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A WOMEN'S JOURNAL
(OR THE BIRTH OF A COSMO GIRL
IN 19TH-CENTURY RUSSIA)

Suzanne René Possehl
Department of Russian and Slavic Studies
McGill Univeristy

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the role nineteenth-century women's literary journals, specifically *Ladies' Journal* (1823-1833), played in the development of Russian literature. The longest-lived and most-circulated of the pre-Soviet women's literary journals, *Ladies' Journal* was well-positioned to have contributed to the on-going formation of a national literature through its influence on the Russian woman writer and reader. *Ladies' Journal* served as a forum for new Russian women writers and translators. It also promoted the discussion of women's issues. However, *Ladies' Journal* had a contradictory editorial policy concerning women and literature. While advocating women stake their own ground as writers, *Ladies' Journal* modeled the type of writer it wanted. The ideal writer was the inspiration of male poets and did not differ from the Romantic heroine or the ideal Romantic woman. This was a gesture in the spirit of the time, but it had consequences for Russian literature and for the poetics and politics of Russian women's journals to come.

RÉSUMÉ

La question posée par cette thèse est la suivante: Les journaux féminins du 19e siècle ont-ils joué un rôle important dans le développement de la litterature en Russie? *Le Journal des Dames* est le centre de cette étude. Le plus populaire des parutions féminines de l'époque impériale, *Le Journal des Dames* pourrait avoir beaucoup contribué au développement de la femme russe, à la fois en tant qu'écrivain et en tant que lectrice. Cette oeuvre a servi de forum pour les nouveaux ecrivains féminins et les traductrices. Cela a aussi alimenté un discours sur le sort de femme, et pourrait avoir servi d'introduction aux débats sur La Condition des Femmes dans la deuxième moitié du 19e siècle. Cependant, la politique de rédaction du *Journal des Dames* était contradictoire. Bien que partisan des femmes écrivains, *Le Journal des Dames* les voulait à sa façon. Cette femme écrivain ne differait pas de l'héroïne Romantique ou de la femme Romantique idéale. Toutes les trois ont servi d'inspiration aux poètes masculins, reflétant l'esprit du moment mais avec de consequences sur la litterature féminine et les aspects poétique et politique des journaux féminins á venir.

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INTRODUCTION

The question has often been posed: why did the Golden Age of Russian literature which had produced such great poets as Pushkin and Lermontov, not yield a single Russian women writer of merit? Recent criticism challenges the formulation of this question and proposes that we instead ask what makes a writer great. While talent remains the primary criterion for fame, another factor is the willingness and ability on the part of the readers to assess the writer.

This thesis contributes to the on-going re-evaluation of pre-Revolutionary Russian literature. Scholars dedicated to this enormous task have concentrated over the past fifteen years on uncovering new (mostly female) voices in Russian literature. I propose a different approach that examines, not the writer *per se*, but the medium which supports and promotes the writer -- the literary journal.[1] The focus of this thesis is an evaluation of how literary journals for women influenced the upper classes of Russian women at the time when they were becoming both readers and writers. I also hope to address the assumption that nineteenth-century

[1] Analyses of mainstream journals have concentrated on determining how journals supported certain writers and certain movements. See, for example, John Mersereau's *Baron Delvig's Northern Flowers* where he gives a traditional cataloging and some analysis of the journal contents and contributions to the Golden Age. Rather than attempt the same with *Ladies' Journal*, I will concentrate on one aspect, that is, how the journal approached the question of the newly emerging literary woman. All cataloging and content analysis will be centered around this question.

women's literary journals played an insignificant role in the development of Russian literature.

I have selected, *Damskii Zhurnal (Ladies' Journal)*, previously described as a melange of translations by second-rate French women and Russian writers.(Koshelov, 570-3) Scholars of the history of Russian journalism (Esin, Berezina, Zapadov) do not mention the journal. For the most part, Western scholars have passed over it. *Ladies' Journal* is rarely cited in recent research on women in Russian society.

Ladies' Journal was one of the first women's journals to appear in Russia. Published from 1823 to 1833, it enjoyed the longest life of the pre-Revolutionary Russian women's journals. In nearly-300 issues, it provided readers with a monthly (and later weekly) offering of: social and political commentary; historical analysis; travelogues; poetry; short stories; criticism; various word games, and the latest Paris fashions. *Ladies' Journal* also contained: news on merchant meetings, pilgrimages and masquerade balls; profiles of famous grand dames of Europe and Russia; reviews of music and theatre and literature; essays on women's rights, charity and justice; fiction about love, friendship and betrayal. *Ladies' Journal* also gave its readers foreign works in translation, particularly from English, Italian, German and Persian.

I intend to demonstrate how *Ladies' Journal* promoted a specific model for the Russian women writer, reader and heroine. I will develop my argument along the following five lines:

First, *Ladies' Journal* developed the medium of a women's journal. With *Ladies' Journal*, women had their own publication which was on par with the mainstream journals and dealt with subjects which were perceived to be of interest to women. The editorial board of the journal, however, consisted entirely of men. These editors took it upon themselves to determine what the interests of their women readers should be and set a journalistic precedent for women's journals that was not broken until the next century.

Second, *Ladies' Journal* actively promoted women's education. It did so mainly in manifestos and in journalistic accounts of women's schools and graduation ceremonies. Furthermore, its editorial mission was to educate and enlighten its women readers. However, I intend to demonstrate that the editors saw women's education as a means to improve society by polishing and reinforcing the traditional role as wife and mother.

Third, *Ladies' Journal* supported women as writers. In the spirit of Sentimentalism, it advocated the way women spoke as a guide for literary language and female sensibilities and tastes as a literary standard. However, by making a paradigm out of women, men in fact gained control over what was produced in the image of this paradigm. *Ladies'*

Journal gently sculpted the type of women writer it wanted. In reviews of women writers and in essays on the importance of women as writers, the journal specified that a woman writer must be a good person, in need of men's charity, and write in such a way as to inspire men to write. Even as writer, woman was still a muse. At the same time the journal promoted women as writers, it continued to stress her viability as a subject.

Fourth, *Ladies' Journal* set a new role model for women. I call this model the Russian Cosmo Girl -- to borrow Helen Gurley Brown's phrase. She got out of the kitchen, enjoyed concerts, practiced charity, supported girl's schools and played an active role -- if not in politics, then at least in local affairs. However, I will show that the editors and contributors based this role model on the Romantic heroines in the stories and poems they published. This model also bares resemblance to subjects in the more journalistic accounts. Notably, the editors of *Ladies' Journal* did not distinguish between women as writers, readers or heroines. This was circular logic, not a paradigm shift.

Fifth, *Ladies' Journal* introduced the main points for debate on the women's question which reached a high point in the 1860s, nearly thirty years after *Ladies' Journal* folded. I suggest that *Ladies' Journal* helped set the tone of the later debates. By the 1840s, women's causes had barely advanced, and they also suffered some setbacks. For example, women had begun to argue that women's education had a degenerative

effect on society. I think the journal, by promoting an ideal of women that was on the verge of being deconstructed, may have fueled rather than defused this backlash. I also propose that *Ladies' Journal* could have set a precedent for the poetics and politics of Russia women's journals to come.

CHAPTER ONE

TOWARDS A JOURNAL OF HER OWN

"We read the papers and fight with a degree of Valour that would amaze you under the British flag, as we sit on scarlet and Gold sophas."
--Martha Wilmot, in a letter from Russia, 1803-1805

1.1 Origins of Women's Journals in Russia

Even as late as the 1770s, a maiden with a book in hand was considered unfit for marriage and potentially dangerous(Lotman, *Pushkin*, 504). There were several reasons for this. First, a woman with the ability to read might be tempted to interpret the Scriptures as she saw fit rather than accept without challenge the interpretation given to her by her father and husband. Equally as threatening, a literate woman could expose herself to ideas from the West -- Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot and other secular, even pernicious, influences which challenged the balance of church and state as well as reassessed man's place in this world. More pragmatically, a woman who was holding a book could not be sewing or cooking or tending to her husband and children. Thus, she was not following the rules of domestic life set out clearly in the sixteenth-century handbook for husbands and wives, *Domostroi*. As Raeff notes, "...throughout the eighteenth century (and even after) most noblewomen were, as a rule, quite ignorant, even illiterate.

Their manners uncouth, and they continued to live by the traditional precepts of the *Domostroi*." (Raeff, *Origins*, 122-3.)

Yet, in less than twenty five years that had changed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, young noble women were devouring novels and periodicals like their French and English peers. In one of her many letters from Russia, Martha Wilmot notes "The Princess [Dashkova] often gets the English papers...we read the papers and fight with a degree of Valour that would amaze you under the British flag, as we sit on scarlet and Gold sophas." (Wilmot, 50)

Given this dramatic change, it would seem reasonable to assume that the catalyst for the first women's journals was the increasing numbers of educated women who had both the ability and the inclination to read about issues which concerned them. This may not be entirely so. While women's readership may have reached a critical mass in the early 1800s, sheer numbers may not have been the sole reason nor even the most important impetus for the first women's journals. Rather, the first literary journals for women in Russia most probably sprung from government policy, its underlying ideology and semi-official literary trends *not* from publishers and editors responding to the wants and needs of the newly literate and somewhat liberated woman.

Tellingly, when Bulgarin was considering starting a women's journal, he first addressed Knyaz A. Golitsyn, who was Minister of Public Education

from 1816 to 1824. He spoke of "the need" for a women's journal in Moscow. Interestingly, he qualified this not by saying women readers were demanding up-to-date fashion news from Paris, theater reviews and love stories. Rather, Bulgarin specified there had arisen a need to educate the Russian women population and that a journal was one way this could be accomplished.(Koepnick, 1) Whether the entrepreneurial publisher had in mind the revenues from tapping this heretofore ignored segment of the society, his argument at least on the surface reflected a certain ideology underlying state education policy with regards to women: If Russian men, during the Enlightenment, had pulled themselves out of the murky swamps of tradition, now they saw an opportunity to rescue the other half of the Russian public by educating her and thus improving society as a whole.

In this sense, the first women's journals can be seen as an extension of the women's literacy campaign which had begun in the primary schools. In fact, the stated purpose of the first journals was not to entertain, not to discuss women's issues, not to give voice to women, but to educate her. Furthermore, the resulting editorial policies seem to have mirrored government educational policies of the time. As an aside, an interesting correlation exists between the campaign for women's literacy and the first

literary journals for women -- namely that they were both conceived and promoted almost exclusively by men.[2]

The campaign for women's literacy in Russia, however haltingly, began with Peter the Great. Peter was the first to introduce secular schools in Russian provincial capitals.[3] How many, if any, of these students in his schools were women is unknown. There is no official record that women were forbidden from attending the newly established Cipher schools. It could be that most women were getting their education at home. Whatever the means, Peter clearly made a push for literacy among women. He decreed that he would not approve a noblewoman's marriage if she could not write her surname. He also decreed in 1718 that women of rank begin attending government functions, as was done in the West.

The next major push towards women's literacy and a women's literary journal came from Catherine the Great. It was during this time that the education debates centered on not whether women should be educated but rather the reasons for doing so. As seen in her writings on education and in her major experiment with it -- The Smolny Institute for Noble Girls -- Catherine advocated equal education for men and women. The men who implemented her will, however, gave it a much different twist.

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[2] The exceptions here are Elizabeth and Catherine II, who both promoted women's education and published journals, though not for women *per se*.

[3] Almost half of the 2,000 students in Peter's Cipher schools came from the clergy, 20 percent each were children of soldiers and clerks, and only 2.5 percent were noble offspring. By 1727, enrollment had plummeted to a total of 500; only 300 actually completed the specialized technical program. The Diocesan schools in 1727 had 2,827 pupils but most of these were in the Ukraine; thus the secular schools actually had a greater enrollment in Russia. (Miliukov, *Ocherki*, 732-743)

At Catherine's invitation, Jankovic de Mirjevo, a Serb, arrived in Russia in 1782 to develop its first general-educational system. In that year, Russia had eight public schools, 26 teachers and 518 students, 44 of them female.(Rozhdestvensky, 605) Under Jankovic's plan based on the Austrian model, reading, writing, counting, a brief catechism, church history and the elements of Russian grammar were given in the first grade of the lower school. In the second grade, catechism continued to be taught as well as arithmetic, Catherine's *On the Duties of a Human Being and a Citizen*, penmanship and drawing. The middle school added a third grade. The curriculum included: catechism with texts; explanation of the Gospels; Russian grammar with spelling; history, and geography of Russia. The fourth grade, where it existed, covered geography and history in more detail; mathematical geography; grammar with exercises in the composition of letters, invoices, catalogues, etc.; the principles of geometry, mechanics, physics, natural history and civil architecture.(Miliukov, 100-1)

On the question whether the general schools would be open to women, V. T. Zolotnitsky, a member of Catherine's Legislative Commission on Education and one of the first to address the matter, proposed education for all ranks and ages of women but limited that education to reading in the lower schools. He reasoned that women could get whatever knowledge they might from men, since men were being educated. (Rozhdestvensky, 383)

As early as 1767, education for lower classes of women was advocated -- mainly to prevent young noblewomen from coming under the bad influences of their maids. But for the most part, the debate over women's education concerned only the upper classes of women.

F. Saltykov, who helped create Smolny which opened in 1764, argued that only an educated woman was capable of raising useful servants of the state and providing support and companionship to her husband in service.(Raeff, *Origins*, 134-5) Unlike Catherine's vision of education for women, Saltykov's mainly confirmed women in her role as wife and mother and did little to promote her as a leader or even citizen. However liberal the Russian statesman was in advocating women's literacy, his reasons for doing so were strikingly different from Catherine's. The principles underlying the Empress's intent to educate women are stated with pith in the general plan of the Moscow child-rearing home under her auspices:

> "He does not yet exist who had lapsed so far from sane reasoning that the blessedness of the human race is imperceptible to him and he does not wish for all girls not only to be taught to read and write but also to have a mind enlightened by varied knowledge useful for civic life." (Miliukov, "Reforms", 97).

