5. The Woman Question: From *Foyer* to Factory

If the party socialists, with their relatively concise and consistent body of Marxian thought concerning women, were forced to disavow their ideological inheritance in the interest of political expediency, how much more impossible it would have been for French unionists to remain faithful to the disorganized and seemingly paradoxical pronouncements of Proudhon in their bid for working-class unity. If Proudhon was the spiritual father of anarchism and the intellectual progenitor of the working-class movement in France, it was natural that some of his ideas might be initially attractive to working men as philosophical ammunition against women's competition in the trades. Of course as socialists, French workers were also exposed to the Marxist view that women's labor was the source of both their exploitation and their emancipation. In the earlier workers' congresses, discussion of the woman question often wavered between these two ideological poles. However, based on a survey of syndicalist pronouncements on the woman question in the congresses and in the working-class press, this study takes the position that as the union movement matured, philosophical precepts were quickly dethroned in favor of more practical considerations.

PROUDHON'S "EQUIVALENTS" OR MARX'S "EQUALS"

During the early years of unionism the debates on the woman question centered on three specific themes, both Marxist and Proudhonian in their orientation: the demand for equal pay, a call for the education and organization of women, and the expressed fear of familial, hence class, demoralization occasioned by the presence of so many wives and mothers in the workforce. Fundamental to these concerns were the issues of sexual equality and women's right to work.(1) In many trade union and national labor congresses, the demand for the education and unionization of women workers appears most often to have had a positive goal: to raise women's class consciousness by making them

aware of their rights and, thus, no longer an easy prey to capitalist exploitation. Resolutions submitted by workers in congress suggested that a variety of agencies be charged with the task of educating women workers. The resolution of the 1879 congress proposed that women be admitted to all men's labor and political meetings and study circles. At the 1902 FBT congress, delegate Angers asked that mixed commissions be set up in each factory, composed of employers and workers, syndicated and nonsyndicated, men and women. By their participation in the work of these commissions, women would become aware of their exploitation, practiced in articulating their economic demands, and more favorably attracted to unionism.(2)

On the matter of the demoralization of society due to women's employment outside the home, delegates to the early workers' congresses voiced the fear that capitalist exploitation of women had a deleterious effect on the working-class family. The 1894 report to the Congrès National des Syndicats spoke of "the shocking consequences" of women working. It cited the 60 percent mortality rate of babies born to women in the tobacco industry and warned that women's industrial employment was conducive to abortions and sterility, the "social and moral consequences" of which were surely to be "the depopulation and disorganization of the family." The middle class was charged with attempting to destroy the family by taking away its "soul" and throwing the woman "like some beast into the factory" where she could only wind up in the hospital or on the streets.(3) Although dealing with real statistics, workers' resolutions in these early congresses often repeated the tenets of Proudhon. A typical resolution was the one adopted by the Guesdist-dominated FS at its 1888 congress, which asserted that women working was contrary "to the natural role of women in a well-organized society" and the principal cause of "the moral degradation" of women and children. To halt the decay, the resolution called for the preservation and guarantee of motherhood through the suppression of all work outside the home for women with children.(4)

Twisting like a thread throughout the early discussions of women's presence in industry was the Proudhonian theme voicing concern over the changing sexual roles that must occur when women entered the factories in large numbers. This fear was aptly expressed by Marseille typographer Jean Coulet at the inaugural meeting of the Nîmes bourse in 1893. He called for equal pay as a way to end competition. If competition from women were not halted, he declared, there would come a time when women worked and men stayed at home caring for the family--a task he reminded the assembly was "contrary to [man's] character."(5)

Ideological pronouncements were frequently used in the early congresses to buttress arguments for or against women's right to work. A woman worker, Citoyenne Laurent, noted at the founding congress of the FNS in 1886 that men's inadequate salaries brought women into the work force. But even without the demands of necessity, women must work to be

independent of men. To that end, Laurent called for equal pay. She concluded her appeal by questioning the Proudhonian notion of sexual spheres:

> if we want to raise the moral level of woman, she must be equal to man. Why can't this be? Is this because nature has made woman that she must die of misery by the insufficiency of her salary? Since she gives her time and her sweat in equal pain with men, [she must have] equal salary. And then you will not fear the competition of women's work which lowers wages.(6)

Such appeals were generally countered by the more conservative workers who based their arguments on Proudhon. A typical response was that of hotel worker Louis Martino at the 1892 congress of the FS. Martino, a Guesdist in his political persuasion, was nevertheless Proudhonian in his attitudes toward women. Women were men's servants, he declared, because their natures disposed them to this function. Despite such expressions of what would be deemed today as sexual chauvinism, the resolution passed at this congress was a model of moderation. It proclaimed that for "moral and social reasons, the place of women is in the foyer and not in the shop," but reluctantly added that in the actual situation created by capitalism, women were forced to work. Therefore there must be equality of wages, an eight-hour day, the abolition of night work for women and children, and a six-week maternity leave before and after delivery.(7)

Well before the first feminist meetings in France the subject of political and civil emancipation was raised in a regional workers' congress by a male delegate. The response to his appeal was mixed. Some applauded; others agreed with another respondent, Darlas, who supported equal education for women, but who claimed that females were too immature for political emancipation. Still another received support for his Proudhonian declaration that nature had made men superior and "women should stay wives and mothers and let men carry on the political struggle." The resolution following the debate was a compromise: it called for women's civil emancipation but withheld support for their political rights.(8)

The resolution passed at the 1879 congress was the most interesting of those framed in the early congresses because it clearly represented an attempt to present a comprehensive plan to deal more realistically with the woman question. Moreover, the resolution adopted, although initially framed in Proudhonian language, represented a clear-cut victory for the Guesdists. The preamble to the resolution began in a traditional vein by saying that men and women were "equivalents in nature" [Proudhon's term], interdependent upon each other for the perpetuation of society. But the resolution then moved away from Proudhon's theory by asserting that both sexes must rule in society through the

process of equal division of rights and responsibilities in both the public and private sectors. On that basis, the congress affirmed "the absolute equality [not 'equivalence'] of the two sexes." The resolution recognized that women had the same social and political rights as men, among which was the right to work based on the equal need of both sexes to be producers in order to be consumers. The resolution further avowed that since the faculty of production was equally possessed by both sexes, then the equal pay principle must be rigorously applied. Noting that prejudices restraining woman's freedom were detrimental to her emancipation, the congress declared that women must have the same liberty of action as men. Women's exercise of free choice would give them a sense of responsibility. Espousing the belief that the role one fills in society was a matter of choice, the resolution concluded by saying that woman must not be confined to a particular social sphere, but must take "the role and place [in society] her vocation will assign her."(9)

THE DOUBLE-EDGED ISSUES OF EQUAL PAY AND UNIONISM

The debates carried on in the national congresses of the individual trades followed the same lines as those of the early workers' congresses. Within the professions the call for equal pay was a constant theme. Sometimes the demand for equal wages was seen as a way to reduce women's competition; other times it was regarded as being morally just. Notable in these discussions is that more appeals were made to practical necessity than to ideology. It was only in the Fédération du Livre that the conservative theories of Proudhon stubbornly continued to hold sway.

