discouragements which this profession endured, it would not then seem so surprising that the actual sketches of women involved in professions depicted either women without children or single women. The contention was that women's affinity for children made them good teachers. This attention to children or the stress on feminine qualities may well have

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93The privileged looked down on medicine as occupation of their inferiors and this made it prime territory for women's intrusion, see Johanson, 77.

94One fictional account presented a nurse whose descriptions oozed admiration for her angel-like demeanor and nurturing abilities, see S.D. Berdaev, "Elsa," ZhD 17 (1911), 13-16.
provided comfort to a group of women whose lives were anything but easy.

While successful women appeared within this space, Zhenskoe Dielo presented a harsh and challenging world for professional women full of discrimination which they were gifted, intelligent, and persevering. The preponderance of reports on professional women’s strides abroad indicated an interest in this world. Obviously the readers of the magazine found these women’s achievements admirable, even though the conventional signs of happiness and hallmarks of success, husband and family, were missing. These roles were converted to the new lifestyle. Instead of mother of one family and wife to one husband, successful and assumedly fulfilled professional women became mothers and caregivers to all children and looked to the welfare of the world.
CHAPTER III
MARITAL AND SEXUAL ROLES

ALL WILL LOVE YOU.
SUCCESS IN LOVE. Our modern book will teach you what to do to win someone’s heart. The best explanation in love. What a man must do to get a beautiful rich woman to love him. How a woman must behave in order to win the heart of a rich man. How to gain and keep beauty. Old remedies for the awakening of love. The magic of love and much other good advice.\(^5\)

A FABULOUS INVENTION FOR WOMEN’S HYGIENE AN APPARATUS FOR SYRINGING [douching]...if the doctor or circumstances dictate that you should PREVENT PREGNANCY then quit all other dangerous and unpleasant protection methods...it is harmless, convenient, hygienic, and guarantees success...\(^6\)

Education and legislation that attempted to regulate the workings of the home and family sparked the interest of the readers of Zhenskoe Dielo.\(^7\) On average, two or more reports

\(^5\) Also in that issue, "DO YOU WANT TO GET MARRIED? Then write me today and I will quickly sent you the interesting guidance book, FOR THOSE WISHING TO MARRY. This book is essential. It consists of about 280p with many pictures, prescriptions, advisories, etc." Advertisements from ZhD 6 (1914), i, 32.

\(^6\) Advertisement ZhD 13 (1913), 33.

\(^7\) On Germany, see, "F.C.,” ZhD 13 (1911), 20; and on Norway, see "F.C.,” ZhD 16 (1911), 22; for domestic care conference see "F.C.,” ZhD 29-30 (1910), 16; for hygiene see, N.P., "International Congress of School Hygiene," ZhD 29-30 (1910), 3-4; for parents’ conferences, see Staryi Pedagog, "Parents’ Committees," ZhD 17 (1911), 2; on divorce laws, see "Chronicle," ZhD 1 (1914), 22; and abortion see, Vera Kirsanova, "Rights and Life," ZhD 6 (1914), 2-3.

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appeared per issue discussing the teaching of morality in schools, divorce proceedings and passport restraints on married women.\textsuperscript{98} This legislation was probably largely cosmetic, the state did not easily relinquish its prerogatives, and the regulation of the domestic sphere for women's benefit did not have high priority. However, the attempts themselves do merit attention as they indicated how the women viewed their world, what they felt were society's problems, and how they felt these problems would best be remedied.

The call for legislation concerning the family or for the education of the populace in morality implied a perceived breakdown in traditional systems of family structure and ultimately a breakdown in societal control. Much was occurring around these women to convince them of society's instability. Decadent behavior, inspired by the hedonistic lifestyle presented in the popular novel Sanín, had spread rapidly since 1905 and Saninist behavior, Saninist sex clubs, and boulevard pornography all contributed to the burgeoning sense of social unrest.\textsuperscript{99} According to rumors of the time, venereal disease, endemic among licensed urban prostitutes, was spreading wildly and accounts of white slavers kidnapping

\textsuperscript{98}Since attempts to modify legislation concerning prostitution abortion, and temperance all intimately impacted women's domestic situation, they were included in the count.

\textsuperscript{99}See Stites, Women's 185; and for fuller details on the entire boulevard's sordid scene, see Engelstein Keys, 359-420.
women for service in harems of the Middle East and brothels of South America kept women in fear both at home and on the street.  

In the eyes of these women, society was crumbling and the best way to fight this decline was to shore up what they felt was the core of society - the home. If the bonds of the family were stronger, the need for prostitutes would diminish. The teaching of morality would reinforce traditional values. Of course, strong and healthy marriages were imperative as well. The readers of Zhenskoe Dielo still held traditional marriage in high esteem as did most women of pre-revolutionary Russia. Even in the face of new professional opportunities, they still desired marriage for their future.  

Intriguing examples of legislation from abroad made the news briefs of the "Foreign Chronicle," such as a Norwegian state exam for brides and German sex education in schools.  

Domestic news reported on similar moves, such as calls for

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100 White slavery is a racist term of the time period which does not account for the multi-racial nature of the actual phenomena. However, in the case of these women, white slavery is more evocative of the fear which they entertained - largely manufactured and self-centered. Stites mentioned the popularity of Kuprin's Yama, an exploration of a prostitutes life, in particular. See Women's, 183.