In drawing up the curriculum for Smolny, Catherine stressed that no distinction be made between the general education of boys and girls. However, this idea was "unusual for the society of that time" and later abandoned.(Miliukov, "Reforms", 96) "For almost the entire next century,

women's education was stuck in the narrow forms of the specialized institute, the prime example of which was the Smolny Institute for Noble girls." (Rozhdestvensky, 384)

Nevertheless, under Catherine, the debate shifted from whether women should be educated to how and for what purpose. Despite the theoretical and practical distortions of her educational reform policy, 12,595, or seven percent, of the 176,730 pupils who went through lower and main schools from 1782 to 1800, were girls. (Miliukov, "Reforms", 110) Many of the girls were from the St. Petersburg area. Also, many were from noble families, and because they were free from the demands of service, they were allowed to stay in school longer.[4] Lotman points out that noble women of the nineteenth century were to a much less degree than men drawn into the hierarchical system of civil service. "This gave her more freedom of opinion and personal independence." (Lotman, *Pushkin*, 507)

About 900 girls (out of a population of 40 million) had graduated from Smolny by Catherine's death 1796.(Heldt, 16) It is difficult to say how many young noble women were also getting some kind of education at home.

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[4] Miliukov points out that in the St. Petersburg province, in 1801, only 670 of the 4,136 students, or 16 percent, were from nobility. In Novgorod, 13 percent, 67 of 507, were from noble families.

> "A vast majority of the pupils were the children of merchants, townsmen, and soldiers. Their parents had predestined them for continuation of their own occupations or for careers in government offices; in both cases it sufficed for them to complete only the lower grades of the public school." (104)

One must be careful to note that this applied to men only. Men served in government or as apprentices to their fathers, not women. It is likely that the women making up the seven percent were from noble families and not the daughters of merchants, soldiers and other professionals. It is also reasonable to propose that women, free from constraints of service, were allowed to study longer, into the third and fourth classes.

Memoirs give examples of young women coming into contact with western literature from Europeanized family members.(Heldt, 16-17) Also, private schools (*pensioni*) became popular.

Alexander I furthered Catherine's reforms by establishing scholarships and maintenance grants for women.(Hans, 57) He also proclaimed that "The parochial schools are open to all classes irrespective of sex or age."(Statue 1804) Women, as readers, also began to take on new responsibilities, not just to husband and child, but to society.

By 1828, the number of girls educated in government or private schools had reached 12,000 out of the total population in Russia of 50.5 million.(Likhacheva, vol. 1 part iii, 265) Nicholas I later forbid girls to enter district and parochial schools. But by then, women were reading. More importantly, they had begun to see their purpose in reading not only to be better wives or mothers, but also to be better citizens.[5]

Karamzin, whose opinions defined the Pre-Romantics and their journals, struck a pose on women's education that seemed to balance (albeit precariously) between Catherine's liberal stance (that men and women should be educated similarly and for the purpose of making them both better citizens) and the more conservative and ultimately prevailing opinion that

[5] It is remarkable that despite all the attempts to confine her to traditional roles, women continued to strive for a place in civil society; however, in evaluating the obstacles women faced, one of must be cautious of a contradiction that probably existed between the official rhetoric and the mood of society concerning women's education. It is possible that society on various levels was actually much more open to women being educated and playing a larger role in society than the official rhetoric of the time leads us to believe.

educated women make better wives. Karamzin writes in 1802 in an eulogy to Catherine II that was intended as a lesson for her son Paul I:

> "Morality is its main object; but their minds are enriched by all knowledge, all ideas are necessary for a proper existence, and to make them a delight to their community, a treasure for their husbands and primary instructors to their children." (Black, 171)

As will be discussed in the next chapter, *Ladies' Journal* adopted this same reasoning. It was a liberal stance, and also a very convenient one. By taking the official educational policy and giving it a Karamzin slant, *Ladies' Journal* advocated that women could be everything, wife, mother, citizen and the ideal of women in the eyes of men.

But policy alone, even if it resulted in a critical mass of women with both literacy and free time (since education also emancipated them, at least partly, from the knitting needle and the nursery), does not sufficiently explain what brought about the publishing of specifically women's journals. There were at least 30 periodicals circulating at various times in the early to mid 1800s. It would be hard to categorize these journals as excluding women or even as targeting a male audience. Most of the mainstream journals published women authors and eagerly debated women's issues.[6]

The mainstream journals also had begun to include fashion. In fact, if one regards Pushkin's *Onegin* and *Grafa Nulina* as reliable sources for the

[6] For example, *European Herald* and *The Patriot*, a Moscow journal, both debated women's issues, including women becoming writers. (Likhacheva, vol. 1, part iii, 271-2)

reading habits of the day, the fashion guide for provincial *dames* was the *Moscow Telegraph.*(Lotman, 659) St. Petersburg ladies, including Tatiana who "did not read our journals" (3, XXVI,6), instead would have consulted *Journal des dames et des modes* which was published in Paris from 1797-1838.

So, if the mainstream journals had not excluded women and even began catering to their needs, then what was the impetus for an exclusively women's journal? To find the answer to this question, one must look towards the intent and stated purpose of the male editors rather than to the wants and needs of their women readers.

Though formally the "Women's Question" did not appear until the 1860s, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, women's role in society was already being redefined amid furious debates over women's education, women as writers, her role and responsibilities as mother and wife. The traditional Russian models espoused by the Russian Orthodox Church were in conflict with Rousseau's and Radcliffe's heroines as well as with the models in the fashion plates and news of Paris salons -- all which had begun to reach Russia from the West. Women's society in the early 1800s was experiencing an identity crisis of sorts. However, these debates in an attempt to hammer out a new role for women were not the sole impetus giving rise to the first women's journals. Like fashion, these issues were fully and actively debated in the mainstream journals, thus they

seemed to preclude a need for a women's journal specifically devoted to the women question. Furthermore, the editors of the early women's journals did not see the journals as solely a forum for women's issues. Rather, the editors perceived an opportunity to devise a new role for women, specifically upper-class women, and the purpose of these journals was to champion this new role.

Another factor that set the stage for women's journals was the Sentimentalist movement. As Lotman writes, women had become the poetical ideal and object of worship. Thus, a journal, like the many poems and stories which were being dedicated to her, was one more way of exulting the fair sex. This is a very important distinction. Women's journals of this period were not just to enlighten women, they were also an outlet for men's poetic energies, a place for them, in the spirit of the times, to practice the art of adoration. As Likhacheva writes: "Our poets -- regardless of how they related to women in real life -- rejoiced, idealized and worshipped her in their works. " (Likhacheva, vol. 1, part ii, 275)

However, this idolizing of women did not necessarily make men more willing to share their pages with women writers, granted there were few women competing for space. Russia in the early 1800s did not have a single woman or group of women writers who took it upon themselves to wage war or even carve out their own niche in the male literary establishment. Several women writers could have been considered

progressive for their time. But they too worked within the establishment, some of them adopting male pseudonyms. Well aware that the reading public and the editors they would have to traverse before reaching that public had well-formed ideas on what constituted acceptable genres, subjects and literary style -- based of course on the canon male writers -- women writers in Russia cautiously crafted their stories to at least acknowledge these formats, if not altogether imitate them.[7] Not only were women not aggressively staking ground as writers, women played almost no role in the publishing of books or journals. Russian women of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries did not have the social or economic footing to produce their own journals.[8]

Given these factors, it is not surprising that the airing of women's subjects came at the initiative, of men, not women. The Sentimentalist movement made women the proclaimed subject of male adoration, and it fostered the language in which women could be wooed. Also, and perhaps more importantly, the Sentimentalist movement made possible the exploration of an entire new realm of human experience, the realm of

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[7] This is not to downplay women's contribution to the development of Russian literature or to the literary language. In her recent essay in *Russia-Women-Culture*, Berstien's makes the assertion that Russian salon hostesses of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were important innovators and critics of the newly forming literary language. Her light manner of speech, free of Church Slavonicisms, bureaucratic structures and "rude and folk expressions" was deemed to be the ideal towards which the participants in her salon should strive. However what Berstein does not stress is that this role of women as song bird from whose throat the new Russian language always sounded sweeter was the whim of men keeping with the Sentimentalist and later Romantic spirit of the time. As Berstein reiterates, it was Karamzin himself who declared that women's "tender style" should be the standard of the language.

[8] It seems that one had to be either an empress (as Elizabeth and Catherine II) or a princess (as Dashkova) to also be a female publisher in Russia.

feeling, emotion and private lives; in short, the realm perceived to be of women's experience.[9] The turn from the Classicism of the late 1700s to Sentimentalism allowed the female experience to be expressed, granted, mostly as observed and recorded by men. The Sentimentalists felt they shared in common with women an affinity for the illogical, the emotional, the sensibilities of daily life versus the cold, clean order of the high courts. (Koshelov, vol. 1, book 1) In other words, women was mystery and an ideal, and she needed an entirely new literary medium in order for her and her experiences to be expressed. A women's journal seemed to be the perfect vehicle.

In sum, the origin of the first women's journals in Russia can be traced to four factors:

-- A growing number of women with the ability and the time to read;

--An increasing interest in women's issues brought about by changing economic and social conditions that left women devoid of their past roles and without a new one;

-- An interest mainly on the part of "enlightened" men to educate their female counterparts plus the notion that the written word was a means of doing so, and

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[9] Recent scholarship has taught us to be chary of attributing men's and women's experience to separate spheres. Elizabeth Lowry quoting Isobel Armstrong writes, "'the construction of a women's tradition according to a unique modality of feminine experience' accepts rather than challenges 'the distinction between two kinds of gender-based experience, male and female, and leaves not investigated a conventional, affective account of the feminine as a nature which occupies a distinct sphere of feeling, sensitivity and emotion quite apart from the sphere of thought and action occupied by men'".(*Times Literary Supplement*)

--The success of the Sentimentalist movement which introduced women as a subject and gave the language and the genres for women's experiences to be expressed.

While none of these factors alone might have given rise to *Ladies' Journal*, together they formed a singular guiding force.

1.2 Predecessors to *Ladies' Journal*

Between 1701 and 1800, about 120 journals appeared in Russia. Most were short-lived and government- sponsored. Of the 30 journals published in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Russia, *Ladies' Journal* was one of four for women.[10]

The first literary journal in Russian for women was Nikolai Novikov's *The Fashionable Monthly, or Library for Ladies' Toilette (Модное ежемесячное издание, или библиотека для дамского туалета)* This appeared in 1779.(Shchepkina, 173)[11] From 1785 until 1789, Karamzin and A.P. Petrov published the journal *Children's Readings for the Heart and Mind* (Детское чтение для сердца и разума) for children and mothers.

In 1802, P. I. Makarov began publishing the *Moscow Mercury* (*M. Меркурий*) which he dedicated to women -- "To you, kind readers, whom

[10] Lotman in an appendix to *Pushkin* lists these 30 journals, 19 of which were published during *Ladies' Journal* s lifetime. See Appendix C for the other women's journals.
[11] Shchepkina notes that the first women's journal appeared in England in 1737. The first French journal for women appeared in 1759.

we hope to please and whose approval we call our crowning jewel (*венцом*) and happiness."[12] In keeping his word, P. Makarov filled the *Mercury* with fiery criticism. About half its content was reviews. It also contained translations, fashion and art.(*Ocherki*, 170) P. Makarov belonged to the Sentimentalist school. His articles and criticism in the *Mercury* reflected some of the main Sentimental themes, for example, the belief that progress can lead to perfection. Regarding women, P. Makarov in *Mercury* urged women to become active in literary salons where men and women could share the same activities and interests.(Shchepkina, 174.)

In 1804, the same year P. Makarov died, M. Makarov and S. Kryukov began publishing *Journal for Sweethearts* (Журнал для милых).[13] In *Ocherki*, the journal is described as containing the "same bowing before ladies, the same sensitivity, sometimes taking on blatant erotic gestures." (*Ocherki*, 170) These erotic overtones caused a stir in the contemporary press. After one year, the journal folded. Knyaz Peter I. Shalikov, who later published *Ladies' Journal*, had contributed.

In 1806, Shalikov began publishing the *Moscow Spectator* (*M. Зритель*). It was similar to Makarov's short-lived and rather erotic *Journal for Sweethearts*.(*Ocherki*, 170) Here, Shalikov berated women for not

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[12] Shchepkina gives 1803.

[13] Catalogs and other reference to this journal list Makarov as the editor. However, the cover page of the actual journal says it is published by Sergei Kryukov. As with most the early journals, the issue of editorialship remains unresolved. Who made what decisions, and who financed these journals are questions that will most likely remain unanswered due to a lack of archival material.

understanding the importance of civic life and urged them to take a more serious attitude towards their social role (*положение*) and civic duties.(Shchepkina, 174)

Shchepkina says the best of the journals dedicated to women was *Aglia* (1808-1812). She credits Shalikov for publishing *Aglia*.(Shchepkina, 174) But other sources say M. Makarov published *Aglia(Аглия)* from 1808 to 1812, and still another reference (*Ocherki,* 1950) says Makarov published *Aglia* from 1794-1795. It is likely *Aglia* had two press lives with Makarov and Shalikov collaborating, as they would later do with *Ladies' Journal.*

In 1815, Shalikov and Makarov began *Kabinet Aspazi (Кабинет Аспази)* which was also dedicated to women. (Shchepkina, 174). This journal soon folded.[14]

In 1819, Bulgarin writes Golytsin, Minister of Public Education, about the need for a women's journal in St. Petersburg. Had Bulgarin, the publisher of one of the most controversial and progressive journals of the time, the *Northern Bee(Северная Пчела),* tried his hand at a women's journal, his product probably might have been vastly different from the journal that did appear. But Bulgarin was turned down, paving the way for *Ladies' Journal.*

[14] Shchepkina did not say when and hers is the only reference to this journal I found.

1.3 How *Ladies' Journal* Began

The early beginning of *Ladies' Journal*[15] goes back to 1806 when Makarov began publishing a journal of that name. "In the tone of tender sentimentality, it praised love and friendship...which bring happiness to the world."(Shchepkina, 173-4) In this form, LJ lasted only one year, 12 issues. LJ did not reappear until 17 years later, this time under a new publisher, knyaz P. I Shalikov.

Shalikov revived LJ and released the first issue in 1823, the same year as the *Military Medicine Journal* (Военно¯Медицинский журнал), The *Weekly for Horse Lovers (Еженедельник для охотников до лошадей)* and the *Journal of Fine Arts(Журнал изящных искусств)*. For the first six years of its publishing life, LJ came out every month. In 1829, LJ became a weekly, with 52 issues a year. Before its last run, in 1833, over 300 issues had appeared.[16]

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[15] Heretofore referred to by the abbreviation LJ.