But its history had made the printers' situation relatively unique. The printers' Proudhonian caste was reinforced by the fact that since 1861 the profession had been fighting a losing battle against the introduction of women into the trade at one-third the wages of men.(10) Then in 1909, a group of women compositors, organized under the direction of wealthy bourgeois feminist Marguerite Durand replaced union printers on strike in Nancy. This jauniste act appears to have provoked an "if-you-can't-fight-'em-join-'em" attitude among the members, and the Federation passed a resolution the following year seemingly opening its ranks to women. On the basis of this Bourdeaux resolution, Emma Couriau, who had worked as a typographer at union scale for over seventeen years, applied for membership to the union. She was refused admission and her typographer husband was expelled from the union for having "forced" his wife to work. The debate over the Couriau affair was widely publicized in the press, causing the printers to become even more defensive of their antifeminism. Smarting from both female competition and bad publicity, the printers regularly found refuge in the support of equal pay as an instrument of sexual exclusion. The unionists believed that if employers

had to pay equal wages, they would hire men. Then women would be returned to the household where they belonged.(11)

The printers were not alone in opposing women's employment. Groups and individuals within other trades, particularly in industries where competition from women was taking a heavy toll, also believed that equal pay and sexual exclusion were synonymous. In the leather industry, a trade attracting large numbers of women workers, union members regarded the equal pay demand as a way to halt the replacement of men and preferable to forbidding women employment. Jewelers found themselves in equally dire straits due to the fact that the number of employed women had risen by over 40 percent in fewer than forty years. David, a diamond craftsman from the provinces, told delegates to their first congress in 1909 that his profession was so depressed in his area that they were going to have "to call in the Red Cross" to assist them. The resolution following the discussion of women's competition stated that since proletarian women were "condemned" to compete with men, there must be equal pay.(12)

Yet other workers, male and female, regarded the equal pay provision as a matter of simple justice. A Paris bootmaker, Saulnier, pointed out in congress that because some women preferred "a certain independence of their personalities to the familial foyer" there must be equal wages. At a national meeting of tobacco workers, a trade in which women outnumbered men by almost nine times, Madame Jacobi protested that women had always been paid "a stupid salary" under the pretext that theirs was only a supplemental income. But the woman with children bore the same expense as a male head of the family, so salaries must be equal.(13)

Competition for wages was not the sole reason for wanting to exclude women from the professions. Some printers believed that women were too placid, too docile, hence useless to unionism. "She will cry," said typographer Sergent of Paris, "but she will never think of making a movement of resistance or of seeing the means which would render this resistance possible." A woman delegate to an 1889 hatters' congress stated that women had not yet learned the principles of solidarity. Male members of the same union complained several years later that women too frequently joined employer organizations, and then when they did join workers' syndicats, they did not want to pay dues!(14)

Moral pronouncements directed against women working were a familiar theme at all the trade congresses. Baker Henri Grégoire, himself orphaned at the age of three, complained that working women contributed to human degeneration because their children were raised in the streets. A Paris compositor, Moret, in 1883 opposed the admission of women into the profession even on an equal pay basis because it was immoral and unnatural for women to work. Recalling "the beautiful words of Proudhon," Moret

solemnly noted that woman is to be "the mother, the companion in the world of workers." Her eviction from the workshop was the only way she could attain her dignity.(15)

The implementation of the equal pay demand was not the only way suggested to keep women home tending to their casseroles. Dijonnaise delegates to the 1885 printers' congress announced that when a local publishing house declared its intention to hire women, "the confrères left the house." Apparently others did the same. Between 1890 and 1908, 56 recorded strikes were staged by workers demanding the dismissal of women. Milder courses were also suggested. A printer thought the problem of women's competition could be solved through the process of absorption: "each male typographer would marry a female typographer," and then forbid his mate to work!(16) There is no record of his idea being implemented to any major extent.

As with the equal pay issue, the question of organizing women was another two-edged sword. Among hatmakers in 1887, when women were rapidly replacing men as basters, syndicalist organization was regarded as the only way to mitigate the effects of their competition. At that year's convention, Frédéric Favreau of Paris suggested lowering union dues so as to attract women members. Yet other groups believed that unionism was a positive rather than an exclusionary device. The 1910 report to the printers' federation warned that it was folly to chase women from the unions. The better course would be to make allies of them. "Convinced of our good faith and our cordial camaraderie," the report noted, "she will be our most precious auxiliary, instead of serving the designs of the boss against our interests." Lithographers in 1913 admitted women to the federation and levied equal dues on them, not only to ensure the stability of their membership, but to provide women workers with a maternity fund. Secretary Gervason of the clothing workers expressed no ulterior motives when he called for women to unionize, except that they were exploited worse than men and needed the protection provided them from union membership.(17)

Throughout all the congresses, one can see evidence of men bowing to the inevitable. Despite the entrenched conservatism of the printers, at each one of their national congresses some member voiced support for women in the profession and the union. The assertion that women do not belong in the factory was sound theoretically, stated Victor Vandeputte in a 1911 report to the textile workers, "but in a capitalist regime, it is an impractical thing, for capital employment and the development of machinery industrialize women more and more." With that view in mind, his report called for passage of the English week, that is a 5 1/2-day work schedule, because women had to perform "la corvée du ménage" after their day's employment, and thus had little time to rest or take care of their husbands. To believe that women could be expelled from industry was "a platonic idea," leatherworkers were warned in a 1900 report submitted by Victor Griffuelhes. Women's employment was "a factor in

the system of production" which no human law could prevent.(18)

THE CGT TAKES UP THE QUESTION

The official stance of the CGT was a reflection of the variety of attitudes expressed by its member unions. From its founding, the CGT had called for equal participation of the sexes. But it was not until the 1898 Rennes congress that the woman question was raised officially. The Rennes debate is interesting for the extremity of ideas expressed and remedies suggested. The issue of equal pay was seen by some as a way to prevent men's replacement by women; by others as a way to remunerate women fairly for their labor. By still others, the equal pay principle was regarded as a means by which to keep employers from realizing a profit. The organization of women was generally conceived of as being necessary for preventing the exploitation of both sexes. Only one delegate, bootmaker Lacaille, voiced the belief that syndicalism was a way to exclude women from the labor force. His suggestion was not at all connected to the warning of another delegate, Larsonneur of the Parisian brushmakers' union, who noted that women in his industry, earning 30 to 40 percent less than men, had rejected all attempts to unionize them because they knew their employer would only hire men if they had to pay equal salaries.

Solutions presented at Rennes also tended to revolve around two extremes. On the one hand was the suggestion of delegate Roche of the cab drivers' union of the Seine, that women be given equal salary, paid maternity leaves, and that the syndicats should seek the political and civil equality of women. Needless to say, his proposal received only mild support. But less support was forthcoming for the resolutions of the spokesmen of the other extreme, chief of whom were the printers, who made their usual demands to exclude women from the unions and the workshops. An attempt to reflect all opinions, the resolution adopted by the congress was a pragmatic statement. It began by repeating Proudhon's notion that "In all milieux, we intend to propagate the idea that men must support women," but then conceded that if women must work, the equal pay formula should be applied.(19)

The woman question was not again addressed in the CGT until 1900, when it received a spirited hearing as a result of a discussion by the delegates over the slow growth of syndicalism in general. Delegates to that Paris convention were filled with a sense of promise that the new century symbolized, and confident of their value because the Paris Exposition had attracted people from all over the world to admire the work of the producing class. In that mood, unionists were anxious to overcome the "nonchalance" of the French workers, increase union membership, and heighten the sense of working-class solidarity. The need to build unity was hampered, however, as long as a third of the working

class was treated as inferior by the unions themselves. Speaking on this issue was precision instrument maker Briat of Paris, who angrily accused men of perpetuating this inequity: "Haven't we always considered women inferior beings, and haven't we excluded them from the unions? We must admit women and make them understand that they are all our equals and that if they are capable of doing the same work as we, they must receive the same salary." Responding to Briat's accusation of antifeminism, the congress appointed a committee to study the question of women's right to work. The specific demands subsequently presented for delegates' approval were routine. But the preamble to the resolution reveals the workers' growing sense of impotence concerning the presence of women in industry. Although all agreed that women's employment was bad for the working class from a moral, physical, and economic point of view, the resolution began, it was not in the workers' power to change things.(20)

The addendum to the resolution's passage is also noteworthy. Accompanied by vigorous applause, Citoyenne Bouvard of the artificial-flower makers' union of Paris informed the Rennes delegates that when men make enough money, mothers "will ask for no more than to remain in the family, as certain militants desire of her." Her declaration brought the objection of railroad worker Eugène Guérard, who pointed out that women would be free only when they became the mistresses of their wages and independent from their husbands. This interjection of support stiffened Bouvard's radical resolve, for she closed her discussion by demanding to know how "the revolution that we dream of" was to be made if women did not work.(21)

After 1900 the fear of women as a competitive force was no longer an official concern voiced by the CGT. Beset with the triple task of purging the movement of all varieties of reformism, of "civilizing" the numerous anarchists who were joining the organization, and of trying to achieve unity with the FBT, the CGT allowed its interest in the woman question to wane for several years. When the organization again took up the subject, perhaps in response to the renewed interest by the socialists in treating the woman question, syndicalists were no longer concerned with how to return the wife to the fireside. Instead they were wondering how to attract her to the union halls.

