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The French home front in 1914–18

An investigation into female workwear

Jérémie Brucker

On August 1, 1915, a 39-year-old woman named Marguerite Durand began her work with the “Compagnie des Chemins de Fer de Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée,” a French national railway service whose route ran from Paris to the Mediterranean coast, through the city of Lyon.¹ Following the death of her husband on May 27, 1915, Durand, a mother and homemaker, entered the workforce as a day worker from June 19 to July 27, 1915, and then began training to become a station master at the train station of Rillieux-la-Pape, a commune in the department of the Ain, to the north of Lyon.² No work uniform was provided for this position. Archives show that Durand received money from the company’s welfare fund on two occasions: for the sum of 500 francs in 1915, and 250 francs in 1917. Her request for the latter sum, submitted on June 22, 1917, lists her annual compensation as 1,262.60 francs, which included her late husband’s pension. After deducting rents and payments towards her own pension, her disposable annual income amounted to 98.50 francs. In her request, Durand wrote that she needed the funds in order to purchase clothing and shoes, items which she could not at the time afford.

Durand’s story resembles those of the countless women who found themselves taking on administrative or factory jobs in order to replace the men on the front. The war initiated massive changes in the workplace, and while women were already a part of the workforce prior to mobilization, they often held menial positions requiring few qualifications.³ This article addresses the realities of the women in the workplace during the First World War, examining the conditions of women working in predominantly male positions, as well as their new manners of dress. Closer examination of work

attire allows us to understand how daily life played out against the backdrop of the war. Our interest lies especially with those women working with railroad companies, in factories, or in major administrations such as the postal services.

This article attempts to address a series of questions: were the new work clothes worn by women a visible, but temporary, manifestation of mass female wartime mobilization? Or did these clothes represent something more meaningful, particularly when they took on the character of “professional dress” associated with a specific profession?⁴ Was female workwear a tool used to redefine the roles of women? Did these garments help entrench women in the working world? How did female wartime workwear highlight the restructuring of social and professional hierarchies? A number of period sources, from photographs to editorials, allow us to answer these questions.⁵ Images and postcards depicting working women were prevalent during the war. Indeed, many were ordered by the Government in order to promote the war effort to the general public. Company archives, internal rulebooks, workplace inspection archives, and clothing catalogs add nuance to the era’s popular media, which was often intended to uphold a culture of wartime solidarity.

Makeshift attire for a short war: Wearing ordinary, everyday clothes to work

Work attire has long been more than a mere aesthetic consideration in professions considered dangerous. In these jobs, physical protection is imperative. Questions on appropriate work dress for women in all kinds of jobs, dangerous or not, emerged at the very start of the First World War. Although it was believed that the war would end quickly, questions were still raised as to how to dress women who had not previously been working, or who were beginning jobs in fields formerly reserved for men.

In certain fields, women began to enter the workforce immediately. From the outset of the war, in the summer of 1914, women were encouraged to quickly replace men called away to war. They could do so wearing their usual clothing. René Viviani, President of the Council of Ministers, called for women to: “Stand, Women of France, young children, sons and daughters of the nation! Replace in the fields and the workplace those on the battlefield.”⁶ Factory doors began to open to women in the fall and early winter of 1914, after the farming women had completed the harvest, and after the supposed brevity of the war began to be called into question. The need to feed one’s family, as well as the needs of the French economy, precipitated this transition. The government allocation for wives of mobilized men amounted to 1.25 francs per day in 1914, with an additional 50 centimes per child. A woman with no children would therefore receive an annual allowance of 456 francs. Yet, the average salary for her husband would have been 1,327 francs for a factory worker, or 1,400 for the starting

salary of a Parisian postman.⁷ Women needed to work in order to replace the salaries lost when their husbands were called to war.