[16] Unfortunately, I was not able to locate any reference documenting LJ's wide popularity.The only proof of this is its very long publishing life, compared to most journals of its time. Regarding circulation, *Son of the Fatherland* (1816-1825), one of the most popular journals in the early 1820s, had 1,200 subscribers.(Berezina, 64) *Sweetheart's Journal*, based on a list of journals found at the back of one issue (No. 10, 1804) names 50 subscribers (14 women) plus another ten, unnamed, who were in St. Petersburg. *Aglia* published a subscriber list with 145 names, 21 of them women. (Oct, 1809) Of course we cannot assume that more men subscribed to these journals than women, as it is likely that women used their husband's names when subscribing. Nor can we assume that most of the readers were in Moscow and St. Petersburg. From the lists, it becomes clear that subscribers could be found in provincial cities across the Russian empire. What is also interesting, not one women's name and very few of the male names were found on both the lists. Unfortunately, LJ never published a subscriber list. All that can be inferred is that given its long life, subscriptions were probably well over that of *Aglia* but probably never reached the level of *Son of the Fatherland*.

1.4 Publisher's Résumé

Knyaz P. I. Shalikov (1767-1852) made his publishing debut in 1794 with a journal called the *Pleasing and Useful Passing of Time* (Приятное и полезное препровождение времени.) After surviving four years, a fairly long life span for a journal at that time, the journal closed in 1798. In 1806, Shalikov began the *Moscow Spectator* (*M. Зритель*). He then published *Aglia* and *Kabinet Aspazii* (see above). LJ was his longest and most successful publishing venture.

Around Moscow, and even in St. Petersburg, Shalikov was infamous as a hack poet; he crashed salon parties; he wore outrageous clothing; he instigated fist fights; he had scandalous affairs. Women supposedly adored him.[17] Men, including Pushkin, ridiculed him.[18] Hammarberg notes that "Shalikov took the most histrionic aspects of Karamzin's naratorial image to extremes and made no distinction between life and art."(Hammarberg, 276) Shalikov's best literary achievement was the authorial persona he created out of himself. As Hammarberg notes and his contributions to LJ confer, Shalikov personified Sentimentalism. He imitated the tenets of Karamzin, better than Karamzin, she adds. But he lacked Karamzin's irony, his ability

[17] This note appeared in *Sweetheart's Journal*: "Women love K. Shalikov and we are not the last of his readers. And so affection prevents [us] from criticizing the poems of this pleasant, young man." (No 7, 1804)

[18] The most thorough description and analysis of the impression Shalikov made on his contemporaries can be found in Hammarberg's paper "Karamzin After Karamzin: The case of Prince Shalikov."

to self-parody and thus, as Hammarberg writes, he did not preempt his critics. Shalikov's contemporaries in reviewing his poetry and travelogues, attacked Shalikov himself with vengeance -- all the more attesting to the fact that Shalikov had succeeded in making art out of his life.

"Overall, Shalikov was not gifted, but well-visible in his life time," notes Koshelov in his memoirs. Shalikov, remembers the statesman and writer, was known to cause a stir by walking down Tverskaya Boulevard while madly scribbling on sheets of paper. He produced a "library-full" of material. Koshelov adds, "Despite the prolific output he appeared to his contemporaries [little more than] good-natured, not harmful and odd." (Koshelov, 258-264)[19]

There is a particularly interesting part in Koshelov's memoirs where Shalikov's opinion of women is described:

> "Shalikov belonged to a generation of men which regarded women as one of the pleasures of life. In his contact with her, he was famously elegant and precise in manners. We would call this being polite in Old Russian, but *galanterie* in our time. To combine the courting of women with a mental exercise or two was for his generation a worthwhile and fruitful occupation."(Koshelov, 261)

Other critics were not so kind. As Hammarberg points out, Pushkin ridiculed Shalikov for posing as a great admirer of the *милые дамы*.

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[19] This is probably a fair assessment of the impression Shalikov made on his fellow writers, though it should be noted that Koshelov and Shalikov moved in separate circles. Whereas Shalikov was a follower of Karamzin, the younger Koshelov considered himself a Slavophile. As a civil servant, Koshelov worked in the Ministry of Civil Affairs. He also wrote for *Son of the Fatherland* and *Moscow News*. His circle of friends included Kiukhelbeker and Benediktov. Whether these differences could substantially skew Koshelov's descriptions of Shalikov is doubtful. Similar accounts of Shalikov's foppishness and lavish display of mediocre talent appear elsewhere and are amply quoted in Hammarberg.

Vyazemsky besmirched the ideal women in Shalikov's poems. Women had their greatest admirer in Shalikov, and many in return admired and defended him. However, this only frustrated his male critics and further ensured Shalikov's place as the "fool" of early nineteenth-century Russian literature.[20]

Shalikov's reputation may have predisposed some scholars and critics to disregard or condemn his publishing endeavors. It might be argued that LJ was yet another extension of Shalikov's authorial *personae*, and that everything in it should be taken as just that. Thus, Shalikov's support for the educated women become an expression of Shalikov's pose as "knight of our times" who charges across the literary scene to rescue fair damsels from the throes of Classicism, and in the process making himself the champion of the new literary age. By closer analysis of Shalikov's endeavors I hope it will become clear that, however good he was at promoting his own life as poetry, the literary effectuation at times gave way. One of the ironies of the Shalikov phenomenon, which Hammarberg points out, is that Shalikov did earnestly promote women's education and women as writers. But because of the absurd poses and the spectacle he made of himself, his good intentions were ridiculed and even the causes he championed elicited a negative reaction.

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[20] Hammarberg discusses Shalikov's reputation as Russian fool in her essay.(280)

CHAPTER TWO

LADIES' JOURNAL IN CONTEXT

> "That was long ago, in the time when *Damskii Zhurnal* printed tender missives 'to her', 'to roses', 'to lemons', oranges and watermelons, and *Blagonamerennoe* published charades and logogrify."
>
> — I. Belinsky (Vol. 7)

2.1 *Damskii* Debate

From its very first day, LJ spurred a furious and, at times, nasty debate over the need and purpose of a journal for women. In a letter to the editor appearing in the *European Herald* (*Вестник Европы*) within months of LJ's debut, the writer comments:

> "Yesterday, in the dressing room of a woman acquaintance, I saw...a book, half of which was already torn to pieces. Curiosity forced me to collect all of the fragments [and] arrange them. And what was the object of all my troubles? In my hands was *Damskii Zhurnal*, in a lavender-blue cover, with the tender-sentimental epigram -- "All serves beauty."

The writer, appalled by the spoils of his snooping, demands to know the reason for such a journal.

> "Is it not to spread the bad habits we have of coveting luxury and fawning for foreigners," he asks. "Does it not distract women from the family and lead her to the whirlwind of society where the duties of marriage and motherhood become a burden?"

A rebuttal appeared immediately, in the next issue of the *Herald*. In his letter to the editor, a certain kn. V. O-y. argues that LJ's goal is not harmful, but rather positive. "We read about new inventions, what's new in art...so why should not ladies have their own reading?" he asks.

Four years later, the protests against LJ had gained new momentum. In December 1827, the *Telegraph* published an article in its section on journalism which posed the question: "For what purpose is the word *Damskii*? Why not simply *Literary Journal*?" In expounding on this, the editors made a subtle argument that a women's journal, if it wanted to be literary, should stop telling women what they should and should not read and just give them high-quality literature, not necessarily literature for women. Furthermore, the fashion plate should be removed from the focus of the journal, or left out together. "If the goal is fashion, then why not publish a journal with strictly fashion. But no! The publishers of ladies' journals [insist on] throwing in literature..."(No. 6, 1827)[21]

This time, Shalikov himself responded, in the next issue of his journal, "The publisher will not change its wonderful [*прекрасное*] name, containing within it, its purpose -- to make *Damskii Zhurnal* as pleasant and as useful as

[21] The article was reprinted in LJ. All references to articles in LJ are by the number appearing on the cover of the journal as well as by the year.

possible for its lady readers..." He then went on to solicit subscriptions for the next year.[22]

Shalikov's rebuttals during the decade of LJ's existence indicate that the criticism flung at his journal never caused him as an editor to question his mission. During each annual subscription drive, he repeated this same editorial policy: to make the journal as pleasant and useful to women.[23] As proof of his clear judgment, he noted that even Elizabeth, the wife of Nicholas I, had begun to subscribe.

Compared to other literary journals, what is unique about LJ is that over the last 150 years, critics have been rather uniform in their opinion of it. Like the pre-Revolutionary and Socialist critics, Western and Russian scholars have suggested that LJ has nothing to offer the study of Russian literature. Perhaps, this is partly due to the fact that the number of scholars who have given more than a reference in passing to LJ is limited to four.[24]

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[22] The plug that year went like this: "Twenty-four issues, published twice a month, with colored fashion plates of ladies' and gentlemen's attire, sometimes with portraits of famous women, and sometimes with musical scores for ballads, 35 rubles, 40 rubles if by special delivery."(No. 7, 1827)

[23] This policy evolved from an emphasis on fashion to an emphasis on literature. In the first year, Shalikov made an elaborate statement as to the mission of LJ. He said that the main purpose of his journal is to replace the costly journals from abroad and provide a greater number of fellow country women with "the pleasure of knowing the new developments in fashion in its capital – Paris." Beyond this, Shalikov noted, his goal was to provide the fair sex, "even if only for a few minutes" with pleasant reading. (No. 18, 1823) He set out his editorial plan for the year as such:

1)Articles, prose, stories, excerpts, thoughts, etc.
2)Poetry, fables, elegies, madrigals, also ballads and notes for piano and voice.
3)Profiles of famous women of various eras and countries.
4)Anecdotes, witty sayings, news from the capital, theaters, descriptions of holidays.
5)Fashion, women's and men's, also furniture.

In conclusion, Shalikov thanks his contributors and adds that he will be glad to include works from women's "tender pens."

[24] They are Hammarberg, Shchepkina, Likhacheva and Koshelov.

The most forthright and detailed description of LJ comes from Koshelov and was written probably sometime in the 1850s or 1860s. In his view too, LJ had little to offer. But he gives a curious summary of what the "little" contained. There were French and German translations, he notes, Walter Scott, Byron and Washington Irving, some Hungarian writers and Desalera, an adventurous English orphan who fled Prussia, joined the Russian military, went over to the Polish confederates and then back to the Russian Army. As far as original prose, LJ was filled with "mostly imitations". The travelogues were modeled after Hermites, Lante. The essays, he writes, "were fashioned after, or taken from *Journal des Dames, Petit Courier des Dames, Damen-Zeitung; Essai Sur, Economie of human life(sic!)* and others." Of the reviews, he says, "...even if the journal did not shine for its wit, at least it was severe and unswaying about its conclusions." With a bit of irony, Koshelov points out that this strict editorializing was exactly what Shalikov despised about other journals. For example, when the *Telegraph* appeared, Shalikov writes in the "Anti-Journalism" section: "That journal is angering us to death. It's full of -- allow us to use the word -- boring pedanticism, and unbearable arrogance, a passion and need for making judgments on every branch of literature, art and even foreign journals and books." This is, as Koshelov indicates, exactly what LJ did, only it limited its remarks to those areas concerning women.

The short biographies of famous women, observes Koshelov, were mostly of French ladies of society. There were also sections called "About women writing in Greece, Rome and France" and "Names of Distinguished *Dames* and Girls in Russia." The poetry section is very weak and does not contain a single good work."(Koshelov, 571) As if that were not damming enough, he adds that towards the end of its run, it began to appear in pamphlet form, without any headings or a table of contents. "This was still worse reflected in the contents. It was filled with short excerpts, translations and originals, not representing anything serious." (573)

The critic Mikhail Dmitriev was more terse. "Under the influence of Sentimentalism...[LJ was a] sort of pitiful, powerless striving for that which is not worth striving for." (Koshelov, 274) What is further condemning, in his old age, both Makarov and Shalikov disassociate themselves from LJ, says Koshelov.

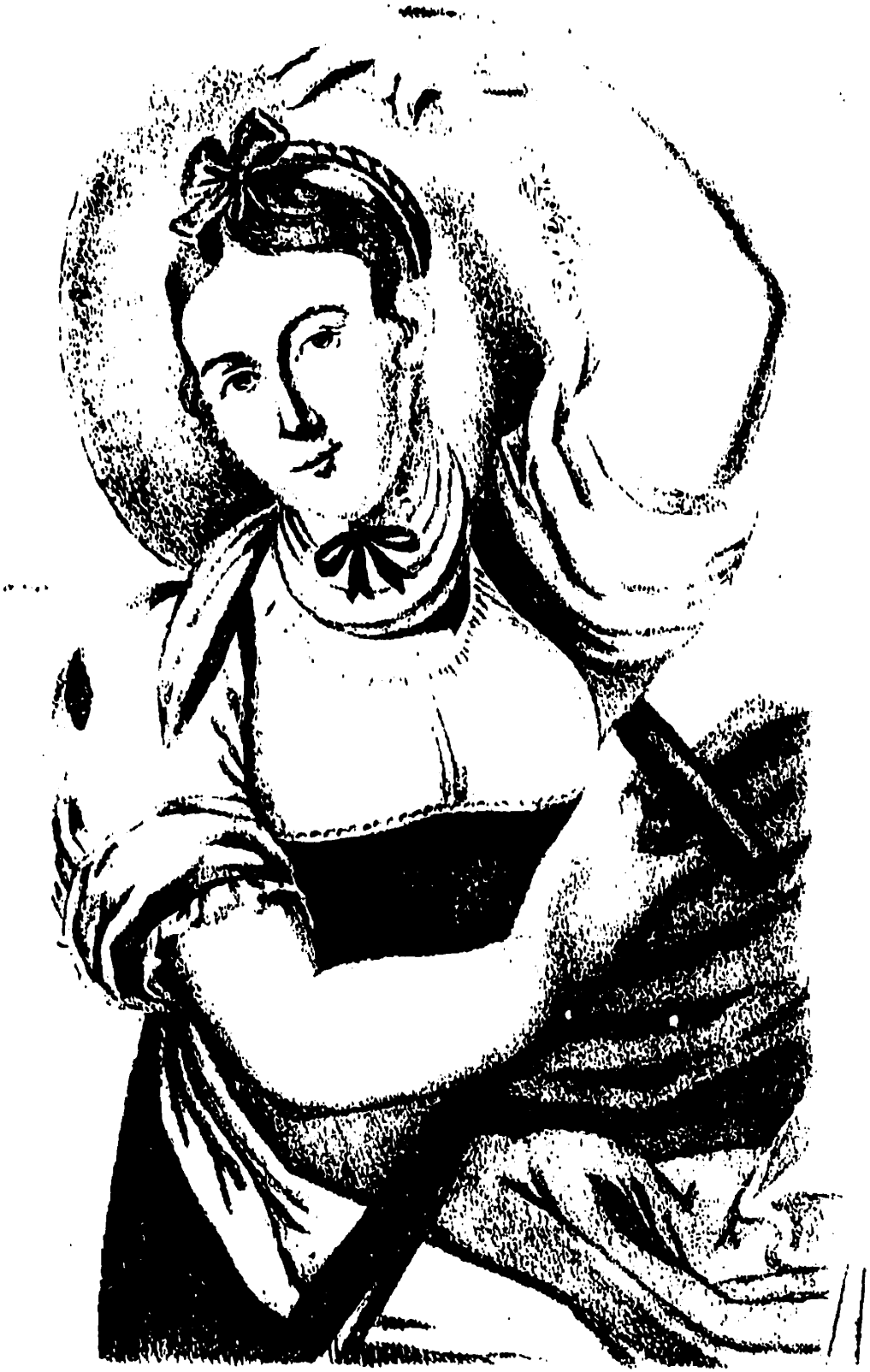
Perhaps, one reason LJ has been overlooked -- it contains few works by canonical poets. Instead of Pushkin, Vyazemsky and Baratinsky, LJ published Shalikov, Dolgoruky, Makarov, Khvostov and other so-called imitators of Karamzin.[25] The early nineteenth-century Russian female writers who are being studied with fervor now -- Pavlova, Bunina -- published very little in LJ.[26]

[25] See Appendix A for a list of male contributors to LJ.
[26] See Appendix B for a list of female contributors to LJ.