At the congress of Toulouse in 1910, for instance, Comrade Amblart, representing a union of women printers in Marseille, requested admission to the CGT as an isolated union with consultative powers. For ten months, she pointed out, these women had been seeking affiliation from the typographers' and lithographers' federations. She feared the lengthy impasse would affect the viability of her group, which she said was "a syndicat on the move." More to the point, Amblart reminded her fellow workers that unionism could scarcely hope to realize its own ambitions if it continued "to thrust sticks in the spokes of the wheels" every time a group of women attempted to organize. After

giving Amblart a hearty round of applause, not only for her rhetoric but also for the success of her union in including within its membership the margeuses [paperfeeders] of the trade--a feat which no group of men "more advanced in syndicalism" had been able to accomplish--the delegates unanimously voted to admit the Marseille group to the CGT, not in a consultative position, but with a deliberative voice in the organization.(22)

In the last full congress held before the war, the subject of women working was once more discussed, but again peripherally to other questions. The 1912 commission report on the conquest of the English week, which had become an important CGT goal by this time, cited the moral impact the reduction of hours would have on the family if women had Saturday afternoons free. Not mentioned in the report, but certainly evident by the later propaganda posters, was the fact that the campaign for the English week was regarded by the organization as a union-recruiting device for women. To accomplish that end, another suggestion was made that the establishment of a treasury providing women with paid maternity leaves was an excellent way to attract mothers to the CGT. But the graver question of work for women was relegated to a commission for further study.(23) By the time the next congress convened in 1919, the war had changed the nature of the debate on the woman question.

EQUALITY, NOT FEMINISM

Besides receiving a hearing in the labor congresses, the question of women working was also reviewed in numerous editions of the working-class press.(24) Although a host of issues was raised, a sampling of the attitudes toward women taken from a few of the papers demonstrates that the fundamental question dealing with women's place in society and the most effective means to achieve their liberation was articulated in all shades of revolutionary opinion. What is important to note is that the dialogue on the woman question tended to move over time from the abstract to the particular, from idealism to realism, and from a discussion of women in a hypothetical position in society to a series of debates revolving around questions that presuppose the fact of women's presence in the industrial system.

The paper Le Libertaire, published by Sébastien Faure from 1885 to 1907, during the period when anarchists were moving into and influencing the syndicalist movement, devoted a great deal of space to the woman question. Because libertarianism was posited on the theory of the perfect equality of beings, anarchists naturally supposed that women's emancipation was necessary for the full development of human freedom. In the earliest years of the paper's publication, contributors to Le Libertaire often wrote on the subject of marriage as a major instrument of women's psychological exploitation. Marriage was a tool of male tyranny because it forced "a degrading tutelage" upon

women. One writer wryly noted that the only benefit to be derived from the institution was that the man was saved the price of supporting both a maid and a mistress. The danger from this exploitative relationship, the anarchists preached, was that as "the servant of love" woman was unable to express "her thoughts, her desires, her tastes, her moi." She became unconscious of the inequities of the society in which she lived and voluntarily accepted her subservient role.(25)

The first step to women's psychological emancipation, anarchists believed, occurred in free unions through which women's personality and independence could naturally blossom. The children conceived from these unions, professed Laurentine Sauvray, would carry within them "the elements of a harmonious development," thereby providing the basis for a nonauthoritarian society to evolve in which woman would be "the equal of man; relieved of all care, loved with intelligence and disinterest, . . . and in possession of a liberated brain."(26)

It is interesting to note that despite the fact that Proudhon is regarded as being the philosophical grandfather of anarchism, generally his attitudes about women were firmly disavowed by contributors to Le Libertaire. In a lengthy article published in 1899, Louis Grandidier took admirers of Proudhon to task. Proudhon had charged that women did not understand the concepts of justice and sought only to gain distinction over everyone else. He had cited as an example the fact that women would give sexual favors to the boss in return for special privileges. The example was incorrect, Grandidier charged, because when a woman did respond to the caresses of "a satyr of the atelier" it was only because she knew that if she rejected his advances, she would be thrown into the street. To believe that women were trapped in an intellectually inferior state from which they could not leave, Grandidier continued, was to follow the dictates of the church fathers who had based these conclusions on all "the nonsense of Eden." To the charge that women raised from one vice necessarily fall into another, Grandidier responded by saying that not even Proudhon took such an idea seriously. Women were not the cause of social evil, he concluded, but participants in society's transformation.(27)

After 1900, and the first feminist conferences on political emancipation, newspaper coverage increasingly turned away from discussing women as creators of society, liberated by free unions and education, to matters at hand: the feminist movement. For many contributors to the paper, the immorality of marriage became less threatening than the immorality of politics.

In a series of articles, E. Gérault charged that feminism had distorted the relations between the sexes. Women now wanted "to ape the bestiality of man," not the least of which was that "engendered by politics." Or women were seeking to enter into "a direct antagonism with men" as the means to their own development. But cooperation with

men was the way women could become strong enough to combat "the harmful currents of religion, mysticism, and politics." Gérault herself seems to have gained a more liberated view of women as the series wore on. In the first issue she declared that women's best role was that of educating their children. By the fifth number she was admitting that women did not have to remain at home; they had the right to enter any profession they chose, but must unionize in order to receive equitable wages and to assist in furthering the revolution. Unless women had the chance to become animated by "a consciousness of revolt," Gérault concluded, they would never join with their companions "to storm the economic Bastille."(28)

The evils of feminism were denounced in another series in 1904 written by Henri Duchmann. Feminism, he said, was "a reactionary, conservative, and exclusivist" movement. The feminist was seeking to combat her husband, not marriage. By demanding equality, women were only antagonizing the battle of the sexes. Nelly Roussel, a member of the Groupe de la Solidarité des Femmes, responded swiftly to Duchmann's charges. Feminists were demanding economic independence only because it was the source of all other freedom, she declared. To that end, they were seeking equal pay, the right to work, control over the decision to have children, and for those who chose motherhood, a maternity wage so they might remain at home to care for their families.

Duchmann's rebuttal sought to demolish Roussel and her cause, if not by reasoned argument, then by ridicule. The feminists' plank demanding payment for maternal labor would only extend the state's power and encourage the evils of Malthusianism by the procreation of more children. Obviously it was nonsense that women would believe they could be freed from exploitation through "the lucrativeness of confinement." Roussel's "Last Response" in the succeeding issue effectively ended the antifeminist aspect of the debate. Not enough men had been educated regarding the degree of women's abuse, and feminists feared that women would be assigned the same role in future society as the one they now filled. Using Marx as a sanction for feminism, Roussel concluded her argument:

> Feminism is not the work of this or that individual. It is--as other movements of ideas--created solely by the forces of things, because it was necessary; and it will similarly disappear the day when it will become useless, that is to say, the day when woman will have conquered in the world the place she demands and which belongs to her.

Duchmann's response took an entirely different tack. Women were necessary to the revolution, he conceded, because the new society could not be built without them. But since revolutionary propaganda had tended to regard women as "a

negligible quantity," he announced he would undertake a complete study of the woman question in order to determine "what limits capitalist society [imposed] on her integral development" and how her revolutionary energies might be brought to bear in the name of social change. For the next three issues, Duchmann played upon the traditional anarchist themes of the immorality of marriage and the middle class, carefully ignoring any further reference to feminism. By the fourth issue Duchmann moved to even safer ground and stopped tendering any further opinions on the woman question.(29)

In the waning years of its existence, Le Libertaire dealt with more practical issues concerning women. One of these was to voice opposition to the law prohibiting night work on the grounds that it was a violation of women's right to work. Additionally, the law would only further degrade women because it would effectively exclude them from the work force and turn them into "ladies of the night" in order that they might support their children.(30)

The last reference to women in Le Libertaire was a sardonic piece written by G. Roussel calling again for economic equality. All that wailing about returning women to the foyer, she noted, treated them as if they were "vestal virgin[s] conserving the sacred flame." Yet the reality of women's existence was far from enviable: employers paid them less because they were not the sole support of their families; economic fatalities transformed them into beasts of burden; and the infamous Code placed them in "a state of moral inferiority." But while they were waiting for their brains--and the new era--to evolve, Roussel wryly concluded, women could demand equality of suffering with men.(31)