Were the women pouring into the workforce able to purchase work attire for their new jobs? Department store catalogs from 1914 show only a limited selection of clothing for women. In a catalog specifically dedicated to work clothes, the French department store *La Belle Jardinière* featured a series of dark smocks, with or without pockets, in sturdy fabric with blue and white stripes, whose price ranged from 1.35 to 2.8 francs. Those same striped smocks in superior quality, with greater durability, cost between 5 and 7.75 francs. This was, in other words, one week's allocation for the wife of a soldier, or the equivalent of the monthly rent, 5 francs, for station-master Marguerite Durand.

Archival sources do not provide us the total number of women who were able to purchase their workwear from *La Belle Jardinière*, as the customer records were not preserved. But we know that these catalogues only provide a partial vision of the reality of what working women wore. Many women made workwear at home with the help of sewing machines. Prohibitive costs of readymade workwear, the presence of a lively secondhand market, and the popularity of repurposing used fabric all suggest that the clothing depicted in catalogs was worn by only a minority of workers. Most women used or modified clothes from their own wardrobe.

Providing work clothes for women was not a priority for manufacturers at the start of the war. And this despite the fact that women had been employed in metallurgical plants since the end of the nineteenth century. In 1911, 7.7 million women were recorded as working, with one quarter of them working in factory positions. But these changes in the workforce were rarely taken into account in the clothes marketed in the department store catalogs issued between 1900 and 1910. The 1914 catalog for the clothing manufacturer *Braillon*, which specialized in workwear, for example, featured only one version of a woman's smock in ecru canvas, as well as a sturdier rubberized smock at three times the price.⁸

The urgency of war, however, did lead to one major development from clothing manufacturers—the evolution of the nurse's uniform. In the 1914 edition of the *Belle Jardinière* catalog, the nurse's uniform is not depicted with the rest of the white canvas smocks, whose prices range from 4.5 to 5.5 francs. Rather, a separate page towards the end of the catalog is devoted to the “special uniform for the women of the Croix Rouge.”⁹ The catalog lists an ensemble made up of a blouse, a smock, a hairpiece, and a nurse's bag for the price of 13.05 francs—all the necessities for a front line nurse.

Workwear accommodations for temporary replacement workers

A decree on the work wardrobe had been issued in 1913, but its implementation was interrupted by the war.¹⁰ Despite this, there were no popular calls to mandate dedicated work attire. The disorganization that accompanied the first three months of the war did not afford women the opportunity to put

together attire specifically for work. Rather, they scrambled to find clothing that was suitable both for the physical demands of factory work and appropriate for domestic life. In the absence of work-provided or easily obtainable uniforms, women adapted their dress according to their circumstances. The few photographs and postcards from the era show women wearing a disparate array of outfits, with the smock and the blouse being the most commonly used garments for adapted workwear. In essence, the women entering the workforce in 1914—even those who took over traditionally masculine jobs—wore the same clothes as had women in the previous decade.

Workplace accommodations became a necessity as the war wore on. In factories, the traditionally masculine *surtout* (coverall) was prevalent. The coverall was a voluminous frock worn over one's clothes that offered protection from dirt or stains, albeit imperfectly, as the neck and wrist were left uncovered. It, nevertheless, protected the essentials, especially in munitions factories, and helped prevent women from bringing soiled, inflammable clothes back to the home. In their April 1914 catalog, Braillon offered several versions of the *pare-poussière* or duster, priced between 7 francs and 19 francs, the latter for the men's buttoned piece with pockets, resembling a trench coat.

Those in the service industry had to adapt as well, as male restaurant waiters and hosts were replaced by women. These men in these positions had been required to wear a specific uniform consisting of a black vest with nine pockets. The 1914 catalog for La Belle Jardinière lists such a black alpaca vest for 17.5 francs. At Braillon, a vest of similar quality in grosgrain fabric is listed for 18 francs. The café waiter's uniform was expensive—the ensemble of vest, jacket, shirt, dickey, tie, and even gloves could amount to a price of up to 52.55 francs.