Despite weighing in as one of the lighter of the literary journals, LJ was a forum for the discussion of a number of women's issues. LJ also was a trying ground for new women writers and translators. Furthermore, it was a place in which the literary heroine was being defined and redefined.

The size of one-and-a-half Harlequin Romances but only a half-inch thick, LJ had a light blue (or sometimes yellow) cover trimmed with roses and showing a seated woman surrounded by cherubs who bear flowers, drink, and a book. While one cherub plays the lute, another braids the woman's hair. Under her, the inscription: "Everything serves beauty."

An average bimonthly issue of LJ ran 40 pages. The weeklies ran about 20 pages. The cover page contained the name of the journal, the publisher's name as well as the date. The censor's stamp was usually found on the reverse of the cover. On the first page, some issues carried a picture of a different Russian woman, presumably to whom the journal was dedicated, or sometimes a sketch of a famous woman being profiled. The front piece was usually a short story. Poems averaged four to ten an issue and varied greatly in form, from album ditties to elaborate elegies. Fiction made up more than half of each issue, with the rest a mix of art reviews, sections called News for women out of town, Anti-Journalism, Concerts, Paris Mode, and Thoughts, Characteristic and Portraits. Each had a hand-colored fashion plate on the back cover or a musical score. The following are two cover pages and two tables of contents for 1827.



ДАМСКІЙ
ЖУРНАЛЪ,

ИЗДАВАЕМЫЙ

КНЯЗЕМЪ ШАЛИКОВЫМЪ.

Часть девятнадцатая.

МОСКВА.
Въ Университетской Типографіи.
1827.

ДАМСКІЙ
ЖУРНАЛЪ,

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Часть двадцатая.

МОСКВА.
Въ Университетской Типографіи.
1827.

ОГЛАВЛЕНІЕ.

Замѣченныя ошибки.

Въ предыдущемъ №, *стран.* 8, *строка* 17, *вмѣсто:* пришла, *должно:* прибѣгая; *стран.* 84, *строки* 12, 13 *и* 14, *должно:* ныя полезныя, другія пристрастныя, а нерѣдко и смѣшныя, обнаруживающія.

ОГЛАВЛЕНІЕ.

Въ предыдущемъ No, *на стран.* 100 *въ примѣчаніи, должно:* hantes, *см.* honte

Though content involving women's topics varied from issue to issue, from roughly 80 percent to almost zero, even this was significant compared to other journals of the time. Taking the *Telegraph* as an illustration, while it did not ignore women's issues, its editor Polevoy certainly did not address them to the extent LJ did.

Through the eyes of modern feminist critics, much of what LJ achieved falls under suspicion. However, within its historical and literary context, LJ did make five significant contributions to Russian literature, journalism and culture. These contributions are briefly addressed below.

2.2 Contributions

2.2.1 A Women's Journal

First, LJ developed the medium of a women's journal. With LJ, women had their own publication which was on par with the mainstream journals. LJ contained all the elements, namely short stories, poetry, essays, reviews, letters to the editors. But these sections dealt with subjects which were perceived to be of an interest to women. For example, while the *Telegraph* was publishing a series on the life of Lomonosov, a history of paper and silk factories in England (taken from the *Quarterly Review*) and reviewing books on mathematics and medicine, LJ published a series of profiles of famous Russian women and reviewed books on women's legal rights and child rearing. Russian men read and contributed to LJ. It polemicized with the other journals of its time *Telegraph, Son of Fatherland (Сын отечества)*, etc.

One of LJ's first tasks as a new journal was to lure readers. LJ, naturally, was most interested in having a women readership, but that did not come easily. As scholars such as Lotman and Likhacheva have pointed out repeatedly, most women, even if they were literate, were not inclined to read for leisure. If they did, they certainly did not read in Russian.[27]

[27] LJ, though it occasionally did publish poems in French, took great pains to translate works from their original languages into Russian, even when Russian authors submitted their works in French.

Therefore, LJ, before it began to enlist women as contributors, first had to make them into readers. During its first year, new women subscribers were showered with praise. Shalikov writes in a dedication to K...T.A.., "who having received from me a copy of LJ, immediately wanted to subscribe" that the best award for him is when a gentlewoman becomes a happy reader. "For this, I would give all the gold," he concludes.(No. 18, 1823)

2.2.2 Education

While the poetry and short stories in LJ explored the realms of jealousy, infidelity, the pain of separation and the passing of youth, its essays went well beyond this. LJ was one of the first journals to actively promote women's education. It did so mainly in manifestos and in journalistic accounts of women's schools and graduation ceremonies.

Illarion Vasileev, who often contributed to LJ on women's matters makes it clear in his manifesto that education did *not* entitle her to citizenship.(No. 17,1827) In fact, the entire reason for her to be educated, he says, is that she would make a better wife and mother, this in turn would make her husband a better "son of the Czar and Fatherland." A man who is not the head of his household, Vasileev goes on to say, is not fulfilling his duties before his government. He quotes Czar Ioann as saying "Woe to the home which is headed by a wife!"

In the poem, "To My Daughter", a writer by the initials of K. Sh. (probably Knyaz Shalikov) begins with the line "Study history, Natasha!" If you will allow yourself to be guided by the lessons of history, he says, you will see "hidden thoughts, the passions of the soul and our place along the path with its destination unknown." A knowledge of history, says K. Sh., protects one from disappointment. "When you reach another age," he says, "You will bring this circle full..."(No. 18,1827) What K. Sh. is talking about is wisdom, not making women better wives or even mothers but making her existence, not even necessarily richer or more meaningful, but more bearable. This is a much different message to women regarding education than the one which Vasileev and others were sending out on the pages of LJ.

LJ's support for women's education took the form of essays and short stories revealing the difference education could make in a woman's life. «К чему будет служить милой Наташей красота её, когда ум не будет образован?» With these words, E. Dadian premises his short story "Natasha, or the crazy woman."(Nos. 27, 30-31, 1829) Education is necessary for Natasha, says Natasha's father. Because without it, she, "like a beautiful flower in the overgrown weeds" will never gain the attention of enlightened people.

Natasha's aunt, the narrator of the story, takes Natasha to Moscow to enroll her in a private school. But there, in a stroke of good fortune, they

stay at the house of a Count and Countess who fall in love with the beautiful, charming and talented Natasha and agree to "educate" her as their own daughter. In their company, Natasha learns to dance, play the piano and draw. She becomes a delightful conversationalist, in several foreign languages. This is the extent of Natasha's education, as well as any discussion of it in the story which then veers to Natasha's misfortune in love and her eventual insanity.

The kind of education advocated here and in other LJ stories is clearly not the kind Catherine II had in mind. Here the contributor emphasizes moral upbringing and refinement in manners and arts to make Natasha more marriageable, not a better citizen. In the "News" column, Shalikov makes a plug for the boarding school where his daughter was educated. He writes, besides instilling wonderful moral traits and some basic knowledge -- the school excels in musical instruction.(No. 46, 1829) The emphasis is on music, as well as art and dance; in other words the skills of a muse, not a leader.

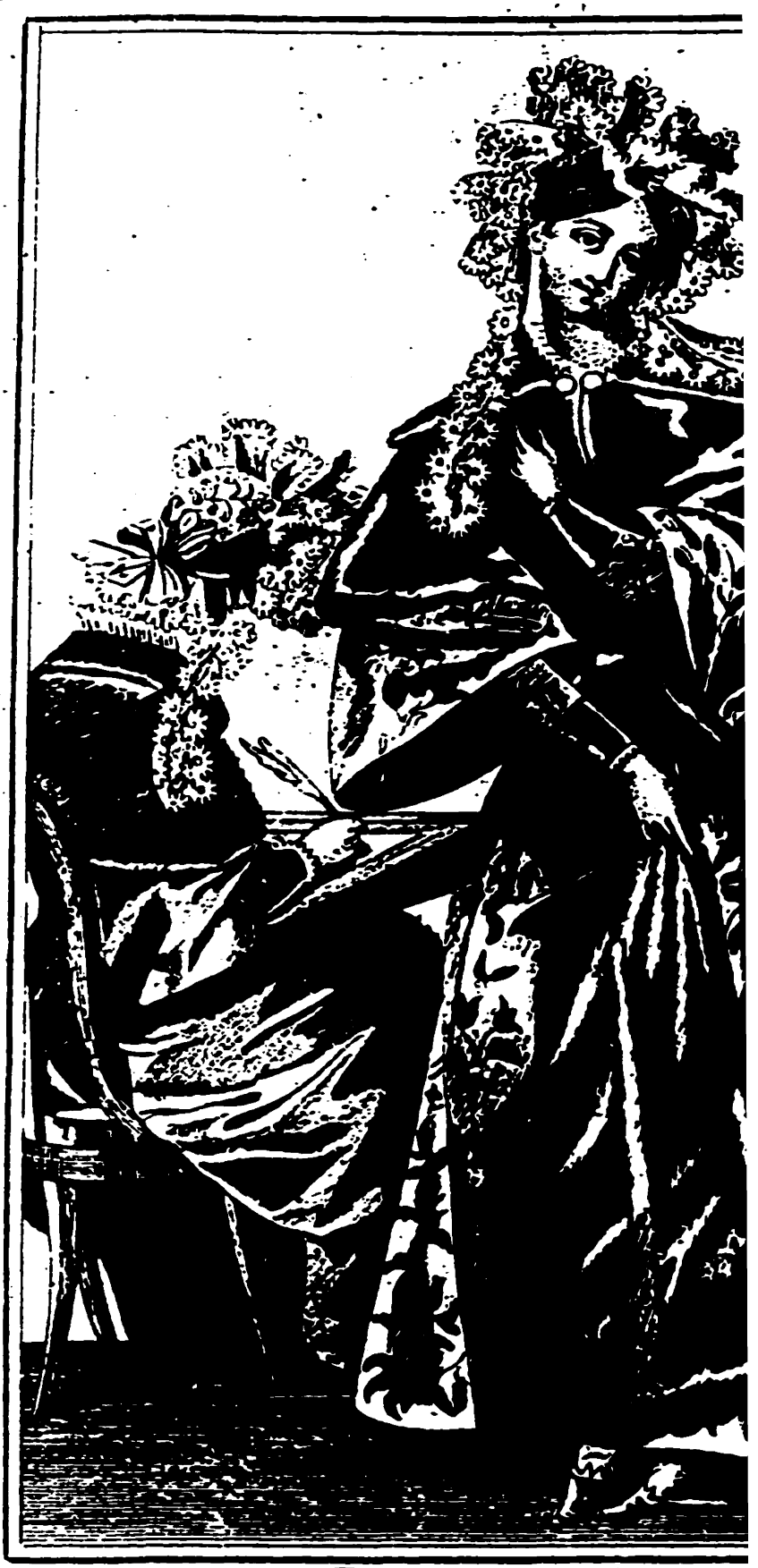
Though not always liberal as to the type of education women were to receive and for what purpose, LJ clearly took a progressive stance on the issue of education for women. (This will be discussed more fully in the next chapter.) It is also important to note that Shalikov's *bête noire* was

didacticism.[28] He set LJ as the antithesis of the Classical pedagogy of Lomonosov, a style of learning which he believed was not suitable for women. Shalikov advocated an "enlightened" form of learning, one that espoused greater individuality on the part of the learner and infused an element of amusement in the process. This technique was supposed to be more effective with the opposite sex; thus would work quickly to produce the desired cultivated, gentle belle. This also was supposedly the way in which women preferred to be instructed. Women objected to didacticism, as this gentle anonymous warning "To him" points out:

«Ах! Если-бы меньше ты трубил/ знаниях своих, и больше бы щадил/ слух ближного; тогда-бы ты был/ И меньше прост, и больше мил.» (No. 10,1832)[29]

[28] At the same time, Shalikov denounced didacticism, he adopted it when addressing women. "We dare to suggest that each well-raised young lady read this book...this along with the works of Bunina and Volkova should occupy a select place in the libraries of young Russian women who harbor respect and love for the language of their Fatherland..."(No. 18, 1827)

[29] It is entirely probably that Shalikov composed these lines. In his farewell to his readers published in 1833, Shalikov says that all the anonymous contributions to LJ were indeed his. This is probably an exaggeration. That leaves the authorship of these lines in question as well as the issue whether women really objected to didacticism or whether Shalikov thought they should object.



Дамский Журнал

2.2.3 Women as Writers

If LJ had a difficult time acquiring a female readership, it even had a harder time getting them to contribute. The first original signed contribution appeared well into LJ's first year. In it, one N. Alekseeva ruminates for one page on the merits of music.(No. 25, 1823) The first translation "Wilting Rose: An Irish Song," had appeared four issues earlier.

LJ was not the first of the women's journals to urge women to write. In 1809, *Aglia* published a letter from a K-na Puchkova urging women to take up the pen and giving the following reasons: 1) Women have a natural talent for writing, and 2) A woman who writes will not become less attractive (meaning less eligible for marriage). Rather, her writing becomes evidence of her inner beauty. Puchkova quotes Sumarokov in saying that women, to write must have a beautiful soul.(Part VIII, October, 1809)

Though women already had had an open invitation to write for nearly twenty years, Shalikov brought the campaign to new heights by working along three different fronts. First, he urged women to write using a one-to-one approach. During 1830, LJ published correspondence to Shalikov from his friends. One letter, written by the same Puchkova and appearing in an April issue, testifies to the personal interest that Shalikov took in women's writing.(No. 14, 1830) Answering Shalikov's questions regarding her progress as a writer, Puchkova complains that she has neither the time nor

the concentration for the task because of her many social obligations; she then drops the subject of her writing and goes on to describe some of those obligations. It is difficult to say whether this approach yielded results. For the most part the women writers did not correspond with Shalikov (or he chose not to publish those letters), and Shalikov had to content himself with news of their well-being and literary progress from his friend and correspondent Kozlov.