While not devoting as much space to the woman question as Le Libertaire, the paper La Guerre Sociale, published by Gustave Hervé, occasionally dealt with issues affecting women.(32) Following its commitment to avoid theoretical discussions, the paper's first article on women was a plain-spoken attack on Marguerite Durand on the occasion of Durand's appointment to the government's newly created Women's Labor Office. Durand's feminist stance had been relatively brief but intense. In 1900 she had been the chief organizer of the Congres International de la Condition et des Droits des Femmes, which had attracted delegates to Paris from all over the world to recognize feminism officially. Under Durand's influence the congress had devoted as much attention to the plight of working women as it had to the call for political and social equality. Her daily paper, La Fronde, not only preached the natural link existing between bourgeois feminism and female proletarianism (the latter being those who would "make the revolution for their bourgeois sisters"), but it was a continual champion of the formation of female unions. Durand herself had been instrumental in forming four unions before 1900.(33)

Durand's middle-class background, her wealth, her connections to the government, her influence with women, all served to earn for her the undying enmity of working-class males. Carrying on the tradition, the article in La Guerre Sociale pointed out that Durand was the same one who had sent female scabs to break up the Nancy strike. She was also a woman whose credits were highly suspect, for she was "ex-director of La Fronde, ex-general of Tricoteuses de France, ex-codirectress of L'Action, former wife of Deputy Langerre, old intimate friend of Madame de Rothschild, old friend of Perivier, old friend of Viviani, old--what hasn't the woman done?" Now this woman of "remarkable intellect" but of "doubtful morality," La Guerre Sociale reminded its readers, was the predominant voice in the court of the ministry on the labor question.(34)

Although more involved with the causes of antimilitarism, by 1912 even La Guerre Sociale was making an effort to recruit women to the workers' movement. In the 21 August issue appeared the announcement that a woman's corner was going to be a regular feature of the paper, beginning with the following issue. How many times, comrades, have you tried to interest your companion in our cause, the editors queried, and have been told that "there is nothing in La Guerre Sociale for us." Aware that their "masculine preoccupations" usually had caused them to overlook the ladies, the editors intended to correct the oversight with the publication of this new column.(35) Despite the fanfare, however, the articles subsequently written by Citoyenne Fanny Clar were only vignettes, scarcely touching the issues of women's emancipation. By 1914, with the paper in financial trouble and more involved in waging war against the three-year draft law, both Clar and the column were gone.

FROM FOYER TO UNION HALL

The issues dealt with, the opinions expressed, the conclusions drawn in La Guerre Sociale and Le Libertaire tended to be the same as those reflected in the official paper of the CGT, La Voix du Peuple. Although this latter paper carried an exuberant fraternal salute to the ladies in the first issue, and the promise to give them a large space in its pages, the bulk of the early coverage by La Voix du Peuple of the woman question was confined generally to those questions affecting working women. Most of the paper's message was that unionism was the sole route to women's liberation. But ideological treatises were also few: the theme of "la femme au foyer" was advanced only once, in 1902--by a woman columnist!(36)

Occasionally the editors used their support of women's right to work and to organize less out of a concern for women than for union politics. In 1908 an editorial appeared taking "the brave typographers" of Lille to task for

threatening to strike in protest over the employment of a woman with over twenty years of professional experience. Workers must realize that syndicalism was past the stage of having entrance requirements, the editors lectured, because all were exploited without distinction of age, sex, or nationality. Behind this reminder of the nature of syndicalism was a more frankly political message, however. The Fédération du Livre had consistently spearheaded the drive for proportional representation and called for political affiliation with the SFIO. The aim of the article reminding readers of the corporate nature of syndicalism was less to defend women's right to work than it was to discredit the reformist wing of the syndicalist movement. The Lille affair, readers were told, and the typographers' policy of exclusion, which was narrow and particularist in its vision, were just another example of the antediluvian tendencies inherent in reformist thinking.(37)

Thereafter the newspaper published no more important articles on the woman question until 1912, when it turned again to the plight of women as part of the paper's drive for the English week. These articles were interesting because their starting point was the acceptance of women's employment outside the home. The Saturday repose would benefit the entire family, but the campaign for the shorter week was regarded by the paper as a device to recruit women to CGT membership. Not only would the ranks of the movement be filled, but because women would accompany their husbands to meetings, union participation would also contribute to the growth of women's own intellectual freedom and social knowledge.(38)

By 1913 membership considerations and the need to gain supporters for the CGT's heightened antimilitarist campaign also spurred the paper to take more positive stands on the woman issue. That year, Georges Yvetot, writing under the name "Georges Allombre," firmly upheld women's right to work. The "stupid vanity" of some men caused them to regard women as their enemy. Such attitudes, he warned, only increased competition and exploitation of all workers. Further, he noted, if the man is a wage slave, woman is "the slave of the slave. She does not complain. She accepts, the unhappy one, this burden of unequal life, deprived of her social worth, because social and moral prejudices have made in her a deplorable mentality." Even if she were fortunate enough to remain at home, life was neither less difficult nor more gay, because even in the foyer women are reduced "to humiliating passivity." Therefore it was unjust to restrain the individual liberty of women, for whom work was the only means to a life free from dependence upon a man. If syndicalists believed that women were to be the equal of man in a communist regime, he concluded, then she must be given a place "in the ranks for conquering happiness."(39)

Bringing women to syndicalism would not be easy. Georges Dumoulin pleaded for women to overcome their admittedly justified suspicions toward union membership and

join the struggle.(40) In 1913 Alphonse Merrheim urged men to shed their masculine prejudices and join with women militants in recruiting working women to the unions.(41)

It was the Couriau affair, along with feminism, which spurred debates in La Voix du Peuple regarding women and syndicalism, particularly after feminist organizations took up the woman lithographer's plight. In numerous articles written by school teacher Marie Guillot, a militant unionist and feminist, the CGT was denounced as irrelevant because of its silence on the issue of women. Guillot warned the unions that if women were refused a hearing within the ranks of labor they would be forced to depend on those groups organized by the bourgeoisie.(42)

The responses to Guillot's series were written by members of the Fédération du Livre. Their arguments are interesting because they reveal less of a Proudhonian concern that women's natures required them to remain at home than an abiding interest in practical economics and union politics. One respondent, a printer signed A. Hagmann, outlined his union's position. It was easy for militants who had never suffered from the incursion of women into their trade to call the typographers "egotists," he charged. But he was sure that if they had to battle within their professions the influx of women who worked for lower wages and under any conditions, these detractors would change their attitudes. The printers' federation, Hagmann firmly asserted, was a force which "must be placed at the service of the defense of its members." Women must either be unionized and receive the same wages as men, or be considered as "outside of us and forcefully against us."

From the exigencies of practical unionism, Hagmann concluded his letter on a Proudhonian note. It was not utopian to say that woman's place was in the home, he insisted, for it is in the foyer that man receives the balm to treat "the mortal wounds" made during the day. But if his companion is too tired to fulfill her "natural role as comforter" then the husband would have to seek elsewhere for sympathy and the family would disintegrate. If men would only accept as a basic truth the reality that the home was the only place for women, they would then be forced to demand better wages in order to support their households.(43)

Hagmann's article prompted a rejoinder from Emily Couriau, who took issue with the printer's suggestion that women be paid equally even before they joined the union. To do so would hamper the growth of syndicalism.(44) The dialogue that might have continued could have proven fascinating. Unfortunately, Madame Couriau's answer to Hagmann appeared in the last issue of the CGT's official public forum to be published before the war.

A NEW GAUGE OF VICTORY

Behind all the rhetoric, what are the conclusions to be drawn regarding anarchosyndicalism's response to women workers? The most apparent is that an evolution in thinking did occur, away from exclusionism and toward a commitment to accept women into trade unions. More often than not, as has been noted, union politics rather than a primary concern for women's plight was the motivation for such enlightenment.