101 Stites, Women's, 181.

102 A Norwegian state exam for brides, see "F.C.," ZhD 16 (1911), 22; for a call for morality teaching to end criminal activity, see "Chronicle," ZhD 21 (1911), 23-25; on German efforts for sexual role education in schools to alleviate social problems, see "F.C.," ZhD 13 (1912), 20.
teaching morality to end criminal activity and lectures on fostering motherhood and stopping prostitution.\textsuperscript{103}

The editorial, "Always in Line," addressed both the present situation of family legislation, "better as of late," and the hopes for the future. The author described the "first shy steps:" allowing bastards to become legitimate with partial inheritance rights on the subsequent marriage of the parents, enabling spouses to live separately, and legalizing wives' passports, as admirable, though only partial, advances. She maintained that much still remained to be done, such as the relaxation of divorce laws. The author ultimately found education and legislation superfluous and slightly intrusive for happy families because, "love is a better indicator than legislation," but conceded that legislation was beneficial and necessary for families in trouble.\textsuperscript{104}

Education was the solution in the fight for a better society. Schools needed to be reformed because, "it is wiser

\textsuperscript{103}For educating children on sex, a new parents' club, and announcement of a lecture series on fighting child suicide, fostering motherhood, and stopping prostitution, see "Moscow News," ZhD 6 (1910), 15-16; N. Oettli, discussing mother and son relationships and the duties of motherhood also called for morality teaching in the schools in, "Mothers and Sons," ZhD 21 (1911), 4-6; education also received emphasis as the cure for other social ills such as alcoholism, see "Under the Flag of the 'Green Cross,'" ZhD 21 (1911), 2-3.

\textsuperscript{104}The rest of the article related the situation of marriage among the Old Believers and the bezpopovtsi (Old Believers without clergy) see, "Always in Line," ZhD 13 (1912), 1-2.
and less expensive to save children then punish criminals."\textsuperscript{105} Discussions on the best methods for raising children were featured prominently in the magazine as did those of educating young mothers.\textsuperscript{106} Dr. Natalia Levenson, in her regularly featured, "Doctor's Column," complained about the lack of education for young mothers, "not the family, nor the school has done anything near teaching her to be a mother, but all understand what a difficult and serious thing it is."\textsuperscript{107}

A veiled debate on this and on morality and proper behavior for women materialized in a series of articles discussing the essential nature of woman. Obviously the changing roles of the times screamed for definition, and for the stability and legitimacy that print gave ideas. Authors' opinions ranged from revisionary to stalwartly traditional. "What is Femininity?" called for a revision of traditional definitions of femininity and masculinity. However, no single voice answered the question.

The revisionaries concentrated on the nature of femininity. Constructionalists, those believing that

\textsuperscript{105}Elena Tava, "Protection of Children," ZhD 12 (1914), 16.

\textsuperscript{106}For a fictionalized discussion between men and women of foreign child rearing and its relative superiority in producing healthy and well-adjusted children, see M. Ogranovich, "On Children," ZhD 9 (1913), 3-4.

\textsuperscript{107}See, "Doctor's Column: Child Cosmetics," ZhD 2 (1914), 13-15.
femininity was learned behavior, and essentialists, those believing that femininity was an inherited trait, both voiced their opinions. V. Zarychnaia contended that the triumph of either side constituted a major issue for the women's movement. If femininity "borrowed qualities accidentally acquired in the historical process," as the constructionalists asserted, then these qualities would fade in time and women's plight "would stand out in no way from the position of the oppressed classes or nationalities."  

Conversely, if women's qualities were inherited and essential to their nature, then women should seek to contribute their unique nature to a one-sided, male-dominated culture. This line of argument also had the side benefit that traditionalists could not argue that women would lose their femininity if they entered the workplace.  

Zarychnaia, after examining the reasoning of both these arguments and the evidence of literature and legends, concluded:

Every human soul, female or male, displays from itself one or another combinations of female and male qualities, with a majority of male qualities for men and female qualities for women...they are

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different parts of the human spirit, reciprocal and complementary to one another.\textsuperscript{110} Her definition allowed for a bipolar spectrum of gender types that granted a greater elasticity of roles yet remained essentialist. The spectrum was hemmed by two constants, the elixir of qualities that constituted men and those that constituted women. She failed to delineate which qualities constituted the feminine terminus and which the masculine, but her spectrum still allowed for more varied roles for men and women.

In the commentary, "Psychology of the Modern Woman," Anatole France explored the question of whether femininity was eternal or transitory. He presented a dialogue between himself and an unnamed 'modern woman.' She told France that modern women constantly fought tradition and that in this fight, femininity was not eternal but capable of evolution. She said men bemoaning the loss of femininity mourned "the aroma of lies, weakness and imitated charms. It is only obsolete fiction and outdated ideas." In contrast to Zarychnaia, the woman formulated what qualities replaced these: "a close friend [and] helpful coworker, ready to give a hand at all times."\textsuperscript{111} Hence, new women shared an equal

\textsuperscript{110}Zarychnaia, 6. The language of this theory, reminiscent of Carl Jung, was not attributed to him, but could have originated from his discourse. Jung was in his late thirties at this time, though he did not split from Freud until 1913.

\textsuperscript{111}France, 15.
relationship with men yet remained their companions. They were not single entities but still participated in unions with men.