As a second tactic, LJ advocated a policy by which women writers were reviewed and always reviewed favorably. Again, this stance was not the invention of LJ. It most likely came from *Sweetheart's Journal* which carried on its cover the inscription: "To protect the virtues of our dear readers from the evil laughter of the critics." (No. 7, 1825)

LJ's policy was set out in a letter published in January 1829. In the letter, the author, identified as S-v, demands that reviewers give women writers and translators special treatment, and that above all they be gentle and always polite in their comments.(No. 7, 1829) LJ also defended women writers who had gotten harsh criticism in other journals. For example, in his review of the author Krichevskaya, Makarov defended her from the tough criticism she had received in the *Telegraph*.(No. 12, 1827)

Third, LJ published articles about Russian women writers, starting in 1824, with an essay "About women, practicing writing and promoting women writers," (No. 16, 1824) This article begs women to take up the pen. "You,

the fair sex, who charm us in youth and soothe us in old age...let the men write the decrees for governing cities. You, the fairest of the fair sex, write for men the rules for morality, for society." The writer then continues for several series with evidence of women's ability and gift for writing. He takes his examples from ancient Greece, Rome and works his way to modern day France. Lest the message was not catching on, Shalikov made another plea for contributions. In a footnote to a translation by "a young woman" of a Byron elegy, Shalikov says, "This first effort...makes one hope for more, new efforts from new wonderful pens.(No. 18, 1824)

Halfway through its second year LJ was still short on women's work. This situation persisted even as it tried to lure women writers to its pages by seeking examples of women writers closer to home. In 1830, LJ began a series called "Material for the history of Russian women-authors." The first article in that January issue gives a brief biography of the seventeenth-century writer, Sofia A. Tsarevna and then profiles of two writers from "Lomonosov's Century".(No. 1, 1830) The profiles are sketchy and mostly taken from Novikov, Derzhavin and Karamzin. Nevertheless, the series ran for most of 1830. Throughout it, women's works are briefly cataloged but almost never discussed.[30] The emphasis is usually on parentage or spouse; in other words the woman writer is judged on the basis of who her father or spouse was. Sometimes personal traits are dicussed, for example the entry

[30] One exception is the piece on Natalia A. Makarova.(No 10, 1830)

on Katherine Menshirova discusses her in the roles of mother and teacher. Other entries focus more on the woman's husband than on her.[31] Nevertheless, the series did introduce (or reintroduce) these women to the readers of LJ.

A direct correlation between these three types of support for women as writers and women contributing to LJ cannot be made. However, it is clear that gradually more women did begin to contribute to LJ, though the appearance of their works remained sporadic and overshadowed by men's.

2.2.4 Role Model for Women

Apart from its predecessors, LJ set a distinct, new role model for women. This Russian Cosmo Girl balanced her previous role of mother and wife with new, hefty demands. In less than a quarter of a century, the Russian woman went from being the battered bride of *Domostroi* to becoming the foundation of a new civil society. "Without women, -- exclaimed one LJ writer - there would not be the peaceful village or the burgeoning city: people would forever remain the wild sons of Nature!" Women were proclaimed (or re-proclaimed depending on whether the writings of the Church and Lives of Saints are taken into account) to be spiritually and morally superior; therefore, men should yield to them and

[31] The entry on Aleksandra Rzhevskaya for example contains a discussion of her husband, also a poet, and the poem he wrote upon her death.

learn from them in these matters. LJ advocated in its fiction and journalistic accounts a role model who was a moral beacon not only at home but also in civil society. This Cosmo Girl got out of the kitchen, enjoyed concerts, practiced charity, supported girl's schools and played an active role , if not in politics, than at least in local affairs.[32] This role, how LJ developed it and the contradictions inherent in it will be discussed in much more detail in the next chapter.

2.2.5 Women's Question

LJ introduced the main points for debate on the women's question. But by the time the debate reached its high point in the 1860s, the environment had changed. No longer was society as open to women in schools, women as writers. Women, themselves, had begun to complain that this had a degenerative effect on society. This, too, will be further discussed in Chapter Three.

[32] A letter from a male writer visiting Vienna was tailored for the LJ reader and demonstrates the wide sphere of women's interests as perceived by men. In addition to fashion, the letter touched on the arts, journalism and foreign cities. (No. 15, 1827)

CHAPTER THREE

LADIES' JOURNAL AND THE BIRTH OF THE COSMO GIRL

> "Women were role models *in potentia* only, or, put in another way, the ideal woman as seen by the sensitive man was the role model, while the real Russian belles did not yet live up to the ideal without some male prodding."
> -- Hammarberg, "Chronotope"

3.1 Women's Journal or Men's

It is tempting to call LJ a progressive, liberal journal maybe even ahead of its time. LJ did set out to modernize Russian literature and Russian society by increasing women's role in both. But if we look at how LJ tried to do this and for what purpose -- a different image of LJ appears, one that is reactionary, conservative, much more men's journal than women's.

Although devoted to addressing women's issues, the editorial board of the journal consisted entirely of men, namely Makarov and Shalikov. Makarov was well-known for his somewhat pornographic *Sweetheart's Journal.* If women had had the opportunity to chose an editor to champion their cause, Makarov would have been a bad choice. Shalikov was even worse.

Shalikov dedicated his journal to women. But much of the content in the early issues, had nothing to do with women or carried just a fleeting

reference to women. Examples include, letters to friends in the form of poems. In this sense, LJ, like the albums it sometimes published excerpts from, had the feel of a closed club where readers knew each other and were familiar with personal even intimate details. However, Shalikov while ignoring his women readers was careful to keep restating his editorial purpose: to please the fair sex. One "Letter from Italy" carries the footnote explaining that the editors decided to print the letters because "without a doubt they will be pleasant for our *читательницы*."(No. 1,1827) Given the fact the editorial board was all male, Shalikov's statement here, and others similar to it, beg the question: Did the editors of LJ know what their readers were interested in? Or were they taking it upon themselves to determine what the interests of their women readers should be?

Some of the contributions were likely to have been written, not for women, but for men on the subject of demystifying women or at least explaining some of her habits. A writer, tells of one young women who attracted suitors simply by complaining of having a migraine. This ruse, explains the writer, allowed her to admit visitors while lying barely dressed on her couch. After making his readers wise to this seduction, the writer says in awe that a women's daily toilette is a complex and well-thoughtout procedure that "demands the same amount of calculation and deep thinking as solving a Newtonian problem."(No. 10, 1823)

Another contribution, in the section called Thoughts, Characters and Portraits poses the question: "Why do women, no matter what their age, have childlike voices. Does this not indicate the purpose (*назначение*) of women, is that she forever preserve the purity (*чистота*) and chastity (*невинность*) of her heart... (No. 3, 1827)

Often, to justify bringing his personal war with the publisher of the *Telegraph* to the pages of LJ, Shalikov begins his essays by stating he is serving his readers. "My observations... are not of little interest to the Readeresses, sensitive as they are to that with which they share a likeness, namely what is refined and beautiful in Literature." Shalikov then adopts a knight-in-shining -armor mode to play grammar cop. Saying he must protects his tender readers from the egregious mistakes in the *Telegraph* , Shalikov points out misplaced commas, misquoted Russian folk sayings and poor word choice. He then deeply thanks the writer for giving him the chance to serve his women readers.(February 1827, No. 4)

Other contributions took women as their subject matter, for example the numerous dedications to women by men: "To Sophie"(No. 10, 1823), "To Knyazhinia Zenieda Alekandrovna Volkonskoi"(No. 2, 1827), "To the Masked Strangeress"(No. 3, 1827) or just "To..." (No. 3, 1827). Some women clearly delighted in these dedications -- they were the reason women kept albums in which suitors matched pen and wit.(Hammarberg, "Flirting with Words") However, with these contributions, LJ became more

an outlet for male poetic energies, than female. As in "To the Portrait of A. B. K...i" one poet writes, "And the beauty of the face, and the splendor of the dress -- all is inspiration for the poet!"(No. 14, 1832)

Sometimes months would go by without a single woman author appearing in LJ. For example, the entire year of 1829 was nearly devoid of women's contributions. Two school girls, Maria Verkhovskaya and Elisaveta Vitkovskaya published a dedication "To the Headmistress of a noble girls school in Kharkov".(No. 3, 1829) Anna Vinogradova contributed a translation "Spanish Songs".(No. 5, 1829) Anna Volkova published her "Appeal to Man" in July.(No. 30, 1829) The next original woman's work did not appear until December. It was a poem by Daria Lobanova called "Dreams". (No. 52, 1829)

During this same time, LJ published some original works by Russian men as well as many translations from French, German, Latin. On the subject of women, LJ in 1829 published Shalikov's review of Baratinsky's "The Ball" in which he took issue with the poet's portrayal of women.(Nos. 3 and 4, 1829); "Women of antiquity sending love to parents, spouses and children"(No. 17, 1829), as well as Dadian's "Natasha, or the crazy woman".(Nos. 27, 30-31, 1829) In December, the translation of a medical book examining cases of women going crazy from love and loss was reviewed. The reviewer recommended the book as required reading for all mothers.(No. 50, 1829) One woman was quoted in the Paris Mode section

as saying that there are journals about everything so why not one about people in love.(No. 28, 1829) She suggests a place where admirers can secretly meet on the page, share something of themselves "but not all"; discuss Winter vacation spots, chat about what one does in the country, etc. The editor comments that if such a journal comes to be, then to avoid mistakes, only women should be asked to proofread the mock ups. This is a jest, of course. But it has a serious undertone. Women had not been encouraged to become involved in the actual process of publishing. Here, Shalikov was introducing, however backhandedly, the idea that women not only write but become active in publishing, a business (as well as leisurely pursuit) in which men, with the exception of Princess Dashkova and Catherine II reigned.

Shalikov did not bring women into the publishing world of LJ. He had a difficult enough time getting them to submit their works. It is possible that Shalikov opted not to publish some of the works submitted by women. It is also possible that he was not receiving submissions and had to fill the space with works by men, hence the long spates, for example 1829, where women's voices are rarely heard.

Several women writers published regularly in LJ during several periods. (This is discussed in more detail in next section). During its last years, LJ was printing fewer and fewer articles about women, for women or by women. Travel articles, translations and excerpts from Old Russian

Literature were appearing more frequently.[33] As a side note, fashions had also changed. The shoulders and breasts began to be well-covered.

The question of what motivated women to contribute to LJ and what kept them from writing may not be resolved. However, one possible deterrent for women may have been LJ's editorial practice of promoting women as writers and readers on par with men while at the same time undermining this position by continuing to stress their viability as a subject. This practice carried on to the essays and more journalistic accounts. In Makarov's article on Elisaveta Grosman, whose claim to fame was that she rowed Alexander I across a Switzerland lake, he describes not who Grosman was but rather what she wore. Furthermore, Makarov emphasizes not what she wore that day but how she appeared in portraits done by two Swiss painters. Thus, Grosman is twice removed from herself.(July 1827, No. 13)

LJ was a place where women could publish and read about issues concerning women. But it falls short of being a journal exclusively for women. More precisely, as much as LJ was a journal for women, it was also for men and their ruminations on women.

[33] As an exception, LJ during this time published a cookbook review (No. 34,1832); a translated excerpt of *Little Women* (No. 33,1832), and a translation of the "Informed views of Miss Cather Torton" in which mother and daughter debated the virtues of scholastic learning based on ecclesiastical texts verses "esthetic learning".

3.2 Women as Writer

Before looking at a larger question of how LJ gave birth to the Russian Cosmo Girl, LJ's influence on a certain subset of women, namely women writers, will be considered. LJ's contribution to women authorship is complex and contradictory. Here, it will be described in broad terms, using specific examples to illustrate.

Russian women were not rebelling by taking up the pen, they were being encourage to -- especially by LJ. To reiterate, LJ attempted to influence women writers in several ways, namely with reviews of women writers, essays on the importance of women as writers and with stories and poems by both men and women which served as examples of good, publishable writing. Through this encouragement, LJ molded the desired woman writer. Over and over again, the same three qualities for author and heroine were repeated: namely a good women writer (or heroine) is one who is a good person, in need or men's charity and an inspiration to men. (No such criteria was applied to the male authors LJ reviewed.) In discussing a work by Anna Volkova, Shalikov spends half of his six-page review to describe how Volkova looked after her blind father. This model daughter never left his bedside, and read to him the good Russian [male] writers. While caring for her father, she wrote an Ode to Emperor Paul. This earned her father a pension, but the family lost it when the father died. Volkova's

personal qualities and her quiet suffering at the hands of fate make her a good writer in the view of the LJ. Furthermore, the fact LJ is supporting her is an act of charity. "This desperate situation has given me the pleasure of introducing this exceedingly talented girl," writes Shalikov.[34] Volkova fills the requirements to a tee: she is a good person, in need of charity and an inspiration, in that she moves Shalikov to write about her and offer her as an example to other women writers. Her style her subject choice, her language are not considered. She is a "talented girl" because she fits the formula. And her reward is a positive review in LJ.

Strikingly, the qualities that make a good author are the same ones that make a good heroine. Furthermore, by looking at the language used to describe women writers and their works, it becomes obvious that male reviewers rarely distinguished between the writer and her heroines. Both writer and heroine are repeatedly "attractive, delightful, tasteful".(No. 12, 1827) (Less personal attributes like "witty" and "instructive" are reserved for male authors.) Shalikov, for example, emphasizes the "tenderness" of Volkova's writing. Volkova's other qualities, as noted by a different reviewer: "wonderful...virtuous...touching." (No. 19,1827) (Interestingly the

[34] Kn. V. Shax-ya writing an obituary for a woman who died in childbirth praises the deceased for her educated mind, virtuous and refined taste and shining talent and also for being a devoted daughter, exemplary spouse, tender mother and charitable citizen.(No. 35, 1832) Clearly the role set by men had sunk in. These female characteristics were becoming a cliché, and they were appearing in the least likely places. In a three-page review of a medical book on cholera, the author spends two pages repeating these same pat phrases, the idea being that any information about cholera is important and timely because such fair creatures as women are perishing from it. (No. 37,1833)

second reviewer is a woman, but she clearly follows the example set for her by Shalikov.) These attributes are regularly applied to women authors and heroines without distinguishing between the different functions of artist and fictional character. With Volkova as with other Russian women writers appearing in LJ, the boundaries between women as author and heroine are obliterated.[35] At the same time, the line between fiction and reality becomes blurred.