Outside pressures, such as the struggle against the extension of the draft law, proved to be an impetus for stepping-up the drive to welcome women into the syndicalist fold. Another important pressure was feminism, which was initially dismissed as a nonsensical battle by bourgeois women for control of political power. To revolutionary syndicalists, with their anarchist underpinnings, the vote was a worthless prize and one destined for extinction with the success of the revolution. However, the short-lived liaison between socialism and feminism, the feminist organizations' defense of Emma Couriau, and the actions of the Frondeuses forced syndicalists to regard feminism as a real and present danger.

Affinities with feminists were recognized by socialist women, who began their collaboration by sharing the same camp with their bourgeois sisters in the battle for equal pay, minimum wages, and against the regulative legislation being discussed and passed in the Chamber. From there it was only a short march to the acceptance of the similarities existing between sexual antagonism and class conflict. Even though the attempt to unite feminists from both classes broke down almost at once, socialist women never stopped brandishing the threat of a feminist alliance as a means to achieve economic justice.(45)

The perceived danger to which syndicalists responded the most acutely was that posed by Marguerite Durand and the group organized around her newspaper. Dismissed initially as "a dry fart" by the syndicalist press, she and her Frondeuses became the object of more sober considerations after the Nancy strike.(46) There were still voices being raised at workers' congresses in support of unionism for women as an innoculation against the virus of jaunisme long after Madame Durand and her Fronde had ceased to be a threat.

Less dramatic than feminism or Frondisme were the threats made to corporate and class unity by the numerous confessional or employer-sponsored unions organized in the wake of the publication of the papal encyclical letters known as Rerum Novarum in 1891, a document upholding the dignity of labor and decrying class conflict. The first mixed union was established by a Jesuit the following year for women employed in the needlecraft and clothing trades. It was based on "the familial spirit reigning between patrons and their employees" in the corporations of the Middle Ages. Yet, it seemed more in keeping with Proudhon

in its demand for cooperative restaurants, municipal banks, and workshops for the unemployed.(47) Although these mixed unions never posed much of a threat to revolutionary syndicalism, having by 1912 only 40,000 members, one-fifth of whom were women, the unions organized under the porch of the Church did constitute a force with which to be reckoned.(48) The natural reticence of women to organize was overcome in these Catholic unions, where women were not berated for being evil instruments of competition, where they were comforted by the union's opposition to the class struggle and the alleged violence of direct action, and welcomed as a force for pacification between capital and labor.(49) The success of Catholic syndicalism was evidenced in the membership figures of 1912. While women affiliates to the CGT numbered only 101,000 in 1911 (a bare one-tenth that of male members), over 85,000 women, based primarily in large manufacturing centers, belonged to Catholic syndicats.(50)

Nor did these movements ignore the wives and daughters of the peasantry, for whom the laws protecting agricultural workers did not apply, and who, like their city sisters, worked the same hours as men for one-half the pay.(51) At the end of the century, the syndical movement under La Société des Agriculteurs de France (SAF) and L'Union Centrale des Syndicats des Agriculteurs de France (UCSAF), a Catholic group, began making real inroads into organizing the peasantry. This latter organization, under the guiding genius of the Catholic aristocrat the Comte de Rocquigny, made its bid to attract rural farm laborers by framing its message in the language of Proudhon, a language the rural farm laborer could understand. The UCSAF preached that the union must be "the soul of order." The peasant was praised for being "an enemy of novelty" and a zealous patriot, firmly attached to private property and the practitioner of a paternalism that would have made Proudhon envious. The family was the most important social group, ran the pronouncements, for it "unites and forms a city, the city forms a nation, the nations united form humanity." The embryo of this humanity was the father, who was the provider and thus, the leader. Not forgetting the peasant woman, in 1911 a ladies' section was formed in the UCSAF. Far from aiming at raising consciousness, however, the organizational efforts of the ladies' section were directed toward establishing mutuals for dowries and trousseaux, as well as schools to teach scientific housekeeping to women who spent their days in the fields.(52) The only future offered the peasant wife was one in which she would be remanded to the foyer, where she is "a queen" and wherein she would realize equality. In the home, the ladies were told, "all women are equal because they find there the same joys."(53)

A respectable concentration in industrial areas of women workers seeking the preservation of social peace through a détente forged between capitalism and labor posed a serious problem to the development of class consciousness. More threatening still to the success of the impending

revolution was the presence of a cadre of women in the countryside who aspired only to be housewives! It is not surprising, therefore, that the CGT, which from its inception had sought to develop an acceptable philosophy to attract agricultural workers to its cause, began after 1905 to develop a program dedicated to enlisting the aid of the peasant women to its side.

Women's activity in strikes was another reason for gradually recognizing women's value to syndicalism. At their 1905 congress, for instance, printers heard from Comrade Fraut of Belfort that the entry of women into the unions was not so dangerous as many believed. Women involved in strikes at Vizille and Héricourt had shown themselves to be as courageous as men, he noted. Hatmakers in 1912 were told that women's involvement in solidarity strikes with men had resulted in raises for all. The 1904 report of the ceramics workers noted that a group of unorganized decal workers had struck at Limoges. As a result of trade union assistance, these women had organized into a syndicat that now numbered two hundred. Because women were not afraid "to throw themselves also into the battle and share with [men] the pains and wounds of the same combat," the president of the clothing workers' union in 1912 announced that women's presence at the congress and in the unions represented "a new gauge of victory" and "a moral encouragement" to all workers.(54)

Women's support of their husbands' strike activity was also important. Their combativeness was encouraged, not only as a way to boost their husbands' morale, but as a gauge of the intensity of the workers' commitment to the strike. As a result, women were applauded for picketing, heading parades, or manning the strike office. They were also praised for their more violent manifestations, such as breaking into factories, lying across railroad tracks or in front of soldiers, or as in the case of the good women of Molières in 1890, for making a public example of a would-be strikebreaker by pulling down his pants and spanking him on his bare bottom.(55) The encouragement of female militancy is not surprising. As the general strike came to be adopted by the CGT as the primary instrument of revolution, women's support of and participation in strikes became vital to the success of that revolution.

What of the role of Proudhonian ideology in inspiring syndicalism's attitudes toward women? As has been demonstrated, Proudhon came to be cited less frequently and then almost not at all in the press and at the congresses than did the ideas of Marx and Guesde, Engels and Bebel.(56) The fact that syndicalists could pragmatically abandon any ideology that did not square with their ideas of the present and future is evidenced by the anarchists. Although in tune with much of Proudhon's thinking, they completely rejectec his ideas about women as being an inhibiting force to their psychological and social emancipation. In fact, the only group who consistently invoked Proudhon were the Christiar and independent syndicalists. Clearly, as time went on

syndicalism's pragmatic sense grew apace. The intrusion of the machine widened the gulf between the industrializing present and the artisanal past. In terms of the woman question at least, the ideal of Proudhon's little woman in the foyer no longer squared with the reality of a labor force composed of over one-third women.

Pragmatism increasingly came to rule the day over ideology. The organization of women was regarded as a practical response to a stubborn reality. Women did work in horrible conditions. Generally they were not far removed from the countryside and the tradition of cottage industry as a means to supplement the father's or husband's wages. Used to working, women tended to take whatever factory job they could get under whatever conditions were offered. This was because they were passively accustomed from preindustrial times to see job roles and lower wages as natural and to regard their time in the work force as temporary. Women did not "define their lives through their work," as Patricia Branca notes. Nor did they lose their primary identification with the family.(57) As a result, even though female workers in some industries, such as the clothing and tobacco trades, tended to be militant, most women were reluctant to participate in union activity, since that seemed nonessential to those who believed they were going to work for only a few years.(58)

Moreover, women did work for half the wages because mechanization of many operations allowed them to perform the same tasks as men had done previously without benefit of long apprenticeships and with virtually no training. Their competition did depress wages in every instance where they were able to enter the labor market in sufficient quantity. So unionism was the only way to halt the cycle of wage depression set off by women's employment. Further, working women did give birth to stillborns and rachitic babies. Children were raised in the streets. Stockings did not get mended or stews salted. In the face of this shocking reality, the traditional Frenchman's ideal household could be conjured up by both the syndicalists and the socialists to present a graphic indictment, not so much of working women, but of the bourgeoisie, whose tentacles of corruption reached even into the workers' homes.