The conservative strain in the commentaries that addressed femininity did so in relation to motherhood. In "A Father's letter to Mothers," V. Ermilov argued that women had one essential role, a "function to which every woman is summoned, educated, and honed," and characterized motherhood as a blessed task in which mothers "receive a second life." Ermilov granted that mothers should be educated in order to enrich themselves and prepare to teach others, allowed that women could have political and societal roles (left unspecified), and conceded that mothers needed outside interests (also unspecified).

Ermilov did not forget fathers, and accused them of failing to fulfill their "god-given" role, though he did not mention a drive for men to be nurturing. Ermilov said that men asked, "Why should I live? For what aims?" and women asked "For whom should I live?" 112 Apparently he did not consider fatherhood as integral to a man's personality as motherhood was essential to women's.

In "A Mother's Letter," Ek addressed his advice to "the greater part of mothers...those who loved their child long before his appearance on earth...loved for one expectation,

the thought of how much energy she will give him." Ugly newborns could be loved only by mothers, women who wanted the child so they could, "give him all of themselves." But that did not restrict them from public life, because "a loving heart can respond to all." After the first year a woman could get a nanny, but only as a helper. Primary responsibility remained entirely with the mother and her public role restricted by her own small heart.\textsuperscript{113}

Both articles created an image of the mother as the nurturer.\textsuperscript{114} Mothers gave their entire energy to the upbringing of their children, and they did so gladly. They awaited that person for whom they could live their life and to whom they could relinquish all their energies. The authors allowed that women could have public roles, and even encouraged it, but failed to indicate how that could be managed. With the amount of energy and the complete devotion that they deemed necessary to be a good mother, when could women fit in other activities? If women could not find the time, Ek squarely placed the blame upon the mother's lack of femininity - her lack of an expansive heart. By doing this, Ek depicted women who complained of the constraints that motherhood placed on their time as inferior women.

\textsuperscript{113}He may have been the historian Aleksandr Eck, no first name was given, see "A Mother's Letter," ZhD 21 (1911), 3-4.

\textsuperscript{114}N. Oettli followed this pattern as well in his "Mothers and Sons," ZhD 21 (1911), 4-6.
Interestingly, the articles mentioned fathers as responsible for child rearing alongside the mother, but the amount of space they gave to men’s involvement — two or three sentences — indicated how little importance they attached to it. Ek stated that his father participated in his upbringing very little, occasionally stepping into his lessons. However, he felt that this was more than enough to give him a great love for his father. This ready acceptance and profession of love suggested that this was all he expected of fathers.\footnote{Taisa Khitrovo’s, "Love, the Tango and Women’s Equality," mentioned that men were as incomplete without a child as women were in its quote of an old Indian proverb, "A man is almost half a person, and a woman is almost half a person. Only man woman and child are a full person." See ZhD 14 (1914), 14.}

A moderate essentialist opinion emerged in the magazine. It seemed to be more compatible with the previously explored stance on professional and political roles and the arguments concerning women’s economic subjugation. Both of these articles stated that women must be mothers but current conditions would not allow them to complete this task.

Taisa Khitrova began much like the essentialists, Ek and Ermilov, arguing the integral part which motherhood played in woman’s character:

Renouncing motherhood, woman performs a great sin against herself and against the future. She does not fill to the end her biological function...and cuts short the freedom of their personality. Woman-human attains sexual flourishing as the woman-mother. Denying the immortality of
descendants, she injures the race. The mothers of many great people were remarkable women.\textsuperscript{116}

From this beginning, Khitrova conceded that this was an ideal. She then explored the barriers separating modern woman from this ideal. The lack of kindergartens, their high cost, and the problems for women wishing to raise children in the modern city suffered the first attack. Single working women had three "options," none of them very pleasant: 1) abstinence, which the author said, "could scarcely be admitted desirable because it almost always repels spiritual and physical health," 2) "Fruitless love," which she said was no better, "because in the end deceived nature cruelly marks you," and 3) "love - a child - poverty or at the outside the impossibility of raising a child on your own."\textsuperscript{117} No acceptable alternative to the traditional fecund marriage yet existed according to this reasoning.

O. Azimirova argued along similar lines. Women, "are prepared to give all of themselves for the care of future peoples, live instinctively the necessity of motherhood - rearing and educating future mankind." She, like the previous author, went on to point out how very necessary motherhood was to a complete woman, "that necessity lives in every normal woman, if absent...it is a freak."\textsuperscript{118} While the previous

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{116}Taisa Khitrova, "They Go On," ZhD 23 (1913), 8.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{117}Ibid.}

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{118}O. Azimirova, "And Who's to Judge," ZhD 19 (1913), 10.}
article railed against economic conditions of the city that prohibited women from carrying out their true function, Azimorova proceeded directly to what she felt was the root of the problem, "if women become a warped lie [without motherhood], men are most to blame for it. It comes from their [women’s] economic dependence on men."\(^{119}\) Once again, no alternative is presented to keep women from becoming, "a warped lie."

None of these authors, the constructionalists or the essentialists, denied that the essential function of woman was procreation and nurturing. The constructionalists did not address the question and quite obviously, the essentialists saw motherhood as integral a function of a normal woman as breathing and digestion.

The strict adherents to both poles presented ideals logically untenable according to the profiles of women’s lives presented so far. Only the moderates acknowledged the problems of women attempting to live an independent life. The fictional and historical sketches displayed these problems as well as those related to women trying to lead a public life within the confines of conventional bonds.