This policy began with the first year of LJ. In a review of one Italian woman writer and member of the Florence academy, the author all but ignores the works by this writer. Instead, he notes how she suffered at the hands of her husband, performed many acts of charity and was extremely simple and modest. This sounds like the makings of Karamzin heroine. The review is written to arouse sympathy towards the woman as a character, not as an artist.(No. 15, 1823) That reviewers and readers were confusing heroines with real women and Romantic plots with life was not a LJ invention. But that LJ was confusing the woman as writer with woman as heroine was something unique to the journal. Granted, the same thing had happened to male writers -- from Byron to Shalikov -- but there the difference was that the male writers themselves promoted this inversion of

[35] This also applies to European writers who were reviewed in LJ. An essay on Madame Staal describes her poor childhood and her successful marriage. The essay concludes: "[She is] the only woman writer who forces [us] to forget about her sex."(No 12, 1826)

fiction and reality. Here, the women writers were being subjected to it whether they liked it or not.

The question must be asked what affect might this have had on Russian literature, particularly women's contributions. Looking at how the women presented women characters and narrators in their stories published in LJ -- it is possible to argue only that women were working within the bounds set for them by the male critic.[36] It was fairly common practice that women would adopt male narrators for their stories and poems. M. Lisitsyna in her poem "To the unfaithful one" tries to capture the voice of an angry man spurning his unfaithful lover.(No. 24, 1827) "Now as I write to you, I am at peace and indifferent. To be happy, I no longer need your love. Forgive me! Forget that you were once loved by me!" Between these lines at the beginning and repeated at the end, the narrator tells of having arrived at a noisy soiree to find his lover standing at the window and looking forlorn. Thinking that his absence is the cause of her sadness, he rushes to her only to be rebuffed. Awakened from his "happy dream of love," he realizes that his beloved was not looking out the window for him but for another. "Oh! It would have been better if I had remained fooled for eternity."

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[36] Beginning in1830, women began to publish poems in LJ which were more "philosophical" and less bound to the themes of love, separation and love's loss. Some examples are A. Vasil'eva's «Таков — то ныне свет»(No. 4, 1830) and Elisaveta Krylova's "Moderation"(No. 1, 1830). Another poem by Krylova "Dedication to D...L..."(No. 5, 1830) deals with friendship between women. However, these poems adopt themes which were popular among male poets publishing in LJ at the time, namely the loss of carefree youth, the strength of friendship, the degenerative influence of wealth, natural virtue v. social refinement. In her "Rondo", Krylova repeats nearly word for word the lessons which other poets had been espousing: «Напрасно роскошью рассыпает дары, чтоб блеском ослепить 'Не всё то злато, что блестит. / Нам разум часто повторяет: мне скромность во сто раз милей.» (No. 14, 1830)

By mimicking the anguished language and the exclamations of her contemporaries, Lisitsyna succeeds in crafting a poem which sounds like it had been written by other male poets in LJ who also wrote of infidelity.[37] Having adopted a male narrator, Lisitsyna ensures that the woman of this poem is denied any development ; she remains an object, first of desire, then of scorn. Her reasons for rebuffing this man are not discussed. In following the examples set by her male contemporaries, Lisitsyna provides only one side of the story.[38]

Another of Lisitsyna's works, an untitled poem (or perhaps fraction of a poem) which does not appear in the table of contents, reveals in spiritual, almost mystical terms, the author's skepticism towards the dreaminess and optimism of her male counterparts. «Не верь приманке жизни милой,/ Любви обманчивой мечтать;/Внимай надежде легкокрылой...» What Lisitsyna is advocating is a wherewithal that contrasts with the naivete that men wanted for women.

In LJ, women authors are always compared to other women authors and never to men, until one Olga Kryukova, a sixteen year old who appeared

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[37] The epitome of this is Dolgoruky.

[38] There is textual evidence, however, that Lisitsyna wanted this women to play a larger role in the poem. Defying the tradition in other male works where women existed merely as abstract flowery language describing the narrator's reaction to her, Lisitsyna places her women by the window, thus physically in the poem. Furthermore, the women's rebuff is reported in one line: "You greeted me carelessly." This reporting of the women's actions, albeit by the narrator yet without the embellishment of his feelings, allows the woman even more of a presence. Lisitsyna went no further, but one wonders whether she had to. As the narrator concludes his angry "letter" by contradicting himself and reinstating his indifference, one can almost hear the woman addressee chuckle.

on the literary scene late in LJ's life. "She," proclaims the reviewer, "is a female Pushkin."[39]

What made Kryukova the beloved poet of LJ's editors was never made clear. But she published more in LJ than any of the other woman authors and possibly more than Shalikov himself. Her themes were varied: unrequited love, separation, adventure in the North Caucasus. So were her styles: Rondo, epic, legend, ballad. Most marked about her poems is a heart-wrenching pining for a certain «*ты*». (For example, her "Rondo" and her "Ballad" in Nos. 36 and 38, 1832) A discussion of Kryukova's poetry and her use of pre-Romantic and Romantic devices and themes is beyond this thesis. However, regarding the relationship between poet and reader, Kryukova turned on its head the poem addressed to the admiree. Male poets in their dedications use the second person singular and informal «ты» to refer to one anonymous woman. Kryukova, however, does not identify in any way her subject. She does not use initials or personal attributes or intimate details privy only to the poet and her subject. She speaks to the general state of longing, striving, suffering. As her male contemporaries, she emphasizes her feelings for this inaccessible "you." However, unlike her male contemporaries, she gives little information about who this "you" is. The result, whether intended or not, is that the reader enters the realm of

[39] A review of a historical novel by Annushka Vodoratskaya written in the early 1700s contained this comment: "It's better than most Russian novels appearing when historical novels were coming into popularity: even keeping in mind this novel was written *by a woman* [italics in original]." (No. 32,1833)

possibilities, or is at least in no way excluded. Kryukova does not limit this realm to a certain man, she expands it to include all men, and possibly women. Whereas dedications by male writers often maintained a sense of intimacy and an element of intrigue brought on by a sense that the reader was eavesdropping on a very touching and personal moment, Kryukova's poems, when addressed, are almost unabashed in their wide and searching openness and generalities,[40] for example, the four refrains ending each stanza of her "Ballad": «Я о тебе молюсь... Я о тебе грущу... И по тебе страдаю... Я плачу о тебе.»

Unlike the dedications of her male contemporaries, Kryukova does seem to be addressing a real person and not an ideal. Instead of acting upon this ideal in the guise of a creator or sculptor or poet, Kryukova is completely given to it. «Когда к Творцу миров я мыслью возношусь; Тогда моя душа полна одной мольбою» In this sense, Kryukova as a poet is acting out the role set for her by male poets. The narrator of her poems is dreamy, melancholy, devoted and above all submissive. As she writes in her rondo, «Тебе в немом забвении предаюсь». Ultimately, even the refrain «К тебе стремлюсь» can be seen, not as an active gesture, but more as a confined one. Given her freedom to express her feelings with abandon, this narrator never goes beyond the narrow

[40] One could argue that much of this has to do with the guidelines of decency. Acceptable topics for the male writer may have caused a scandal if 16-year old Kryukova broached them. See for example Nikitin's "To.." which is about as racy as LJ gets. (No. 45,1832)

expectations of the writers and critics who granted her this freedom. This applies also to her perception of self. In her poem "Separation," clearly (if not ironically) the narrator sees herself merely as a reflection of the ideal woman as stereotyped by male poets. In describing herself, Kryukova adopts the exact same trite descriptive phrases and metaphors male poets used for their subjects, i.e. cheeks as roses, woman as a rose, fading roses as a metaphor for passing youth. She also emphasizes the same body parts (cheeks and eyes), as well as the same physical expressions of emotion (crying and growing pale). The result is a self-portrait that is remarkably impersonal, unoriginal and vague, yet at the same time, the careful rendering of the wholesale ideal of women, as shown by this brief excerpt: «Без тебя поблекнут розы/ На моих, о друг! щёках; Умерять печальные слёзы/ Юный блеск в моих очах!» (No. 50, 1832) For this, Kryukova is named the female-Pushkin. More accurately, she is the perfect student of LJ: she is writer, heroine and ideal woman wrapped into one frail voice.

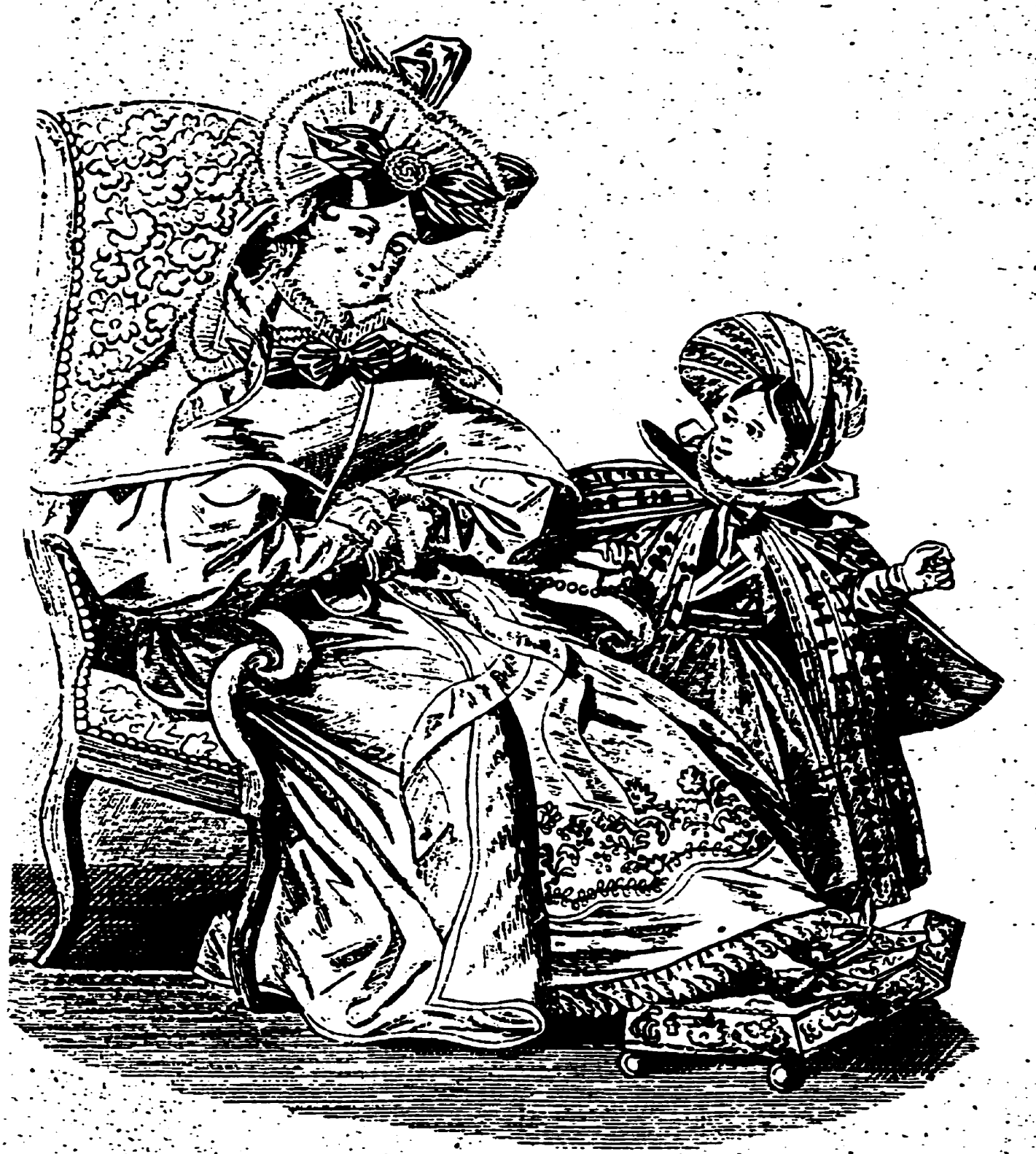
In 1828, LJ published an essay "About Women Writers." The writer begins: "Men! You exclaim your regard and genuine affection for us; however, admit that you are often unfairly against us." Laws and traditions, as they are defined by men, prohibit a woman from exercising her freedom, the writer notes. Should a woman try to become a writer, she encounters critics "with their poison arrows" and journals which "try to belittle her gifts."

While this comment may not apply to LJ, the writer's next observation certainly does: When the critics discuss a man's work, he looks at only the work. However, when a woman's work is being discussed, he looks at only her personal life. "He follows her with his immodest gaze and opens before the public, her name, her character and her habits." A woman writer who is witty and observant risks her reputation. A woman writer who is modest risks being called dull. If the writer manages to save her reputation as a writer and as a woman, then she runs the risk that a man will either say that woman cannot write good books, or he will say that he helped her do it, by correcting her mistakes, livening her language, selecting the topic. In conclusion, the writer predicts:

> "Soon there will come a time when a woman will be able to use her mind and her own work to gain respect; when a girl will be able to know society and its pitfalls without having taken part in them; when it will be possible to be both a great writer and a kind mother...God did not grant all the talent to men, and He did not refuse it to women." (No. 16, 1828).

With this essay, one might argue that LJ's editors had come to realize that its support for women writers, its gentle reviews and active discussion of women's role in society were harmful, confining and controlling. One might also argue that Russian women writers were finally realizing this. However, both these stances are far from true. First, the essay was a translation from the French. Second, not a single response in kind from a Russian man or women, writer or reader, followed. Third, the essay carried

a footnote from Shalikov thanking the "kind " translator (M. Zol..va) for her "wonderful" article. There is no indication that he chose to apply the argument to himself as a critic or as an editor. In his last solicitation for subscriptions, Shalikov exclaims proudly that despite all the criticism, LJ has done and will continue to do just what it set out to: To serve the fair sex.