In point of fact, syndicalism's increasing commitment to unionize women, as evidenced in its press and congresses, was motivated by a threefold purpose. It was ideologically sound, for it was the actualization of the Marxist-Guesdist assertion that the revolution would be accomplished when women were liberated. It was pragmatic, for the organization of women with its mandate that they work for union scale was a matter of practical survival. It was a revolutionary act: unionism raised women workers' class consciousness. Further, as with the implementation of the eight-hour day and the English week, unionism for women was regarded by many revolutionaries as a direct assault on the storehouses of capitalism. Was the movement successful? Not in returning women to their foyers, certainly. The

mobilization of women during the war meant that females flooded into the work force and moved once again into jobs traditionally reserved for men. Many may have thought that women's working career would extend only for the duration, but widowhood and the high postwar cost of living kept many wives and mothers at their machines after the armistice. In 1921 there were over 250,000 more women employed in nonagricultural professions than there had been in 1906.(59)

That increase in employment brought between a 16 to 38 percent rise in real wages, compared with a 25 percent gain for men. The higher wages did not occur solely through the generosity of the capitalists, for the increase in women's union membership and participation in strike activity served as a catalyst to improving their working situation.(60) Despite men's reservations, the number of organized women tripled in France between 1900 and 1914, while worldwide the number only doubled.(61) The war years heightened union participation. In 1921, an unusually low year for unionization generally, over 15 percent of the female work force were union members--almost double the number of 1914.(62) The increase in activity at the grassroots level spilled over into the organizational life of the unions. Women were given more room on the executive trade councils and at the podiums of trade congresses. These gains registered in the postwar period resulted from a combination of forces occasioned by war: women's persistence in wanting to maintain their positions in industry, men's realization that women's suffering equaled theirs, and the dramatic loss in CGT membership due to the schism resulting from the question of adherence to the Third International.(63) In response to the loss of members, women became the target of another membership drive conducted under the auspices of Germaine Jouhaux as secretary of a newly organized Commission on the Study of Women. The spur to the drive was the CGT's campaign for the minimum wage, an issue designed to attract women's attention.(64)

More important to the increase in women's syndical activity than immediate pressures was the ongoing evolution in attitudes evident within syndicalism itself. This change was apparent long before the war; the national emergency served only as a catalyst to its finalization. In 1866 the French delegate to the First International had insisted that women be routed from the workshops and returned to the foyer. In 1919 even the crusty secretary of the Fédération du Livre, Auguste Keufer, was moved to admit before a congress of the brotherhood that "some of the criticisms addressed to women no longer have the same validity today" because women's activism demonstrated that "the female mentality had undergone an appreciable change." Therefore it would behoove the printers to accept women into the professions and the unions. Apparently the male mentality had also changed, for the confrères heeded Keufer's advice.(65)

The commitment to carry out the revolution caused syndicalists to take up the woman question as a means to

build union membership and revolutionary commitment. The increased numbers of women union members amplified syndicalism's strength. The pressure from the unions, in turn, was largely responsible for the passage of legislation to improve women's conditions. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, laws were adopted that reduced the work day, abolished night work, established the English week, allowed women the right to dispose of their own wages and have their own bank accounts, provided for factory inspection, safety requirements, maternity leaves, nursing furloughs, day nurseries in many factories, and even equal pay in some professions.(66) Of course, the victory was only relative. Syndicalism never did enlist even a respectable proportion of women into its ranks. Suffrage continued to be denied. The grossest vestige of sexism--the unequal salary--remained, with few exceptions, a persistent fact of life.

In the light of the demands of twentieth-century feminists, therefore, the movement must be judged a failure. But syndicalism cannot be measured solely by the yardstick of the present's social inadequacies or goals. Because syndicalists recognized the need to include women in the struggle for a just society, concrete changes in organizational attitudes and policies did occur. The woman question, however reluctantly and for whatever motives, was addressed. The worst abuses toward society's "most disinherited" began to be alleviated. In view of the reality of women's economic competition and organizational apathy, and of the centuries of intellectual, social, and legal paternalism, the success of revolutionary syndicalism as an agent of working-class interests must be measured according to the progress of the movement within its own time.

NOTES

1. See Madeleine Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale avant 1914 (Paris, 1966), pp. 11-17 for a discussion of the number of women moving into industry, particularly into those trades that traditionally had been reserved for men.

2. Suggestions and resolutions made at the following congresses: Séances du congrès ouvrier socialiste de France . . . (Marseille, 1879), pp. 161, 199; Dixième congrès national des bourses du travail de France et des colonies . . . (Algeria, 1902), p. 100.

3. Report on the exploitation of women in industry before the 6(e) congrès national des syndicats de France, compte rendu (Nantes, 1894), pp. 80, 122-123.

4. Fédération nationale des syndicats . . . troisième congrès national (Bordeaux, 1888), p. 14.

5. Souvenir de l'inauguration de la nouvelle bourse du travail (Nîmes, 1893), pp. 18-19. The notion of reciprocal economic functions of husband and wife as producers and consumers was expressed in the Mémoire d'un ouvrier de Paris of Pierre Bruno, who died in 1872. Armand Audiganne, ed. (Paris, 1875). On the woman's role, Bruno stated that each had a division of tasks: "the husband must earn and the woman must dispense." P. 153.

6. Congrès national des syndicats ouvriers . . . Compte rendu officiel [1886] (Lyon, 1887,), p. 218.

7. Congress of the FS [Marseille, 1892] reported in Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale, pp. 156-157.

8. Congrès ouvrier régional de Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1880), pp. 10-13, 18.

9. Congrès ouvrier socialiste [Marseille, 1879], p. 199.

10. Confédération Générale du Travail, La confédération générale du travail et le mouvement syndical (Paris, 1925), pp. 396-398 on the background of the effect of women in the profession. Hereafter referred to as La CGT et le mouvement syndical.

11. Charles Sowerwine, "Workers and Women in France Before 1914: The Debate Over the Couriau Affair," Journal of Modern History 55 (September 1983): 411-440. Madeleine Guilbert records Louis Couriau's response to his having been expelled from the union. Sounding like a liberated husband, or an untypically French one, Louis declared in his own defense that he had not forced his wife to work. He did not have the right to do so, he admitted. Besides, even if he had wanted to demonstrate his authority within his own domicile, he pointed out, his wife would not obey him anyway, since she contended that no one had the right to forbid her from exercising her profession, which was "a condition of life and independence for her." Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale, pp. 409-410.

12. Discussions at the Quatrième congrès national de la fédération nationale des cuirs et peaux [Chaumont] (Puteaux, 1905), pp. 31-32; Compte rendu du premier congrès national . . . des travailleurs de l'industrie de la bijouterie-orfèvrerie-horlogerie (Paris, 1909), pp. 54, 76. At the leatherworkers' congress in 1900, the results of an industrial survey were published. In Fougères in 1880, there were 5,500 workers in the shoe industry earning an average of 5.50 francs per day. Twenty years later there were only 1,300 men employed, earning an average of 2.50 francs. After the introduction of machinery, the number of

women employed had increased tenfold. Compte rendu du congrès national et international des ouvriers . . . employant le cuir et la peau [1900] (Paris, 1901), p. 95.

13. Cinquième congrès de la fédération nationale des cuirs et peaux [Limoges] (Paris, 1907), p. 64; Fédération nationale des ouvriers et ouvrières des tabacs. . . [1911] (Paris, 1912), pp. 75-79.

14. Compte rendu du neuvième congrès national de la fédération des travailleurs du livre [Lyon] (Paris, 1905), p. 58; Madame Feurtey in Société générale des chapeliers de France. Congrès national et international . . . (Paris, 1889), p. 15; Fédération des syndicats ouvriers de la chapellerie . . . [Chazelles-sur-Lyon] (Paris, 1906), p. 14.

15. Deuxième congrès national et troisième congrès national de la fédération nationale des travailleurs de l'alimentation . . . [Bourges] (Paris, 1904), p. 40; Moret's quote in La Typographie Française, 1886, p. 4.

16. Report to the third congress of the Fédération du Livre appeared in ibid., p. 2. Discussion of the printers reported in Patricia Branca, Women in Europe Since 1750 (London, 1978), p. 57. See Louisette Blanquart, Femmes: L'Age politique, pp. 43-44 for strike statistics.