Photographs taken in Parisian cafés soon after the start of the war show that service continued largely without men. Compromises in the work outfit were necessary, as no designated female uniform was being manufactured. Female servers replaced the male vest with a black blouse; in 1914, Braillon offered an example in black cotton twill, labeled as *grand teint* to indicate its color fast characteristics, even after a number of washes (Figure 12.1). The price ranged from 6.75 to 7.25 francs. The servant's apron, with pocket and bib, completed the uniform. It was through the black and white design of the outfit, rather than any one piece from the traditional male uniform, that female servers emulated their male counterparts and were thus able to denote their professional role. This temporary solution was typical for 1914. These ad hoc measures allowed women to dress appropriately for newly vacant positions.

Menswear for female replacement workers

As the war ground into the year 1915, the government renewed its call for women to take up jobs in military production factories, even certain skilled male workers were recalled from the front. The *remplaçantes*, or women who replaced men in previously male-only jobs, became “permanent” for the

Figure 12.1 *Women replacing male café waiters, 1914–18. Photograph by Maurice Louis Branger. © Roger Viollet.*

duration of the war. Yet the only items suitable for female factory workers featured in Brailion's 1915 catalog for workwear was a set of blouses—this despite the fact that women were increasingly operating machines that had previously been operated by men who wore special protective outfits.

Generally, civilian clothing production lagged, as demands for military attire had created a shortage of primary textiles and dyes. The adoption of “horizon blue” fabric, made using light and dark blue thread interwoven with white thread, alleviated some of the demands for indigo dye in the military. Yet, fabric supplies, in part imported from England, were primarily directed towards the army, and fabric reserved for civilians was limited.

Women, nevertheless, needed to be dressed. A government circular letter emitted on April 21, 1916 announced the establishment of the Comité du Travail Féminin (Committee for Female Labor), under the authority of Albert Thomas, Minister of Armaments. The Committee was formed to submit advice and propositions on working conditions for women.¹¹ That same year, on July 18, 1916, the Committee asked the Minister to ensure that industries provide workers appropriate work attire, and that they provide for the items' upkeep. This demand was upheld in a circular sent out by the state asking

Figure 12.2 War-themed calendar, 1st year, August 1914–July 1915. Published in 1916. Photograph by E. Erfani. © Musée de l'Image, Épinal. © Kharbine-Tapabor.

industries either to provide free protective clothing for workers, provide a suitable allowance, or withhold a portion of wages for that purpose. Albert Thomas called for industries to install small individual dressers in the cloakrooms in order for workers to store their clothes.¹² On September 18, 1916, the state-run *Bulletin des Usines de Guerre* (Bulletin on War Factories) announced that certain factories were already providing waterproof smocks or *surtouts* coveralls to the women charged with running machines, and that other factories in Paris would soon be following suit (Figure 12.2).

The *Bulletin* provided the following explanation for providing women with workwear: “through the performance of the varied tasks demanded by modern machinery, workers will be subjected to small droplets of oil projected into the air, which will cause rapid deterioration to civilian clothes if left are unprotected.”¹³

Factories began to automate their production from the beginning of the nineteenth century onward. This technical progress resulted in the simplification and deskilling of certain tasks, which, in turn, allowed companies to increasingly hire women. The war amplified this trend. However, the uniforms most appropriate for this kind of work remained those fashioned for men. Both the *surtout*

with buttons and the coverall were designed without any strings or loose fabric that could get caught in machinery. Yet, clothing manufacturers failed to take into account the shift towards a more feminine workforce—a number of catalogs from the era's providers of work clothing list only men's items, with no adjustments taking into account the female form. Women working dangerous positions often had to resort to menswear. A photograph taken in a foundry at the very end of 1914 shows two women out of the twelve depicted wearing men's coveralls. These women, engaged in grenade manufacturing, are spared the dangers of civilian clothes, but their garments are, nevertheless, ill-fitting.

Employers in less dangerous professions could avoid resorting to men's clothing, often by providing less stringent requirements for specific items. With the postal service, the postman's vest—a uniform often worn by the military veterans who frequently held the position—could not be worn by women.¹⁴ The female postal worker instead wore a non-standardized black blouse. Accessories, such as the armband labeled "PTT" (the initials of post and telegraph service) and a cocarde worn on the cap helped transform daily dress into a makeshift uniform.