The visions of domestic roles were not as idyllic in practice. As discussed in chapter one and two, the women of the historical sketches who led lives of fulfillment, invariably displayed femininity, alongside their super-

\(^{119}\)Ibid., 10.
achiever qualities of intelligence and political acumen, and most participated in unions of undying love, or in the case of Mme Roland, at least respect.

Feeble, but audible notes of discord sounded in the interrelations between some husbands and wives. This unequal relationship also appeared unfavorably in the description of hysteria. Mme. Roland expressed dissatisfaction with the unequal relationship between herself and her husband, in relation to both domestic work relations and intellectual endeavors. Maria Levovna Ogareva married but refused the traditional role expectations entirely because, "the eternal lot and weight of marriage - the task of self-sacrifice," did not suit her. Both she and her marriage suffered severely for this refusal of convention.120 A doctor's article on hysteria containing the poetry of an hysteric contended that the unequal marital relations between the woman and her husband had triggered her condition.121

According to fictional accounts, friction developed in marital relations when women became mothers. One man, depicted throughout the selection as irrationally possessive, in a fit of petty jealousy, expressed his displeasure with his wife's concentration on child-rearing.122 In its


122Ekaterina Ek, "Jealousy," ZhD 1 (1914), 4-7.
commentaries the magazine reprimanded such men more scathingly than the fiction and came down resoundingly on the side of the woman-mother. One author said of such a situation, "I believe that the mistake is on the husband's side. He too soon asked that his beloved be more a wife and less a mother. He was unable to be first a father and then a husband."  

Zhenskoe Dielo's ideal marital role was not complete. The descriptions of the marital relations of women of power and great women of history never progressed beyond the simplest terms - mutually supportive. Of the two women who did not accept their roles, Roland only chafed and did not rebel, and Ogareva ended in disgrace.

While it seemed the magazine was holding up super-women as a hope to others that it could be done, it did not present a plan for achieving this fulfillment. Women were told that the combination of career and motherhood was possible. Others had triumphed over the problems of society, so it obviously did not constrain the truly talented. The final message to women was that if they were having difficulties in their marital life or as mothers, the problem was their own. Women had triumphed over sexism and achieved a blending of public and conventional roles in the past. If a contemporary woman was unable to achieve this, it was because she lacked something.

123Ekaterina Ek, "Early and Late Marriages," ZHD 23 (1913), 9-13.
This high standard of performance expected of women suggested several things. Maybe the magazine was advocating a sequencing of women’s lives - first a career, then marriage, motherhood, and community service. In that way women could devote all of their energies to each phase and be admirable and devoted mothers. However, the magazine always showed a blending of roles in its sketches and never a sequencing of work, matrimony, and motherhood. Perhaps this allowed women not working to more freely criticize those who did work if they were having problems, though this vindictiveness was doubtless not the original intent of the articles. Most likely, women knew what they were facing, and these sketches supplied both working, unmarried women, and married, non-professional women with an escape from a lifestyle which they found limited their lives in either political, professional, or sexual fulfillment.

This concentration on motherhood and maintenance of proper marital roles played out bizarrely in fictional depictions of adultery with widely different consequences for men and for women. Women who had adulterous liaisons threatened their husband, family and home, and often destroyed them. Engaging in an affair was the most selfish action a woman could take, because she led her entire family into danger. In the fictional pieces these women were always egotistical individuals.
One woman having an affair, who stated that "a wife should always be a little smarter than her husband," and made great play of her intellectual superiority over her spouse, received a remarkably unflattering description. The story's title, "One and the Other," contrasted her to a charming and tender woman who loved unconditionally and naively, making it unambiguous who "one" was and what "the other" was.124 Another woman who had the temerity to bring her lover into the home, the bastion of patriarchal authority and feminine duty, dreamt of her husband's insane reaction, her murder, and his suicide.125 "Celestina," whom the author described as a "woman of few talents," engaged in an affair, manipulated her husband into dueling, and her lover was killed.126 One husband decided, upon learning of his wife's infidelity with his deceased friend, not to confront her, but to let her live with the torturous guilt.127 Infidelity and self-involved egotism on the part of a wife ended in her great unhappiness and social scandal or death.

Men were inevitably fickle in these relationships, whether as the lover or as the adulterer. They left the women

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124 S. Solovova, "One and the Other," ZhD 13 (1912), 16-18.

125 The suicide took place when the husband purposely drove their automobile into a tree, thus adding the terror of the new technology of the automobile to the story. See Maxim Formen, "Race into Gloom," 13 (1911), 21-25.


whom they had embroiled in adulterous liaisons in their hour of trial. The woman of "Excerpts from a Woman's Diary," capricious and bored with her husband, engaged in an affair. She later found she was pregnant, but her husband nobly accepted her and her child, while her lover rejected her. In, "Without Title," a mistress who had awaited her lover with great anticipation was greeted by his complete renunciation of her. His wife, whom he now realized he truly loved, had died and he now felt the full weight of his guilt. He screamed at his mistress, "I came here, I thought that I would heal myself here. No, I hate everything here, everything...I can't - can't look at you! Here I deceived her so unscrupulously, so dirtily." Women received nothing in exchange for the risks associated with adultery.