17. Congrès corporatifs nationaux et internationaux de la chapellerie (Lyon, 1887), p. 30; Compte rendu du dixième congrès national de la fédération française des travailleurs du livre [Bordeaux, 1910] (Paris, [1910]), pp. 463-470; Compte rendu du sixième congrès national . . . (Limoges, 1913), pp. 34-36; Compte rendu officiel des travaux du sixième congrès de la fédération des travailleurs de l'habillement (Grenoble, 1906), p. 7.

18. Compte rendu du douzième congrès national ouvrier de l'industrie textile [Roubaix] (Lille, 1911), pp. 39-40; Congrès des ouvriers . . . employant le cuir et la peau [Paris, 1900], pp. 23-24.

19. X(e) congrès national corporatif (IV(e) de la confédération générale du travail . . . Compte rendu des travaux du congrès (Rennes, 1898). See pp. 174-185 for debate, pp. 312-314 for resolution. Delegates' emphasis. It should be noted that the CGT stipulated that membership was open equally to both sexes. It later passed resolutions calling for women to be allowed to vote for prud'hommes, serve as prud'femmes, and receive equal retirement pay and accident insurance benefits. Consult the following for resolutions on women's equality: 6(e) congrès national des syndicats de France. Compte rendu des travaux du congrès . . . (Nantes, 1894), p. 78; X(e) congrès [Rennes, 1898], p. 317. At the 1895 Limoges congress the delegates agreed that the CGT stood for membership of workers of both sexes.

In 1901 the Lyon congress called for equal retirement pay. In 1908 the workers of Marseille called for no distinction of sex regarding accident insurance. Recounted in La CGT et le mouvement syndical, pp. 49, 80, 106. It must also be noted that the CGT, as the central labor organization, enforced the rulings on equality of membership. In 1902 a Versailles section was suspended when it refused to admit a union of women hairdressers. The suspension brought the errant males around to accepting women and they were subsequently readmitted. Confédération Générale du Travail, Rapports des comités des commissions pour l'exercise 1904-1906 (Paris, [1906]), p. 44. Regional organizations also practiced sexual equality. Members of the Toulon bourse, for instance, voted that there would be no sexual distinction among its members. See Compte rendu du 1(er) congrès régional, 1904 (Toulon, 1904), p. 111.

20. XI(e) congrès national corporatif (V(e) de la confédération générale du travail) . . . (Paris, 1900), pp. 31-37; Briat's quote on p. 64 in ibid.

21. For the exchange between Bouvard and Guérard see ibid., p. 217.

22. XVII(e) congrès national corporatif (XI(e) de la confédération . . . [1910]) (Toulouse, 1911), pp. 54-57.

23. For a transcription of the cover letter and questionnaire sent out to collect data for the commission, see J. B. Sévérat, "Le mouvement syndical," Encyclopédie socialiste, syndicale, et coopérative de l'internationale ouvrière, 1912-1913. Compère-Morel, dir. (Paris, n. d.), pp. 250-251. See also XVIII(e) congrès national corporatif (XII(e) de la C.G.T) . . . Compte rendu des travaux (Le Havre, 1910), pp. 28-29, 70-71. A further impetus to unionization of working women was the fact that Germany was far ahead of France in this endeavor, according to the report of the delegate visiting from Germany who declared that since his last visit, the Germans had enrolled over 2 1/2 million members, of whom 200,000 were women. Ibid., pp. 1-2. Delegates to the regional congress of bourses at Auxerre in 1907 had other ideas on how to attract mothers to the workers' organizations. Suggestions made on the subject included forming a children's choir, and organizing family festivities to lure women to membership and heighten their sense of solidarity. Compte rendu du congrès régional corporatif (Auxerre, 1907), pp. 5-6.

24. Discussion of the woman question was also carried on in pamphlets and "encyclopedias" of socialism and syndicalism. Célestin Bouglé, author of a work on Saint-Simon, wrote in 1907 that the notion of the man bringing home the bacon for the wife to cook was idealistic "because too many women have to work." Syndicalisme et démocratie (Paris, 1908), pp. 132-137. In a letter to Paul Delesalle,

Georges Sorel discussed his idea of the function of the unions. He saw them as a means for women to achieve justice in society as well as an instrument of domestic liberation for them. He believed the power of the union could even be brought to bear upon the husband who was treating his wife "as he would not want his boss to treat him." Georges Sorel, Lettres à Paul Delesalle, 1914-1921 (Paris, 1947), p. 32. for quote.

25. Le Libertaire, See the following issues: Levar, 3 June 1897; 27 Nov. 1897; Antoine Antignac is in the 26 Aug. and 23 Sept. 1900 issues.

26. Ibid., 1 Feb. 1896 for quote. For additional discussion on the liberating value of free love, see the commentators in the following editions of the same paper: P. Comont, 28 Mar. 1896; 12 June 1898; Suzanne Carruette in 22 Apr. 1900; Sainte-Andréa in 11 Nov. 1900; Vulgus in 27 Aug. 1905; Pollo in 3 Sept. 1905. Anarchists who preached free unions were also aware that even in such a state the woman would be the one to "pay" if she became pregnant. Therefore, the paper often gave advice on birth control methods. See 2 Dec. 1900 issue for example.

27. Ibid., 17 Sept. 1899.

28. Ibid., see the following issues: 19 Oct. 1901; 16, 30 Nov. 1901; 7, 13, 21, 18 Dec. 1901; 12 Jan 1902.

29. Ibid., see the following issues: 30 Jan. 1904; 6, 13, 27 Feb. 1904; 5, 19 Mar. 1904; 2 Apr. 1904; 4 June 1904; 10 July 1904; 20 Aug. 1904; 17 Sept. 1904;

30. Félicie Numietska in ibid., 8 July 1906.

31. Ibid., 30 Dec. 1906.

32. Hervé's feminism was certainly a mixed bag. On the one hand, he was present at a banquet of the third arrondissement, following the Revolution of 1848, at which Pauline Roland was in attendance. There he offered a toast "on the reintegration of women into society." Edith Thomas, Pauline Roland. Socialisme et féminisme au XIX(e) siècle (Paris, 1956), p. 116. On the other hand, he was offended by Dr. Madeleine Pelletier's mannish clothes and haircut. See Marilyn Jacoby Boxer, "Socialism Faces Feminism in France: 1879-1913" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1975), p. 251.

33. For background on Marguerite Durand, consult Charles Sowerwine, "Le groupe féministe socialiste 1899-1902," Le Mouvement Social, 90 (Jan. 1975): 87-120.

34. La Guerre Sociale, 30 Jan. 1907.

35. Ibid., 21 Aug. 1912.

36. La Voix du Peuple: A. Bouvard, 1 Dec. 1900; Fernand Goth, 18 Jan. 1903; D. Sieruin, 31 Aug. 1902.

37. Ibid., 11 Oct. 1908.

38. Ibid., 28 Apr. 1912.

39. Ibid., 21 Dec. 1913.

40. Ibid., 8 June 1914.

41. At a meeting on 11 Nov. 1913 of the Comité des Fédérations, reported in ibid., 25 Jan. 1914.

42. Ibid., 4 , 11, 16, 25 Jan. 1914; 1, 9 Feb. 1904; 30 Mar. 1914.

43. Ibid., Fernand Mammale, 30 Mar. 1914; A. Hagmann, 28 June 1914. Author's emphasis.

44. Ibid., 13 July 1914.

45. See for a discussion of the socialist-feminist alliance: Sowerwine, "Le groupe féministe socialiste 1899-1902."

46. Le Libertaire, 4 Dec. 1898.

47. Auguste Pawlowski, Les syndicats féminins et les syndicats mixtes en France (Paris, 1912), pp. 19-21, 38.

48. Ibid., p. 99.

49. O. Jean, Le syndicalisme, son origine, son organisation, son rôle social (Paris, 1913). See particularly pp. 101-108 concerning the bylaws of the Syndicats Libres Féminins de Grenoble, which takes Catholic social doctrine as its guide, condemns class struggle and direct action, seeks to establish détante between capitalism and labor, a just salary, and acknowledges the right to strike only when three-quarters of the members consent to such action, and only if the strike is to achieve attainable ends.