Sources show that while women did wear men's uniforms, the blouse and the *surtout* predominated. The *Bulletins des Usines de Guerre* suggests that many did not even wear real aprons or blouses; workers frequently made protective clothing out of a canvas bag attached at the waist. Nevertheless, in the popular imagination and in media depictions that circulated at front and in the rear, the image of the woman hiding her femininity by wearing men's uniforms was widespread.

Workwear and the "masculinization" of women

As the war continued to wear on, criticism emerged bemoaning the supposed masculinization of women—a fear stemming in part from the use of masculine dress in the workplace. Opposing voices that actually *supported* this masculinization were rare, but visible. The feminist Madeleine Pelletier, for instance, championed this change as a step to towards the equality of the sexes and saw the donning of pants as a political act.¹⁵ Yet, clothing makers increasingly sought to create new work uniforms tailored specifically for women. A couturière who called herself "Madame Commard," installed on the Boulevard Magenta in Paris, designed a coverall called "la Française." On May 8, 1916, Commard wrote a letter heralding her product to Albert Thomas. The letter closes with the following statement: "The ideal scenario will be to have industries cover the costs to clothe their female workers." This sentiment was echoed by the Comité du Travail Féminin two months later. Their request was accompanied with their own laudatory tract on Commard's creation:

For the woman in the workshop, engaged in production for the military, there is little that could be more ill-suited than the customary skirt and underskirt. The war, in fielding women into this line

of work, has created the need for clothing that reflects its daily realities. Men's pants are of little use, as they have no aesthetic appeal; with the garment we suggest, women will be able to retain the coquettish allure that is inherent to their femininity. "LA FRANÇOISE" is a one-piece garment with a skirt-culotte at the bottom, with the lower legs wrapped around the boots and held with a button. It is buttoned on the front, in the bodice, and the sleeve is buttoned and tightened at the wrist. The garment is closed between the legs, preventing the flow of dust. It is also fastened at the side, to the right of the pockets; the back contains a skirt flap that is buttoned underneath the belt, and can be folded down as needed.¹⁶

The "Françoise" was practical and functional, while still taking into account the female body. The couturière drew inspiration from pre-war fashion, notably a skirt-culotte that created a stir when first presented by the couture house Béchoff-David at the Auteuil racetrack in 1910–11. Commard informed her clients that the price of the "Françoise" was 12 francs when it was released in 1916, or the same price as the men's coveralls she also designed. The "Françoise" was less expensive than the men's coveralls for sale in the *Braillon* catalog in 1915.¹⁷ That pair, in a high-quality blue longotte fabric (a sturdy plain weave cotton fabric) cost 50 francs. *Braillon's* dusters cost between 28 and 55 francs. The Françoise was highly competitive with other work attire in the marketplace.

Commard's "Françoise" was the first feminine work garment patented during the war. The patent was filed May 16, 1916, by the tailor Léon Le Boucher and architect Henri François. The latter, whose family name surely inspired the name of the product, had his office at the same address as Commard. Other versions from different manufacturers followed shortly afterwards: the Femina, in August 1916, from the Parisian designer Léon Dulac; the Simplex coverall, patented by Le Boucher, working alone this time; and the Eureka, the factory work suit created by a couturier in Nance in April 1917.¹⁸

Unfortunately, no available information specifies the number of examples fabricated and sold. A photograph taken in 1917, however, allows us to confirm that this type of feminine coverall was indeed used. In one of the photo albums of automobile company Delahaye, entitled, "Collaboration of Women for the National Defense," a shot of workers in the process of stamping shell casings allows us to identify three such work suits—either the Françoise or a similar rendition.¹⁹ At least six of the fourteen workers photographed are women, a number that corresponds with the ratio of women employed at the company at the end of 1916—42 percent (Figure 12.3).²⁰

Commissioned by the state, the album's title reflects its intended purpose of upholding the war effort. Albert Thomas certainly wanted it to be known that the Comité du Travail Féminin was taking the demands and safety concerns of female workers seriously. The outfits depicted seem to show that Madame Commard's appeal had made inroads in the industry. But while the photographs may have been staged, they hint at a yet imperfect reality—the women's shoes are unprotected by wax coatings and are not entirely suited to the factory's conditions.