3.3 Birth of the Cosmo Girl

During the Romantic period, women were given more access to education, new roles and privileges. Also during this era, which spanned nearly the first half of the nineteenth century, the ideal Russian woman and Russian heroine were being defined and redefined by Karamzin, Zhukovsky, Pushkin, Lermontov. That LJ was promoting a model for its readers is not new for Russian journals of the time. One could argue that Karamzin with his *European Herald* was trying to Europeanize the Russian male. Furthermore, this editorial practice was not exclusive to Russian journals; similar examples can be found in the British and French journals of the 1800s which strove to enlighten their readerships. What is unique about LJ's policy is that the model it promoted was both radical and conversely traditional for its time. Based on the image of the British and French enlightened woman, this new Russian woman was educated, cultured, an equal to her husband in cultural spheres; she was not only a homemaker but also a member of society. Conversely, this new Russian woman was very much grounded in her traditional roles of martyr, saint, spiritual guide and mother. For the most part, LJ did not acknowledge or try to resolve this contradiction. The message clearly was that woman could be all things that man desired of her: his equal and his savior; his muse and his student.

What made this possible is that LJ continuously dealt with an ideal of woman originating from the French, brought to Russia by Karamzin and further cultivated by LJ editors and contributors. Had LJ tried to resolve the gap between the ideal of woman and the reality of woman, then perhaps these contradictory roles may have become more apparent to the editors. Only towards the end of LJ's lifespan, did the woman devoid of her ideal come into LJ's pages. Understandably, she appeared in the form of complaints by male authors. This will be discussed later. First, I would like to turn to some of the facets of the Cosmo Girl which LJ promoted.

Is this ideal woman who was going to rescue Russian society and literature from the so-called swamps of the 1700s? "Not you, *прелестные дамы*, the image of the golden sun rays...you who warms and wakens the minds and hearts of mankind?"(No. 19, 1827) "You, the root of all civilization." "You, the completely satisfied breastfeeder of your son."(No. 6, 1827)[41]

Different poets at different times, emphasized different aspects of the myth. For example, Yakov Gladkov in his poem "To the fair sex from a blind and paralyzed 36-year-old sufferer" promotes woman in her traditional role

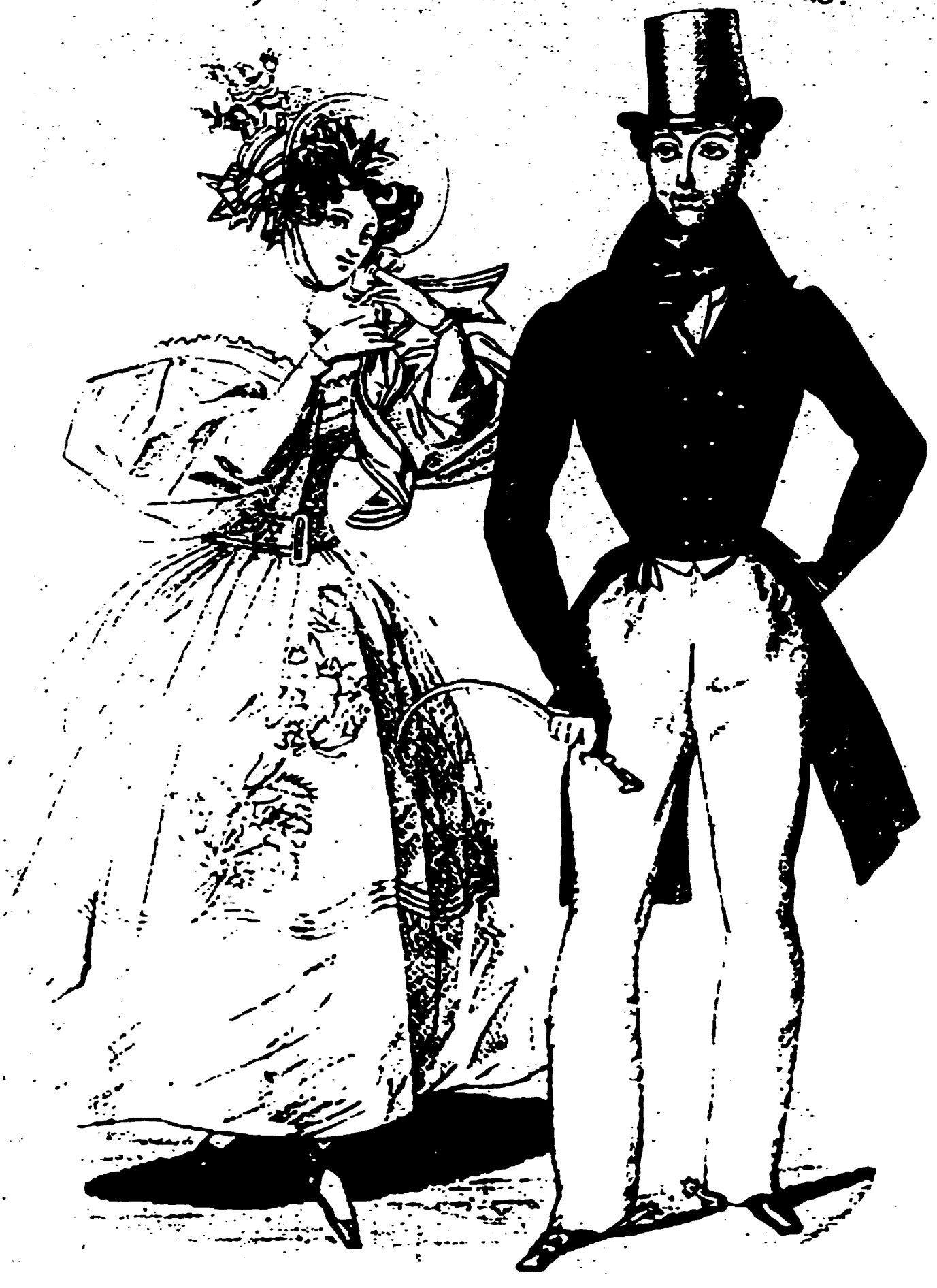
[41] From fashion to the breastfeeding craze of the late 1700s, LJ followed the French trends though often with great delay and added enthusiasm, "Kind parents make good children...Ask the doctors," Ilarion Vyacheslav urges his readers. He then goes on to rhapsodize on the virtues of breastfeeding and what he wouldn't give to experience it. The origin of evil in Russian Society, he says, is that more than half of mother's do not breastfeed. They also entrust their children to uncouth and unwed French governesses.

of martyr by asking his female readers to take pity on him, to cry for him and sigh as he prepares for the grave.(No. 3, 1833)

True, women have often played the role of spiritual and moral paradigm throughout Russian literature from Fevronia in the *Lives of Pyetr and Fevronia* to Sonia Marmeladova in *Crime and Punishment* and beyond. What's interesting in this context, the men who proclaimed her moral mentor also treated this as a new role for women and invested in it (and her) enormous hope that women (as long as they were admired by male bystanders) could and would wrest Russia from its backwardness and bring about a new and better future. As if this were not enough to demand of her, the LJ girl was repeatedly told to hold on to her youth as long as possible, "bloom modestly" and wait for Elvira to water her.(No. 5,1827)

While LJ attempted to educate, enlighten and thus emancipate its readers from their traditional roles, it also reinforced those roles. The best illustration of traditional role-modeling is the fashion plate which appeared in issue No. 25 of 1832. This is one of the few plates in LJ where men's fashions are shown as well as women's. Here the man stands at an angle in front of the woman. He is wearing riding gear including spurs on his boots. He holds a whip in his right hand, and the end of the whip is curling across the front of the woman's floral-patterned gown. Replicating the form of the whip, but not its authoritarian significance, ribbons dangle from the women's bonnet. She coquettishly twists her fingers in them. Whatever degrees of

meanings can be extracted from her gesture, she certainly appears to be simultaneously impressed, subdued and allured by this male figure armed with the traditional means of punishing women and beast. This "unenlightened" attitude was just what the editors of LJ strove to expose and correct. However, in this plate, it is clearly reinforced and brought to the new platitudes of civilized, fashionable society. Of course it is possible, that in publishing the plate, the editors entirely missed the dual message it was sending to the readers. Other textual oversights, mentioned above, suggest that Shalikov and Makarov were completely at ease with promoting these contradictory roles because both suited their needs as editors, poets and men. As the picture shows, the fair sex had become an alluring and enlightened muse, and -- even if not to the same extent as her mother and grandmothers -- she was still controllable.



The Polish writer Antonii Shilansky, often published in translation in LJ's later years, makes this point exasperatingly clear. In his "Words to [my] son on the day of his wedding", the author writes that a husband should be "a friend, a father, a mother, a brother" to his wife. But, he adds, he should never be a despot. Furthermore, a husband should be keen to his wife's needs. "Do not refuse your wife her innocent desires which give her so much rightful pleasure. She wants a new dress, a bonnet, a shawl? Agree to it, without grumbling." Halfway through the three-page letter, the author lets his son in on a little secret: "Give in on the small matters. This will help you win the more important ones."

Women, says Shilansky, are not to be trusted. Even the most honest ones are prone to fibbing. They also, should not be asked to share a man's worries, "burdened enough she is with the cares of home." Shilansky's main point is "love her, and you will be loved." But clearly, the message underlying this text is that man can control a woman's behavior by controlling his own. Echoing a popular social theory at the time, he says that women resort to evil only when they are forced to by men. Shilansky even goes as far as denying women her role in having initiated the original sin. Eve committed the sin, he says, but Adam showed her the tree.(No. 7, 1833)[42]

[42] Later Shilansky would write that woman was obliged to cover her husband's mistakes and compensate for his faults as well as defend him from any ill comments made in his direction. A husband, he says, should love his wife, not treat her like a slave. He should keep in mind that she was created –

Shilansky dominated LJ's voice with regards to women. When the topic of divorce is discussed in one of the last issues, Shilansky makes a passionate argument that the cause of divorce is that men are not willing enough to yield to their wives' wishes.(No. 43, 1833) This is followed by a scalding article written by a woman but not signed. She writes in reference to an article which appeared in *Russian Invalid.* In it, a man complains that his second wife makes herself up like an actress, dances the mazurka and forgets her forty-six years. She also faints without changing her expression. The woman writer responds: 1) Does her face change whether it is pale or made up? 2) Isn't the husband reddening in the face for telling everyone that he does not know how to pick a spouse? 3) He should consider himself lucky that she does not start fights. 4) If she faints, it is because her husband has not fulfilled her wishes. Very likely, the writer of this letter had been following Shilansky's advice to the lovelorn as it regularly appeared in LJ. Having taken it to heart, she now pens one of the most heartfelt defenses of a woman by a woman to appear in LJ.[43]

The subject of divorce came up several times on the pages of LJ during 1833. In these discussions the message was clearly that the honeymoon of the late 1820s was over. Men began voicing their disappointment that women had not lived up to the ideal of woman.

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not from his head or feet– but from his rib. Thus, he adds, she is equal with him, "given" to him in "partnership." (No. 38, 1833)

[43] Of course, it is entirely possible that this letter was written by Shilansky himself or Shalikov.

«Ещё недавно ты так хороша была и так приветлива, и так умна, мила! а ныне? ... Боже мой! Какая перемена! Не уже ли она есть следствие Гименея!»(No. 39,1833)

What sort of mood might this have set for the emergence of the women's question? This deserves much more of an analysis than can be given here, but , I suggest that men (or at least the certain subset under the influence of the ideal of women espoused by LJ) had grown disgruntled or even downright grumpy about women who were not living up to the ideal. Thus, they greeted the women's question not with goodwill and eagerness to give woman "what they deserve" -- rights, equality -- but with the dissatisfaction of a husband ready for a divorce. N. Grekov's comedy *Rare heiress, or husband by inheritence* (*Редкая Наследница, или муж по завещанию)* is a rare example of a work in *Ladies' Journal* which parodied women's position in society and the fact that although men were promising women a new and better role , very little had changed.

"There will come a year when the midgets will be bigger, when all the peoples will become smarter, when the journals will not published so much trash, when women will fulfill all their husbands wishes...I won't see any of this, but nevertheless to women I am bound."(No. 13, 1827)

This last remark, that the speaker is bound to hold onto his optimism and repeat promises despite having acknowledged their emptiness, can be seen as mimicking Shalikov's unvarying devotion to a cause that was being undermined by his own fanatical support of it. Grekov's hero wryly admits

that his ideals, and not the women who did not live up to them, are the source of his own disappointment. This is something Shalikov never acnowledged during the life of LJ, neither did the other contributors.

An article in *Women's Herald* (*Женский Вестник*) , the women's journal to follow LJ, notes:

> "She was brought to the pedestal but the shining halo around her head did not save her from slavery...You've remained a slave and a servant without rights, without a voice, humiliated and weak although praised by a mob of admires."(No. 9, 1867)

Interestingly, men were pointing this fact out, at least in *Women's Herald* (1866-68) which contained mostly works by men about women.

By 1832, elements of vaudeville had crept into LJ. The Ossian myth was also perpetuated. Behind the literary and social trends, LJ turned towards the Orient. Its obsession with the East prefaced by the remark that women readers were no doubt interested in the topic. In an excerpt from *La Contemporaine Egypte,* a woman journalist describes a prince's harem. Here the harem is romanticized and at the same time made less exotic by the observer's eye for detail. She describes dresses and faces, relates anecdotes verbatim and keeps tally on the numbers of women and their ages.(No 28, 1832) At the same time, Makarov was running a series of articles on Old Russian holidays and rituals.(No. 29, 1832) The poets A. Nikitin and P. Kislovskoi appeared for the first time in LJ. There were no new women writers. Despite encouraging women and men to write in

Russian, LJ had begun to publish poems in French in nearly each issue starting in 1832.

LJ's editors, knowingly or unwittingly, continued to shape its women readers. The fashion plates of 1832 began more regularly to show mother with child (usually a daughter) both dressed in the latest Paris fashions. Women were also depicted at the harp or at the piano. As early as 1829, women are shown writing.(No. 49, 1829)

As notes the feminist critic Meaghan Morris, Mmd de Genlis in *De l' influence des femmes sur la litterature comme protectrices des arts et des auteurs*, "speaks coyly and decently of "protectors, but what is elaborated here -- through a conception (and prescription) of woman's nature and ideal function - is an outline of the woman-function as 'model' for social conduct, social control..."(Morris, 66) In idolizing women and setting them up as role models, the idolizers, or in this case the editors of LJ, had retained control and at the same time justified for themselves their mission to refine the Russian woman. As Hammarberg points out: "Women were role models *in potentia* only, or, put in another way, the ideal woman as seen by the sensitive man was the role model, while the real Russian belles did not yet live up to the ideal without some male prodding." (Hammarberg, "Chronotope" 120)

It must be stressed that LJ did not maintain a uniform editorial policy. Towards the end of its life, the Cosmo Girl it was promoting was wrought

with contradictions. In fact, it may be suggested that LJ sponsored both the Cosmo Girl and the foil of this role model. Again, both these paradigms were the whims of their creators. In his poem "Last song to the fair sex", Dolgoruky, bemoans not the fact that he must part with the fair sex but that he must part with the joys of worshipping the fair sex. Worship is the subject of his poem; development of the woman whom he is addressing is scant.