Women did not even have to commit the act for retribution to fall upon them. The accusation of adultery was enough to drive one woman insane all in the course of one evening. She was a devoted wife who lived for her marriage. Her husband heard a false rumor that she was cheating on him and tormented her until she lost her mind. Moments later he was told the rumor was false, too late to rectify the damage. A woman who engaged in no sexual activity and only admitted to her

128 Marcel Prevo, "Excerpt from a Woman's Diary," ZhD 9 (1913), 14-15.

129 L. Umanskaia, "Without Title," ZhD 23 (1913), 4.

husband her love for another was left by her lover who was afraid of her husband’s retribution. She was forced to live on with her pompous, overbearing husband and his speeches about his perfect first wife.\textsuperscript{131}

Men supposedly approached love from a different perspective. This included different reactions by men and women to first love. The first lover, "leaves an eternal mark on the woman’s heart and slips over the surface barely touching the heart of a man," contended one article.\textsuperscript{132} The fictional accounts maintained this assumption of the different effects of love on men and women. Men entered into extramarital affairs without guilt and in an assertion of their rights. "'I gave my wife the best times of my youth and now I give my pay and care to my family. I have the right to a respite,'" said one adulterer.\textsuperscript{133} In "At Imatra," the husband, "didn’t consider it a sin to have small intrigues on the side - to go to an out of town rest and 'carry-on' all night."\textsuperscript{134} Another man asserted, "I could have ten more Lenas [mistresses] and still only love you."\textsuperscript{135} These men

\textsuperscript{131}Anna Mar, "Martha," ZhD 23 (1913), 5-6. For a similar case of a woman’s contemplation of adultery met with bad ends, see Ekaterina Gertzog, "Barrier," ZhD 12 (1914), 5-8.

\textsuperscript{132}Irina Vitman, "Fall," ZhD 22 (1913), 7-8.

\textsuperscript{133}P. Ia---v, "Entreact," 5 (1914), 7-12.

\textsuperscript{134}Ev. Shveder, "At Imatra," 21 (1913), 8.

held their sexual intrigues as independent of their affections for their wives while women always became embroiled in the affairs - always for love. For men, sex and love were separate, but women could not separate the two. If they attempted to do so, they were unfulfilled.

In the cases of male adultery, it was the women betrayed who suffered. Upon the knowledge of their husbands' philandering, wives often died or went through a near death experience and rebirth upon the knowledge of their situation. The woman whose husband didn't find "small intrigues on the side," to be wrong, committed suicide when she received proof of her husband's infidelity. Another woman, tentatively rising up from her invalid's bed, caught a glimpse of her husband in the arms of another woman, lost her balance in the shock and fell, cracking her skull on the step.\(^{136}\) Finally, in "Operation," when the heroine found that the man to whom she gave all of her beauty, life, and energy led a double life with a second family, she became deathly ill and lost the will to live. In this case, she underwent a spiritual rebirth and lived on in faith that she was needed by mankind.\(^{137}\)

While women lost the object of their affection in cases of adultery either through death or the fickleness of their


\(^{137}\)This story also gave an interesting comment on the inequities of marital roles, since the wife had given her all and received nothing in return, what was the compensation for proper role behavior? See Maria Meier, "Operation," ZhD 18 (1913), 8-10.
lover, men who committed adultery found the barrier to their philandering disintegrate. Since women could not separate sex and love, when their husbands deceived them, they were left with nothing. Even though their husbands still professed true love for their wives alone, the women had to die or be reborn to endure the suffering deception caused.

Certainly there was a voyeuristic element to these morality plays. They allowed women to experience the pains of adultery, lectured that they would receive no satisfaction, and enabled them to feel morally superior if they were faithful wives. The marriage bond was a stable, safe, concrete concept that these women could cling to. Its import permeated all the tales of the magazine, and was the most conservative stance which the magazine took. For these women, morality was an absolute; it did not change. Marriage was not sought after only because it was women's duty. The marriage bond was an anchor in the maelstrom of anxieties that the women's new freedoms created. Liberation was frightening because it broke down old barriers that had also functioned as protection.

Sexuality generated great fears for the readers of the magazine, or so the number of reports on eroticism, the white slave trade, and the incredibly shocking tango suggested.\textsuperscript{138}

\textsuperscript{138}For a humorous account of the dance, see Sophia Zarechnaia, "Tango Argentina: or the unbelievable suffering provincial," 23 (1913), 9-13; and in the same issue, two blurbs on foreign regulations of the dance, "F.C.", 17-18; for pictures, see pages 14 and 15 of ZhD 1 (1914). Several other
Societies and homes for the prevention of prostitution and its worst manifestation, the white slave trade, figured prominently in the reportage of the magazine, as well as stories of women killing themselves or enduring torture rather than submitting to the vices associated with the harems and the trade.\textsuperscript{139} Women never participated voluntarily in these enterprises but were always seen as victims. Though the average reader of Zhenskoe Dielo was in little danger of being abducted, these reports allowed the magazine to underline the problems of women's economic vulnerability and the injustices of the prevailing system.\textsuperscript{140}

Possibly deeper meanings penetrated the tales of the slave trade. Sexual roles were in flux, and while this carried with it freedom it also carried fear. The bonds that kept women under the control of father or husband were slowly eroding and while this control was replaced by freedom, this

accounts in "F.C." of other issues from 1913 and 1914.

\textsuperscript{139}For suicide in Middle-East conditions, see E. Baronov, "To the question of the fight with Women's Slavery," ZhD 11-12 (1910), 14-15; an English woman locked in harem after husband's death, "White Women in Harems," ZhD 13 (1913), 20; for aid associations against trade see, I--ov, "Trade of Women," ZhD 12 (1911), 5-6; for fictional account of woman refusing to be forced into trade, see L. Fral, "The Question," ZhD 19 (1913), 16-17. For shorter accounts, see W.V. "Trade in Women at Warsaw," ZhD 16 (1911), 17; "F.C." ZhD 8 (1913), 20-21; prostitution regulation, see "F.C.,” ZhD 22 (1913), 18; "Chronicle," ZhD 6 (1914), 17-18.