Figure 12.3 “La Françoise,” trademark, May, 16, 1916. Archives INPI, Paris.

Female workwear: Between fantasy and reality

Did women’s new work clothes allow them to fundamentally alter gender hierarchies and gain professional credibility, or did they merely serve to “reaffirm the immutability of the gender imbalance, standing in as a merely temporary solution,” as historian Françoise Thébaud has claimed?²¹ Several state institutions were created during the war to oversee the massive influx of women into the factory workforce, to varying degrees of success. The Comité du Travail Féminin (Committee for Female Labor) wrote propositions concerning work dress in 1916 and in 1917. The state released a circular on the subject of female workwear in August 1916, although the legal obligation to wear protective clothing was only regulated for those working with machines. A new school for factory superintendents, created May 1, 1917, played no role in ameliorating women’s work dress after the designated superintendents took charge in 1918.

The principle labor unions operating during the war also did little to prioritize the question of work dress. Syndicates, or unions, were, in fact, largely hostile to the employment of women, and prior to

the war, had seen them as undesired competitors to the male workforce. It was in this context that Alphonse Merrheim, head of the *Fédération des Métaux* (Federation of Metalworkers), declared on December 10, 1916, in Cherbourg: “The employment of women is a grave danger to the working class. When men return from the front, they will find it difficult to compete against these new workers, who will have acquired a certain level of ability, and will demand inferior salaries.”²² A number of women’s unions existed in 1914, having first appeared in the early twentieth century, but they counted few members, totaling only 9 percent of all unionized workers. Women-led strikes, which were additionally supported by the main feminist organizations, mainly centered around the issues of salaries and time off during their husbands’ military leave.

Our journalist and future station master Marguerite Durand, writing in the magazine *La Fronde* in August 1914, stated that feminist organizations would halt their demands for the duration of the war.²³ Although this ultimately proved not to be the case, prominent feminists mainly tried to help women who were victims of the war. They had little to say on the question of women’s work dress, save through the intermediary of the *Comité pour le Travail Féminin*.²⁴ This lack of attention helps explain why, in the absence of measures taken by the state to ameliorate the work dress for mobilized women, a worker like Marguerite Durand would have needed to appeal to the company welfare fund to dress herself for work. The issue of female workwear was not a platform that feminists used to contest gender hierarchies during the First World War.

Throughout the war, a number of popular images imagined, invented, and reinvented the iconography of the feminine work dress, often representing it in ways that were impractical or even disparaging. Drawings by the illustrator Fabien Fabiano published in the satirical weekly magazine *La Baïonnette* in November 1915 are indicative of this collective state of mind at the start of the war. In Fabiano’s cartoon, women’s new work clothes are mocked. A female law enforcement officer is shown in a skirt that would have been considered extremely short for the era—an outfit that makes her position of authority untenable. The postal worker is also given a short skirt with high heels, which serves to eroticize her body. A cartoon such as this one, likely reassured men that the female workforce could only ever be a temporary measure.²⁵

By 1917, representations of women in workwear had evolved. An illustration by Jean Villemot in the October 4, 1917, issue of *La Baïonnette*, which was dedicated to military production factories, shows a woman wearing blue coveralls identical to those of her male colleague (Figure 12.4). She holds herself like a man—leaning casually against the bar, glass in hand, with a cigarette dangling from the lips—as if this new outfit had managed to alter her body language and behavior as well. The dialogue between the two figures reads as follows: “And your man, what’s he doing now?” The woman responds, “My man! He’s busy back home! He’s darning my silk stockings . . .” Indeed, many men were skeptical of female factory workers’ new purchasing power, accusing them of buying luxury products such as silk stockings. *La Bataille syndicaliste* (The Syndicalist Battle), a morning daily published from

Figure 12.4 Drawing by Jean Villemot, “*Les Usines de guerre.*” *La Baïonnette*, no. 118, October 4, 1917. © Kharbine-Tapabor.