> «Тобой познал образованное/ Ума и сердца своего/Отрады радость, упованье,/ Цель бытия здесь здесь моего.»

Interestingly, Dolgoruky bestows on his female addressee certain titles and roles.

> «Ты был мой Гений – покровитель;/ Тебе я верен был судьбой,/ Ты в скорби был мой утешитель/ И в счастье – счастия виной.» (No. 10,1832)

This role reversal, where man becomes provider and guardian-Genius can be interpreted as the advanced stage of a process of feminization which the male poet had begun to undergo during the Pre-Romantic movement. (Hammarberg, "Chronotope") Male poets were not only trying to write like women, they were also trying to live like her. In pursuit of the ultimate expression of beauty and all associated with women, male poets had begun

to adopt what they saw as womanly traits -- gentleness of manner, moodiness, dreaminess.(Hammarberg, 118) This can be seen as a form of admiration, just as fans of moviestars will nurture a certain way of dressing, hairstyle, accent. But it also can be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the admirer to transform himself into the object of his admiration. Certain expressions of the Dandy-pose can be seen as an effort by the male poet to feminize himself. (The epitome of a dandy, Shalikov was famous for appearing in women's salons dressed to the hilt and wearing makeup. He was also infamous for his bouts of hysteria, as noted by Hammarberg in her essay.) What made this feminization possible -- the boundaries between life and art were blurred to the point that poetry was not an art form but a way of life. As Hammarberg points out, one of the watermarks of Pre-Romanticism was that poets did not write to live; they lived and sometimes wrote. Dolgoruky is taking this sex role-reversal one step further. He willingly makes himself into the weaker one, the poet who must seek the guidance and protection of his female muse. He is essentially forcing her to take on the role that had been traditionally his. This is the ultimate irony of LJ's message. Whereas in the early and mid 1820s the journal strove to create a certain kind of women, by the end of its life, that role had been co-opted by the men who had created it.

CONCLUSION

> "It still remains to be explained how it was that Russia, which was well onto the road of women's writing, never produced an Austin, Bronte or Eliot, and managed to keep her women prose-writers in a secondary position all the way to Modern times."
>
> Harussi, 47

As Russian literature and a Russian literary language were being formed by Zhukovsky and Pushkin, *Ladies' Journal* sought to include women in the process. Women were the benefactors of LJ's editorial will. But I argue that, as writers, they were ultimately damaged by it.

As for its contributions to women's causes, LJ was a literary journal on par with the mainstream journals. It outlasted many of them. LJ paid special attention to women's issues and subjects of interest to the "fair sex", including fashion and love poems. It also included issues like women's education, the right to divorce, women's duties as citizens. LJ urged women readers to acknowledge the important contributions they could make to society, not just to their husbands and children. Granted, her duties were the same, to be a good wife and mother. But, as a citizen, a woman could see her role as wife and mother as a responsibility to the state. By performing them well, she produced better servants of the state. She also emancipated herself from the rule of her father or husband.

While professing to educate and enlighten, LJ's editors and contributors articulated an ideal of woman. In doing so, they set a role model for women, but it was a model based on men's desires, not on women's needs. In its poems, essays and fashion plates, LJ emphasized women in her traditional roles of mother, wife and saint. LJ sought to educate and enlighten under the guise of emancipating women from these traditional roles; nevertheless, it reinforced them. As shown in the fashion plate with the man bearing the whip and the woman twirling her hair, the fair sex had become an alluring and enlightened muse, and she was still controllable.

Though beautiful in myth, this Cosmo Girl was an unrealistic projection. Educated and given the power to write, women could not be made to stay on the pedestal men had offered her. Compared to the drastic changes in women's roles at the turn of the eighteenth century, the changes from the 1820s to the mid-century were not as progressive. More women were attending public and private schools, but they still were denied the same education as men. Peasants and lower class women were not being educated at all.

Not only did women's causes barely advance, they also suffered some setbacks. Women had begun to complain that education was detrimental to a woman's well-being and to society. Men were no longer in the worship mode of the Sentimentalist era. Having come face to face with

the "new woman" which had emerged from that era, they began to complain that she was too bold and ambitious and needed to return to the hearth .[44]

Of course, one could argue that LJ's influence on this mood swing would have been overshadowed by events much greater than its editorial reach, such as a new conservatism decreed by Nicholas I. This mood was reflected even in the stricter fashions which dictated women be well-covered and corseted. However, it cannot be denied that LJ contributed to the making of the "new woman". Furthermore, if the editors chose to remake her closer to the old model (*Domostroi*), this process would be smoother. Already, editors had the tools in place, namely the word and the reader. They also retained the power to co-opt the model for themselves. As in Dolgoruky's role-reversal, women could become the genius-muse and protector while the poet becomes the moody, vulnerable, gentle procreator. *Women's Herald*. the women's journal to follow LJ, was forced to contend with this very issue. (Likhacheva, vol. 2, part iv, 487-8) A topic for further research could be how *Women's Herald* resolved this dichotomy between the male editor's myth of women and the reality of the women readers.

The Russian Cosmo Girl and her foil were figments of male imagination and desire. The editors of LJ had created her, borrowing heavily from the French and Russian pre-Romantic movements. Having created her,

[44] See debates over allowing women to joining the work force and attending lectures at medical school (Likhacheva, vol. 2, part iv, 461-478), as well as the discussion of divorce in LJ.

they put her to work as a writer, and not simply as a muse and heroine. LJ was no doubt influential in getting women to take up the pen as authors and translators. But the way in which LJ did this may very well be the reason Russian women writers remained relegated to a secondary position. As Morris cautioned:

> "Woman' not only exists too much as signifier; she had existed too long as such for too much triumphant celebration of the coming of woman in writing to be taken without some protective paranoia." (Morris, 65)

Women writers responded in different ways to this message, but the one who learned her lesson the best and was awarded the epithet "the female Pushkin" was Olga Kryukova. As a poet, Kryukova acted out the role set for her by male poets. Her case is one which illustrates how LJ, while promoting women as writers, actually worked to their detriment.

Nevertheless, LJ may have contributed to Russian literature, not in the sponsoring of certain female writers, but rather in the way it supported the feminization of literature in general. Like Romanticism and Realism, Sentimentalism was also orchestrated by male writers, critics and publishers such as Shalikov and Makarov. But, Sentimentalism emphasized female qualities. During Sentimentalism, men vamped as women, and neither sex in its traditional roles existed. No wonder, mostly male critics have reacted cautiously if not with censure to Sentimentalism and its products. During this

period, Russian literature was feminized, even tranvestitized. Part of the process of strengthening was to debunk Sentimentalism.

The most significant of LJ's contributions to Russian literature is the way it sculpted the Russian women reader. As the case with other late eighteenth-and early nineteenth-century Russian journals for women, LJ's editorial mission was to educate and enlighten its women readers. I conclude that the editors were also modeling their readers after the heroines in the stories and poems they published (as well as after the subjects in the more journalistic accounts). In addressing pressing women's issues of the time (education, citizen's duties, women as writers), the editors asserted their own idealized perceptions of women and, for the most part, ignored the reality of their Russian readers. As one anonymous poet -- probably either Makarov or Shalikov wrote: I'm not thinking of women acquaintances. No! I am thinking of the ideal of women." (No. 5, 1827) In this sense, *Ladies Journal* was not for women, but for men.

The Russian Romantic woman -- despite her popularity as a subject -- did not achieve much of a forum as a writer, and her journal was soon disregarded. Nevertheless, *Ladies' Journal* did make a very specific contribution to the development of Russian literature, namely the birth of the Russian Cosmo Girl *and* the literary women who would then be measured against this ideal.

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APPENDIX A

MALE WRITERS IN LJ[45]

Annenkov
Blank, B.K.
Bistrom A.
Bravin, Ivan
Dadian, kn. Eg
Devitte, Nikolai
Dmitriev, Mikhail.
Dolgorukov, kn. Iv.
Feodorov, Boris.
Glebov
Glinka, S.N.[46]
Glinka, F.
Golovin
Ilinskii, A.
Izmailov, A.
Kartsov, N.
Khitorovo, Sergei
Khovstov, D. I.
Kislovskii, P.
Kluzhinskii, I.
Kobozev
Kozlov, Ivan
Kulzhinskii, I.
Levtin, U.
Lpdvskii, P.
Makarov, M.[47]
Matveev, N.
Nechaev
Nemchinov F.
Nikitin, A.
Norov, Alb.

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[45] No attempt has been made to categorize or rank these authors. Some appear in LJ once. Others contributed regularly. Where possible, pseudonyms are noted. The purpose of this list is to offer some idea of who published in LJ as well as to point out that many more men published than women. See Appendix B.

[46] His pseudonym is the dreamer (Мечатель) according to Koshelov.

[47] Helped edit LJ from 1825 to 1833. Makarov's publishing career includes the above mentioned *Journal for Sweethearts*, *Aglia* and the early LJ, as well as *Moscow Courier* (1805-6) and *Drama Journal* (1811). Like Shalikov, Makarov has been described as hard-working but without talent. (Koshelov, 274.)

Panyutin, Alensei
Piseryov, A.I.[48]
Pisarov-Ivanchin. N.
Pushkin, V. L.
Sel'skii, S.
Shalikov, kn. Peter[49]
Shcherditskii, Izm.
Shelekhov, Dmitri M.[50]
Sheremetevskii, Ivan
Slenin, Ivan
Sukhanov, M.
Sverchkov, N.
Tozen, bar.
Tyurin, I.
Viskovatov, S.
Voeikov
Vokov
Vyazemskii, P. A.
Zalybedskii

[48] Koshelov calls him a less famous poet.
[49] The editor and publisher of LJ, also contributed many poems, often without attribution or with the initials K. Sh.
[50] A famous agricultural writer according to Koshelov.

APPENDIX B

RUSSIAN WOMEN WRITERS (AND TRANSLATORS) IN LJ[51]

Alekseeva, N. essay "To Music" (No. 25, 1823)

Elagina. Well-known salon hostess and poet. (See Bernstein)

K-a. Sh-a. "A Good Man after death" and many other poems and reviews throughout 1827-1833.[52]

Kaizer, Maria. "Evening" (No. 2, 1830)

Khisitsyna, Maria.

Krestinskaya, Anna. "Feelings and Thoughts upon reading a pocket book on the rights of women in Russia" (No. 24,1827)

Kryuchevskaia, Lyubov born in Kharkov, one of the first women writers outside the capital or Moscow.

Kryukova, Olga. The most published female author in LJ. Her work appears mostly in the later years, 1830-1833. Shalikov calls her "the female Pushkin"

Krylova, Elisaveta. "Moderation" (No. 1, 1830) "Message to D...L.." (No. 5, 1830); "Rondo" (No. 14, 1830)

Lisitsyna, M. Published poems and short stories in LJ, for example: ""To Poverty"(No. 10, 1826); "On the Death of a Youth"(No. 11, 1826); "To N. N." (No. 24, Dec 1827); "To the Unfaithful One" (No. 24,1827); "Song of a son on his mother's grave" (No. 14, 1828); "Untitled" (No. 15, 1828); "Secret Mountain" (No. 16, 1828);"Skazka" No. 20, 1828.

Lobanov, Daria. "Dreams" (No. 52, 1829); "Hermit" (No 10, 1830); "Solitude" (No. 13, 1830)

Pobedonosteva, Barbara (No. 44, 1832)

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[51] Where possible some information about these authors is given as well as citations of their work in LJ.
[52] It is very likely that this was not a woman author but Shalikov who often signed his works K. Sh. for knyaz Shalikov. Likewise, it is possible that some women writers were using male pseudonyms and *vice versa*.

Pospelova. Was seventeen years old when first published a review. (No. 18, 1827)

Rodzyankina, Vera. "Boat" (No. 6, 1825)

Rostova, Nadezhda. "To my grandchild" (No. 19, 1827)

Shabylina, Vavara. "Romans" (No. 20, 1827)

Teplova, Nadezhda.[53]

Tomachova, Elisaveta. "Eastern Star" (No. 13, 1828)

Vasileeva, Aleksandra. «Таков—то ныне свет» (No. 4, 1830)

Vasileva Maria. translation of "Wilting Rose"(No 21, 1823)

Verkhovskaya, Maria. At the age of ten, published an ode of sorts (No. 3, 1829) to her teacher with her classmate E. Vitkovskaya.

Verkhovskaya, Maria. At the age of ten, published an ode of sorts (No. 3, 1829) to her teacher with her classmate E. Vitkovskaya.

Vinogradova, Anna. translator from the French. See "Spanish Songs" (No. 5, 1829)

Vingogradova, Elena. "Star (Dream)" (No. 14, 1828)

Vishnevskaya, L. "Wish for a better life" (No. 14, 1828)

Vitkovskaya, Elisaveta. see Verkhovskaya.

Vokonskaya, kn. Zeneida. Ode to Alexander I. (No 1, 1826)

Volkova, Anna. See "Appeal to Man"[54] (No. 30, 1829)

Zaborovskaya, Elisaveta. Essay on "Jealousy" (No. 1, 1826)

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[53] She was born into a wealthy Moscow family. *The Dictionary of Women Writers* associates her with Fedor Glinka and the Free Society of Lover's of Russian Literature. (Her sister Serafima was also a poet.)
[54] «Воззвание к человеку»

APPENDIX C

PREDECESSORS TO *LADIES' JOURNAL*

-- In 1779, Nikolai Novikov's *The Fashionable Monthly, or Library for Ladies' Toilette.*

--From 1785 to 1789, Karamzin and A.P Petrov published a journal for mothers called *Children's Readings for the Heart and Mind.*

-- In 1802, P. I. Makarov began publishing the *Moscow Mercury* which he dedicated to women.

--In 1804, M. Makarov began publishing *Journal for Sweethearts.* Its erotic overtones caused a stir in the contemporay press. After twelve issues in one year, the journal folded.

--In 1806, knyaz Shalikov began publishing the *Moscow Spectator.* It was similiar to Makarov's short-lived and rather erotic *Journal for Sweethearts.* Here, Shalikov berated women for not understanding the importance of civic life and urged them take a more serious attitude towards their social role and civic duties.

-- From1808-1812, Makarov and Shalikov published *Aglia.*

-- In 1815, Shalikov and Makarov began *Kabinet Aspazii* which was also dedicated to women. This journal soon folded.