\textsuperscript{140}The term "white slavery," though used at the time, does not account for the multi-racial nature of the international sex-slave trade. The most desperate elements of society made the easiest targets for the traders.
freedom could not replace the security lost. Woman now had to control her own destiny, spirituality, and sexuality in ways she never had before. She could not depend on others' conduct following civilized standards - a frightening prospect.

In this scenario, the harem and slave trade became a metaphor for women to explore this fear. Shipped to South America and the Middle East, women were freed from all bonds that society had placed upon them but those around them were also free of traditional constraints. This scenario allowed women to imagine themselves in the featured roles either escaping or killing themselves to avoid violation. In one fictional account, a woman endured weeks of hunger rather than submit to the traders' forceful urgings.

However, the stories mentioned neither violence or rape. The emphasis was not upon the physical danger the woman was faced with, but with the moral trial she endured. In this space, bereft of the protection of traditional society, the modern woman was allowed to reveal her true and moral character. True women were pure and would not submit. The readers emerged from the metaphor morally superior.

The loss of society's protection, the threats of woman's freer sexuality, and her economic vulnerability were highlighted in the arguments for the legalization of abortion. Vira Kirsanova addressed the problems for the young mother of

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141Baronev, 11-12; "White Women," 20.

142See Fral, 16.
farm, factory, and society when faced not just with an unwanted pregnancy but with an untenable position - raising a child with no money, no space, or no support. Women had abortions to maintain a manageable family size because it was a great grief to mothers to realize that their child would starve. She contended that very few women had abortions for cosmetic reasons, "luckily, and to the honor of women, there aren't many of that type," and that women must fight for their right to abortion on these moral grounds.\textsuperscript{143}

The fiction on abortion maintained this position. In "Together," a naive young woman of society, led astray by her teacher, discovered she was pregnant. Following the pattern, he of course left her. With no one to turn to because of the unbending rules of society and unable to stand the shame of the illegal abortion clinic, she fell asleep in the snowy outside and died, whispering to her baby, "If I die; we die together."\textsuperscript{144}

The attitudes towards pre-marital sex reflected the fears of unbridled sexuality evident in the commentaries on adultery that paraded as fiction, the fight against the harem, and in the multiple reports on the tango. Women were taught that sexual enjoyment was distasteful, even if held within the bonds of marriage. In, "Excerpts from a Woman's Diary," a

\textsuperscript{143}Vera Kirsanova, "Rights and Life," ZhD 6 (1914), 2-3. This aversion to women who performed abortion for convenience echoed in a story in, "Chronicle," ZhD 13 (1913), 20.

\textsuperscript{144}O. Tz., "Together," ZhD 6 (1914), 9-10.
still young bride recounts the first year of her marriage and her awakening to desire:

I lived [in naivety] until 20 years of age - not knowing [my] body or fleshly desire, not even suspecting what could be desired. There is a type of foul delight in which our purity gradually sullies, is trampled, and completely disappears...after the first minute of embarrassed confusion, I felt my curiosity excited, my feelings awakened, and I myself did much that my husband, aside from the first steps he took at my side, perhaps had never done.

I am ashamed to think of that period now, within approximately six months it seems, I was too much of a lover for my husband. I think he slightly despised me in his awakening to the ecstasy of passion (ot ugara strasti).\textsuperscript{145}

Women were suspect in matters of sexuality since they supposedly knew the power of their bodies over men and therefore had control in sexual situations.\textsuperscript{146} If the woman exploited this knowledge, or engaged in extramarital sex, the fear of women's unbridled sexuality spilled over, and she received a punishment. In "Nightmare" a young man wondered at the base nature of his estranged wife. Self-assured and egotistical, she left him after squandering his fortune, to find another man to appreciate her beauty and provide for her.\textsuperscript{147} The actress Angela, certain of her beauty had made

\textsuperscript{145}Marcell Prevo ZhD 8 (1913), 16.

\textsuperscript{146}This was true even though articles cited men's proclivities as the origin of women's dependence on their bodies, see O. Aizimirova, "And Who's To Judge," 19 (1913), 10-11.

\textsuperscript{147}A. Istomin, ZhD 13 (1913), 8-9. Also see Chaika's "Then and Now," in which a young woman, led astray by her mother's first love, turns to the stage and sexually snaring men, ZhD
her way through life using her body to get ahead. She admitted she belonged to the buyer and added, "'You find me cynical and crass...I know my worth.'" Her admirer forced her to acknowledge the bitterness of her lot and what she had lost in this easy virtue. He offered her undying and true love but said he could not ever see her or meet her, "Because to have an affair with such a woman as you, [A man] must be either her first love or none at all." He died in a duel protecting her quite sullied honor.\textsuperscript{148}

Widows were not exempt, as women outside of the conventional restraints of Russian society - supervising husband or father - and awakened to sexual desire, they could prey upon other men outside of marriage without the same fears of retribution. Still, when they attempted to separate sexual love from the bonding of marriage, they received no satisfaction.\textsuperscript{149} Older women could perform the role of sexual pariah as well, but in their quest for sexual fulfillment they did not receive the same spiritual fulfillment as young women in true love.\textsuperscript{150}

The sin of sex outside of marriage was mitigated by two factors - motherhood and naivete. Women who conceived children out of wedlock could be absolved of guilt if they…

\textsuperscript{148}Mark Prague, "The Evil Eye," ZhD 21 (1913), 8-10.