Paris, and *La Voix des femmes* (The Women’s Voice), a Parisian feminist newspaper, fought back against this tendency to disparage female workers for their perceived frivolous spending.²⁶

Other typical depictions of working women included postcards sent to the front portraying female munitions workers. These women were elegant in appearance, shown wearing dresses, coveralls, blouses, or pants, which were still rare at the time. Additional markers of femininity such as clearly-defined silhouettes, polished boots with heels, makeup, and ambiguously seductive gazes completed the picture. These pictures exalted the female body, and the juxtaposition of the highly feminine against the industrial setting served as a source of amusement and perhaps comfort, reaffirming women’s allure and social standing in the eyes of the soldiers. In another comedic poster from artist Guy Arnoux, made in 1916, a male military cook adopts a highly effeminate posture while stirring a pot—playing the homemaker, in a nod to the irony of the women at work back on the home front.²⁷ Yet, this image ignores the fact that in commercial kitchens women had not then earned the right to wear a chef’s uniform, clothing which would remain exclusively male through the end of the war.

Illustrations of women at work proliferated, although many of them were exaggerated, either highlighting women's femininity or mocking their supposed masculinization. Existing misogynist clichés, dating from the nineteenth century, were reaffirmed during the war—men accused women, nurses for example, of working *in order* to wear the uniform. Wartime, for many, stood as a temporary moment of exception to the natural order of domesticity, and men found humor in emphasizing the comic incongruity of the woman at work.

Conclusion: An emancipatory trend in women's dress?

For some of the nearly 8 million women working during the First World War, the experience of working was entirely new, and often challenging. Many had to wear clothing that was not adequately adapted to their conditions. For the general public, it may have appeared like real changes were taking place—there were certainly visible signs of women at work, such as an armband with the acronym PTT stitched onto it for postal workers, or beginning in 1916, an armband with a grenade stitched onto it for workers in military production factories. However, in truth, the hardships of the conflict did not allow designers and manufacturers the means to fully reinvent the female wardrobe for work.

At the time of demobilization, catalogs were offering several outfits that showed a distinct evolution in feminine apparel. In 1919, La Belle Jardinière offered a one-piece women's suit in blue twill, shown on a feminine figure with a *garçonne* hairstyle. But this evolution did not last—the suit disappeared from the catalog in 1920, as did the page devoted to nurse's uniforms in 1919, replaced by one for doctor's apparel. Only the women's smock persisted, offered from 1919—in gray, black, or chiné fabric—until 1923, when it was available in six different styles. The tailored female suit was still not sold in the pages of the catalogue.

While the emergence of a female professional wardrobe might have anchored the place of women in the workplace, few positions, if any, acquired lasting designated female workwear. The smock allowed women's work in factories to continue, in certain instances, but the menial nature of this position did not allow women to gain a foothold in other masculine professions, many of which required specific dress. For the most part, women were free to return to the home, while the smocks they had used could be repurposed for household work. Clothing manufacturers and company leadership were happy to maintain the dominant androcentric cultural and social order by preserving the codified system of dress. Nevertheless, certain changes were still visible. While female mail carriers were not granted any professional uniform, they remained on in the postal administration with one lasting victory—compensation for shoe purchases.