50. Sévérat, Encyclopédie socialiste, pp. 42, 298-300.

51. Michel Augé-Laribé, Le problème agraire du socialisme (Paris, 1907), p. 268. See also the report on the exploitation of women to the 6(me) congrès [Nantes, 1894], p. 102.

52. For a discussion of the development of the peasant unions see Louis Prugnaud, Les étapes du syndicalisme

agricole en France (Paris, 1957); and Adrien Toussaint, L'union centrale des syndicats agricoles (Paris, 1920). See the following pages in Toussaint: pp. 147-148 for the goals of the Section des Dames de L'Union Centrale; p. 91 on the women's section, pp. 113-116, 125; p. 116 for quote on family. See also for the speech of President Delelande before th VII(e) congrès national des syndicats agricoles (Paris, 1909), pp. 34-44.

53. Report by Madame la Comtesse de Keranfleck-Kernizne on teaching housekeeping. She had founded such a school for peasant women in Brittany. See pp. 301-304 in ibid. Catholic syndicalists believed in educating the young females to be perfect housewives. An article entitled "What Will We Do with Our Daughters?" appeared in the Catholic syndicalist newspaper Travailleur de la Terre on 15 Feb. 1906. The answer was to provide girls with good elementary instruction, where they would learn to do laundry, cover buttons, make blouses, tailor all their own clothes, bake bread, dispense medicine, and practically understand that a dress of cotton would wear better than a dress of silk. The perfect young lady would also be taught how to cultivate a garden, love flowers, and even be provided, as secondary instruction, piano and drawing lessons, according to her character.

54. See Blanquart, Femmes: L'Age politique, pp. 42-46 for a list of strikes in which women were involved. Specific references to women's participation in strikes by union delegates can be found in Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale, pp. 60, 73, 115, 138.

55. Michelle Perrot, Les ouvriers en grève, France 1871-1890, 2 vols. (Paris, 1974), vol. 1, pp. 318-329, vol. 2, pp. 504-512 for women and strikes.

56. It must be noted here that Proudhonian antifeminist pronouncements did not end entirely. The most vigorous antifeminist diatribe appeared in 1909, in Le Mouvement Socialist, in an analysis written by Edouard Berth of a book on Proudhon by Gustave Droz. That year was the occasion of Proudhon's centenary. Berth took issue with Droz's statement that Proudhon's antifeminism seemed "a little too forced, exaggerated, nearly false." Berth insisted that the present-day disorganization of the family, the rise of divorce, and prostitution were proof that Proudhon's philosophy was correct. "Le centenaire de Proudhon," Le Mouvement Socialiste (Jan. 1909): 49-55. Droz's quote appears on p. 52. Annie Kriegel makes much of Proudhon's influence on the syndicalist movement in "Le syndicalisme révolutionnaire et Proudhon," Le pain et les roses (Paris, 1968), pp. 33-50. If that is so, there is certainly no evidence that Proudhon's centenary produced any other attempt by contributors to the working-class press to link Proudhon's ideology with the justification to return

women to the home. Berth's article is unique in this respect. But then Berth's career as a syndicalist and Sorelian is suspect, since he ultimately joined the Action Française. See pp. 248-388 in Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale for a survey of all articles relating to women in the working-class press.

57. Branca, Women in Europe, pp. 45-46. Branca declares that employers "would have welcomed a more stable female labour force and would have increased wage levels to attain it--if the device would have worked. Few women were ready to oblige. Whatever the mixture of pleasure and shock that new urban jobs offered, there was no desire to enjoy or suffer it permanently." Quote appears on p. 45.

58. Guilbert, Les femmes et l'organisation syndicale, pp. 186-187 for her statement that women's militancy was restricted to particular trades.

59. Madeleine Guilbert, Les fonctions des femmes dans l'industrie (Paris, 1966), p. 63. See also for background: Paul Louis, Histoire de la classe ouvrière en France de la révolution à nos jours (Paris, 1927); Yves Merlin, Les conflits collectifs de travail pendant la guerre 1914-1918 (Paris, 1928).

60. See Guilbert, Les fonctions des femmes, p. 54 on strike activity. Also pp. 38-43 in Merlin, Les conflits collectifs for statistics on the rise of salaries.

61. Guilbert, Les fonctions des femmes, p. 64.

62. Ibid., p. 64; Blanquart, Femmes: L'Age politique, p. 31.

63. XIV(e) congrès de la C.G.T. (Lyons, 1919), pp. 302-309 for a report on women and syndicalism. Also noteworthy is the attack by Madame Chevenard on the failure of the CGT in not calling upon women for the moral strength needed to resist participation in the war, pp. 304-309.

64. Germaine Jouhaux, Rapports sur les conditions de travail au point de vue féminin (Paris, 1926).

65. Keufer's speech appears in Guilbert, Les fonctions des femmes, pp. 64-65.

66. See ibid., pp. 54-60 for legislation passed regarding women's working conditions. Also see Marcel Frois, La santé et le travail des femmes pendant la guerre (Paris, n. d.); Branca, Women in Europe, pp. 168-169; and James F. McMillan, Housewife or Harlot (New York, 1981), chs. VII, VIII, pp. 131-157.

PERSONS CITED

Chevenard, Jeanne (1876-1944), born at Lyon, executed by the Resistance at Venissieux (Rhône). She worked as an embroiderer. After her second marriage, she and her husband opened an embroidery shop in Lyon, but the pair had to declare bankruptcy in 1913. Later she became a propagandist for the CGT.

Coulet, Jean (1865-?), born in Marseille. A typographer and Guesdist. Attended FBT and CGT congresses. Organized May Day demonstrations in 1890 and 1891 in his area. Authored a book on socialism in Marseille.

Favreau, Frédéric (?-?), employed in a gas factory at Nantes in 1876. Secretary of the local bourse in 1911.

Grégoire, Henri (1871-1952), born at Creuse. Orphaned at the age of three, went to school to the age of ten, then apprenticed to a baker. He later moved to Paris and became secretary of the bakers' uniom in that city. He was also involved in setting up a cooperative bakery in 1904.

Guillot, Marie (1880-1934), born in the Saône-et-Loire, died in the Rhone. Her father, a journalier in agriculture, died when she was young. Her mother supported the family as a laundress. Marie graduated from college and became a teacher, although she always remained attracted to the plight of the farmworkers. She founded numerous unions after 1911, even in the face of official reprimands from her superiors. She was an effective speaker, praised for her clear voice and her short, but pointed statements.

Jacobi, Madame (?-?), she represented the tobacco workers' federation at the 1902 CGT congress and wrote for La Voix du Peuple. In 1901 she was a delegate to the London peace conference.

Lacaille, Ernest (1862-?), born at Nancy. He was a member of the bootmakers' union, and secretary of the Federation of Unions of the Meurthe-et-Moselle. He headed an employment bureau run by the unions. He participated in CGT congresses and founded a UP in Nancy. In 1901, assisted by Griffuelhes, he organized an enormous strike of shoeworkers. He also edited several working-class newspapers.

Laurent, Citoyenne (?-?), in 1882 she was at the Congres Ouvrier at Saint-Etienne. Helped found a POF chapter in Roanne and an FNS group in Lyon. She presented a detailed report on the status of working women at the 1886 FNS congress.

Martino, Louis (1862-?), born in Marseille. He was a hotel worker, Guesdist, militant syndicalist, and participant in several CGT congresses. He organized May Day demonstrations

in 1890. Two years later he was elected to the Municipal Council at Marseille.

Saulnier (?-?), lived in Paris. He represented Parisian shoemakers at the 1901 CGT congress.

Sergent (?-?), a typographer and delegate to numerous CGT congresses. He was described as a self-assured speaker. In 1908 he led a group of typographers in a twenty-four-hour strike in protest against the shootings at Villeneuve-Saint-Georges. But when the movement was checked, he lost some of his authority within the antireformist wing of the Fédération du Livre. He was mobilized in 1914, and died the following year of an undisclosed illness.

Vandeputte, Victor (1875-?), born in the Nord. He was a weaver who took an active part in the strikes beginning in 1910. He founded a bourse in his hometown in 1909, and became its secretary the following year. He also published L'Union Syndicale.