\textsuperscript{149}Chaika, "Red Dress," ZhD 16 (1911), 19-21.

\textsuperscript{150}E. Chalieva, "At the Close of Day," ZhD 6 (1914), 4-6.
became good mothers. The young woman of the abortion debate above was saved because of her naivete and the trials which she endured. A woman, accused of being "loose" before her marriage, still received accolades as a good wife and mother when it was found that she devoted herself to her two children. She had also conceived these children in adulterous relations before this her second marriage, adding to the restorative powers of motherhood the rehabilitation of adulterers.\textsuperscript{151} Another adulterous woman recognized her guilt after the birth of her daughter and hoped that her daughter would, "live the simple clean life...just be that which your mother was unable to be - be a true woman."\textsuperscript{152} Finally, a woman who participated in a beachside love affair received divine retribution from nature when her illegitimate son died in infancy. However, after experiencing the cleansing of motherhood and a mother's grief she went on to have two more children who were her joy.\textsuperscript{153}

True love occurred either when a man led a woman to the truth or when the man suddenly realized his hidden affections. The hero of "If There Were Not Happiness," tricked his beloved

\textsuperscript{151}Ekaterina Ek, "Jealousy," ZhD 1 (1914), 4-7.

\textsuperscript{152}Marcel Prevo, "Excerpts from a Woman's Diary," ZhD 9 (1913), 14-15.

\textsuperscript{153}This was recounted in the first person, making it more intimate, voyeuristic, and seemingly more plausible a tale, see I. Iorieva, "Zhenia," ZhD 14 (1914), 5-9.
into showing her love for him through a ruse of robbing her.\textsuperscript{154} The heroine of "Magic Word" was led to love as well. An earnest young man proposed marriage to the earnest and enlightened young woman, who countered that she would marry him if he allowed her to behave as a man in marriage, with the same non-culpability and freedom of action. Dumbfounded, he asked if she was joking, and stated that he did not agree that was acceptable for men either. The hero educated the woman as to the true import of marriage and its basis in love. He stated that a lifetime of pain became worth those few moments of love in the magic of being two as one. He proposed the solution in the magic word, "vdvoiem" (two together - a couple or a pair). He won her to his reasoning and they embraced.\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{154} Thomas Kobb, "If There Were Not Happiness," ZhD 6 (1914), 19-21.

\textsuperscript{155} She stated, 'I will love you, if you first give me full freedom to organize my time, won't mess with my acquaintances, won't peer into my free affairs, won't pester me for answers to where I go, where I've come from, with whom I met, what I intend to do, to whom I write, or from whom I receive letters. If I am busy, you will release me from you and I will not be forced to explain why. If I am not in the mood, permit me not to kiss you and you won't use that as grounds to nag me or be jealous. You will allow me to flirt in the salons, see it as a bonton, and look on with a good natured smile...I cannot be required to give you an accounting of the conditions of my finances. If I put a lot of money in gaming, you are not free to reprimand me or give me any kind of reproof. If I occasionally return home from a ball or masquerade tipsy, you may not get irate...If I return early in the morning you may not become irate...you may never in any way exert any influence over me. If I stop loving you, you must wait until I leave you and not be morally offended...If I fall in love with another...in this world there are so many attractive men, how could that be surprising?'}
This story implied several opinions on conventional marriage. The heroine's model of marriage relations in which she assumed the traditional male privileges evoked confusion from her suitor. This did not indicate that women's equality in marriage was distasteful because he agreed that such behavior from men was unacceptable, but a full reversal of marriage roles appeared unreasonable. The emancipated woman's quest for power in marriage was not tolerable. In her quest she lost sight of the important qualities of life, and a man led her to the truth. In this case, the earnest young man reminded the new woman of her femininity and the importance of love. He took on the role of the sentimentalist and romantic in order to remind the woman of her femininity, much like the authors of the earlier pieces on motherhood. The story ended with the woman submitting to the greater knowledge of the man.

As in much of the magazine's fiction, the man existed as a foil for the woman's discovery of herself and her identity. While there was some fiddling with proper male roles in relation to women, such as those in this piece and "What is Femininity" they were always in relation to the women. Male roles either expanded or contracted in association with women's roles. Male characters were not accorded lengthy character descriptions or moments of self-realization. This

'What is this? A joke?" said the young man dryly.
'A-ha, that means you don't agree. Is it not logical, or for you is all of that usually what a man demands of a woman?'
seemed to be exactly the opposite of the phenomenon detailed by Heldt for mainstream fiction where stereotypical female characters existed for men to define themselves against.\textsuperscript{155}

The two tales of spontaneous true love were very formulaic and told from the male's perspective. In each, the object of their affections had long been around them, but due to some elixir of the breezes they recognized her, as if "for the first time." The women responded instantly and enthusiastically and the men remembered this special moment for the decades that followed in their happy life together.\textsuperscript{157}

In the years of Zhenskoe Dielo's publication, women faced a constantly changing world. The sexual material of boulevard literature, the radical decadent youth, and sex clubs, all indicated the crumbling of society for these women. Hoping to shore up traditional mores, they addressed this decline by calling for legislation and most importantly for education. Education was vital for young mothers as well, so that they could educate the next generation in proper modes of behavior.