Notes

- 1 This article stems from the doctoral thesis “A history of professional dress in France since 1880,” completed under the direction of Christine Bard, TEMOS-CNRS, Université d’Angers, and defended in December 2019. I wish to thank Christine Bard and Françoise Thébaud for their comments on this article.
- 2 Durand trained to be a “Chef de halte.” The *halte* was an intermediary stop between the main *gares* or stations, usually accompanied by a small cottage and platform.
- 3 Françoise Thébaud, *Les Femmes au temps de la guerre de 14* (Paris: Payot, 2013); Sylvie Schweitzer, *Les Femmes ont toujours travaillé: Une histoire du travail des femmes aux XIXe et XXe siècles* (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2002).
- 4 For more on the distinction between ordinary work clothes and specific professional dress, see Jérémie Brucker, “Le Vêtement professionnel et l’inspection du travail, entre normes et pratiques,” *Modes pratiques: Revue d’histoire du vêtement et de la mode* 1 (November 2015): 323–4.
- 5 For a more complete account of these sources, see *ibid.*, “Le Vêtement professionnel féminin en 1914: Un Problème de guerre, une question de genre?” *TraverSCE* 17 (April 2015): 58–9.
- 6 René Viviani, Appel aux Femmes Françaises, August 6, 1914.
- 7 Chélini Michel-Pierre, *Les Salaires en France de 1944 à 1967* (Berne: Peter Lang, forthcoming).
- 8 Bibliothèque Forney, Paris, RES CC Theme of historical work clothes (1890–1957).
- 9 ANMT, Roubaix, 66 AQ 30, catalogue for *La Belle Jardinière*, 1914.
- 10 Jérémie Brucker, “Le Vêtement professionnel et l’inspection,” 318–21.
- 11 Marie Llosa, “Le Travail des femmes dans les usines de guerre de la France méridionale (1914–1918),” *Annales du Midi* 120, 262 (2008): 205–17. Ten women were present in the Comité, which comprised 45 members and was presided over by radical senator Paul Strauss.
- 12 Ministère du travail et de la prévoyance sociale, *Bulletin de l’inspection du travail et de l’hygiène industrielle* 24 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1916): 80–1.
- 13 *Bulletins des usines de guerre*, September 18, 1916 (Le Creusot: Académie François Bourdon, digitized archives from the company Schneider, 1914–18).
- 14 Sébastien Richez, “La Poste dans le Calvados au XIXe siècle,” (MA thesis, Caen, 1997), 63 and following pages.
- 15 Christine Bard, *Une Histoire politique du pantalon* (Paris: Le Seuil, 2010), 225–46.
- 16 Documents reproduced in Mathilde Dubesset, Françoise Thébaud, and Catherine Vincent, *Quand les Femmes entrent à l’usine: Les Ouvrières des usines de guerre de la Seine 1914–1918* (Paris: Université de Paris-VII, 1974), 147.
- 17 Bibliothèque Forney, Paris, RES CC, (1890–1957).
- 18 Ministère du Commerce, de l’Industrie, des Postes et des Télégraphes, *Bulletin Officiel de la Propriété Industrielle et Commerciale*, clothing brands published from January 1, 1914–December 31, 1918, Office National de la Propriété Industrielle, Paris, INPI Archives.
- 19 Published in Louis Le Roc’h-Morgère and Jean-François Grevet, *Les Munitionnettes: Les Femmes dans l’effort de guerre aux usines delahaye* (Roubaix: ANMT, 2016), 26.
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

- 21 Thébaud, *Les Femmes au temps de la guerre*.
- 22 Cited in Le Roc'h Morgère and Grevet, *Les Munitionnettes*, 7.
- 23 Thébaud, *Les Femmes au temps de la guerre*, 35–6.
- 24 Florence Rochefort, “Les Féministes en guerre,” in *Combats de Femmes 1914–1918. Les Femmes, pilier de l’effort de guerre*, Évelyne Morin-Rotureau, ed. (Paris: Autrement, 2004), 100.
- 25 “Les Remplaçantes,” *La Baïonnette*, November 25, 1915.
- 26 See the April 14, 1917 of *La Bataille syndicaliste* and the October 18, 1918 edition of *La Voix des femmes*.
- 27 Guy Arnoux, *Le Parfait Cuisinier français*, 1916, poster, Ville de Paris, Bibliothèque Forney.

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