The fictional selections continued to uphold motherhood and marriage. Women could only be fulfilled in these traditional ways. If they attempted, through egotism or

\textsuperscript{156}Heldt, 1-3.

CONCLUSION

On the eve of the Great War Zhenskoe Dielo was full of encouragement and support for women in transition. The magazine reported extensively on working women, their education and their progress at home and abroad, and on women in politics, their successes and their involvements. At the same time, women were assured that they could pursue these avenues without losing all that they had been socialized to hold dear - husband, child, and family - if they integrated these traditional roles into their new lifestyles.

While professional women faced numerous obstacles, rarely received the recognition that was their due, lived in isolation, and enjoyed few of the conventional attributes of a happy life, a few still succeeded. The articles never cast doubts upon women's professional ability, only on their chances of conventional happiness alongside a professional life - combining work outside of the home with motherhood. Given the status of professional women at the time and the trials they had to endure in the workforce, the bleak picture presented by the magazine probably reflected reality more than an effort by the editor to discourage women's professional pursuits entirely.
The magazine painted a much rosier picture for women in politics. Those who realized their traditional role expectations received fulfillment and recognition for a job well-done, with either their domestic accomplishments and motherly qualities accentuated or their political activity feminized. Though this situation might seem confining to contemporary standards, it allowed women to acquire great power and recognition as politicians as long as they fulfilled their roles as wife and mother or aimed their political acumen at fulfillment of feminized political pursuits such as pacifism and activism for social reform. Thus, while there were more constraints and responsibilities for politically active women than for men, women could also wield great influence on the public sphere.

There were limits. Women who stepped too far from their traditional role of morally responsible matron or mother faced circumstances so unfavorable as to suggest their alienation for conventional society. Adulterous women or victims of adulterous husbands usually met death and loss, but they could be redeemed either through the purification of a spiritual death and rebirth or total and selfless devotion to motherhood. This underlined the importance of the role of faithful wife to the readers.

Clearly, the contributors to the magazine held traditional female roles in high esteem - particularly marriage - and saw their continuance as an essential element
for a stable society and women's own happiness and fulfillment. This concern with traditional roles revealed itself in the commentaries on women's nature. Though some authors argued that women were essentially feminine, they never denied marriage and motherhood. In fact, the authors condemned situations which prevented women from fulfilling the roles of wife and mother.

Despite the attempt of the article "What is Femininity?" to bring conventional definitions into question, the magazine obviously upheld traditional attributes as desirable for women. Definitions of femininity fluctuated even as women's primary role as wife and mother remained constant. Zhenskoe Dielo presented women's entrance into the public sphere - as politician or professional - as not only viable but often fulfilling and enjoyable for a strong wife and mother or a woman focussed on feminine pursuits. The sphere in which women could display these attributes had greatly expanded as had the modes in which they could satisfy these attributes. Women still had to be feminine and have concern for children and husband, but now these children could be all the children of the earth and the care for husband could now extend to all mankind.

The adjustment of private role expectations to the public sphere was not completely smooth. Women experienced great trials attempting to fulfill all roles, but the rewards were great. For the readers of Zhenskoe Dielo femininity was a
quality that could be expressed in the realm of the family, in
the choice of political tasks, and in professional endeavors.
Women who had jobs and took political action were not
masculine; their tasks and work modes were feminine.

This thesis revealed the everyday hopes and aspirations
of middle class women and their interests and proclivities.
A much more personal portrait of these women developed from
this source than previously presented in biographies of
political or radical women. Middle-class women, too long
consigned to Kollontai's negative "bourgeois feminists,"
dreamt of greater things than this pejorative would imply.

In society as a whole, it would seem that women were
increasingly condoned as political and professional actors if
they acted within the strictures of feminine behavior.
Teachers were accepted and needed and doctors were necessary
to treat women's peculiar illnesses and needs. Admissible
routes to political influence for women included charity work
and agitation for family legislation though the vote was still
out of reach.

In marriage, the traditional relationship of husband to
wife was no longer acceptable. A union based on love and
lived in partnership, became the ideal and the magazine
condemned relationships where either partner had coercive
control over the other. The magazine was not clear on how
this equal partnership could be attained, only that it would
naturally emerge from a loving union. Zhenskoe Dielo
counseled women to make correct choices in their search for a mate. Considering the transitions which women experienced, a steady, supportive mate was very beneficial.

On the eve of war, even as the cover for the August 1, 1914 issue framed the smokey, innocent gaze of, "A Serbian Beauty," Zhenskoe Dielo addressed not fears of world conflict but contemporary "fears that if women are given rights and all careers opened to them, they will lose their femininity..." The magazine answered that women would not lose their femininity; they would shoulder that burden as well.
APPENDIX A

CONTENT CHART\textsuperscript{158}

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\textsuperscript{158}In cases of an article or sketch which mentions several of the mentioned categories, the subject most emphasized was used for the count.
APPENDIX B

Program of Journal as appearing in ZhD no 6, 1910.


Contributing authors


Fashions, woman's handicrafts, domestic management all under editor, A.G. Galacheva
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Russian Feminists


**Russian Women - General**


Polyakov, L.V. "Women's Emancipation and the Theology of Sex in Nineteenth-Century Russia." Philosophy East and West 42 (April 1992) 297-308.


Period Histories - General and Intelligentsia


Methodologies


