

Women Workers in Zagreb in the First World War

By

Antonija Tomičić

Submitted to

Central European University

Department of History

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Thesis Supervisor: Professor Susan Carin Zimmermann

Second Reader: Professor Francisca de Haan

Budapest, Hungary

2016

"Copyright in the text of this thesis rests with the Author. Copies by any process, either in full or part, may be made only in accordance with the instructions given by the Author and lodged in the Central European Library. Details may be obtained from the librarian. This page must form a part of any such copies made. Further copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the written permission of the Author".

Abstract

In this thesis, I focus on the possible impact that the First World War had on working women of Zagreb, including questions such as were women allowed to enter into “men's work” after the lack of male workforce and did women workers have the same rights as their male colleagues. I strive to answer if the war offered women to experience changes in their working opportunities and possibilities. In order to find answers to my questions, I used a broader perspective of main European trends related to women's work during the First World War.

The thesis is based on a rich variety of published and unpublished primary material, and I also make use of the extremely scarce scholarship touching upon my topic. My analysis of these materials has found that working women of Zagreb did experience changes in their working opportunities and possibilities by late 1915 and early 1916. In that period, the significant lack of male workforce allowed women to be employed in vocations that, before the war, were considered intended explicitly for men. As women started to replace men, including their fathers, husbands, and sons in the workplaces, they were slowly entering a previously unknown sphere of work. During the First World War, women of Zagreb worked in factories, public and private offices, schools and hospitals. They protested for better working conditions and higher work payments with their male colleagues regardless of the fact that they were constantly underpaid for doing the same as did men workers. In the post-war years, similar to other European countries, Croatian women workers and those of Zagreb were “asked” by the state to return to their households.

My reading of the scholarly literature on the history of women's work and working women in other European countries during World War I, allows me to put my findings into a larger context. As British women, women of Zagreb were offered new work opportunities, and as German women, some working women of Zagreb did agricultural work in order to provide for their households. Unlike French women who mostly worked in war industry, women workers of Zagreb did not move into this sphere of employment since Croatia did not have such industry.

Table of contents

1. Introduction	1
2. Women workers and World War I in Europe.....	7
2.1. Comparative perspectives	8
2.2. The war as a motor of women's emancipation?	13
3. Women's work in Zagreb on the eve of the First World War	16
4. Social consequences of the war in Zagreb	23
4.1. Media representations of Zagreb's women at work	25
4.2. War time women's works and the changing public image of Croatian women.....	35
4.3. Case study of war nurses	39
5. Changing labor laws and regulations	43
6. Workers' organizations and activism.....	50
6.1. The First Society of Workers in Zagreb	51
6.2. Women workers' strikes and the restoration of the trade unions	57
7. The aftermath of the war	63
8. Conclusion.....	67
Bibliography	70
List of tables	78

1. Introduction

“Often with a dose of criticism and the disapproval of the media, the news about women workers and their activities reach the city of Zagreb. To raise the moral during the war, the press all around the world praises women working in state institutions and hospitals. The news about women active in science, arts and social organizations are becoming more than frequent. Compelled by the war conditions, poverty and the general mobilization, women of Zagreb are taking over jobs that were considered, before the war, exclusively for men. They are included in numerous public and private vocations as the town services employ more women in remained vacant workplaces”.¹

For the historian Krisitan Strukić, who is researching the affect of the First World War on everyday Zagreb, the war had a significant impact for women workers. However, he and others scholars did not focus directly on the issue of women's employment during the war as their themes and topics of research do not concentrate on this phenomenon. My thesis offers a thorough insight on women workers of Zagreb in the First World War and the affects of the war on their involvement in the sphere of work.

The questions my research is trying to answer are: who were the women that worked, what they did do for a living, and what was their social status after the demobilization. The main question my thesis is addressing is did women workers in Zagreb experience changes in possibilities and opportunities related to their work during the war? Did the First World War enable women to step into the space of “men's work”, if there was such a category?

¹ Kristian Strukić. *Odjeci s bojišnice: Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu* (Echoes from the battlefield: Zagreb in the First World War). (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2015), pg. 89.

Likewise, if women did experience changes in their work conditions, were these changes as important for their participation in the labor sphere after the war?

To answer the questions above, I am focusing on the way that the Croatian press represented women workers in relation to known information about working women of Europe. By comparing work advertisements in newspapers from 1914 to 1918, I am establishing that there was a change in the jobs women were offered and the jobs they demanded. Due to the general mobilization in the war-time period women started to demand jobs that were previously held by the male workforce and had not been offered to them by the employers. The fact that employers lacked men workers, resulted in the change of jobs that were offered to women. From those findings I am able to shape support for my argument in which I claim that the war did cause change in women's work possibilities and opportunities as well as it enabled them to enter a new sphere of work, previously known as “men's work”.

In order to successfully develop and support my argument I used various primary sources for my analysis. The jobs advertisements used to verify the possible change in work offers and demands for women of Zagreb during the war were found in the four most popular daily political newspapers of Zagreb² that were published in the war time. All copies of the mentioned newspapers can be found in the Main Library of Zagreb which is a part of the public Libraries of Zagreb.

I also analyzed articles from newspapers that deal with the public image of Croatian women and their work during the war. At the beginning of the war a working woman was presented

² The newspapers will be individually considered in the chapter four of the thesis.

rather negatively in the Croatian press. From these articles I found that the change in women's work was followed by a more positive view on women workers in the media. For a broader perspective on women's work in Zagreb during the war, I included a great number of scattered documents related to this topic from the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb and the Zagreb's State Archive. One of the main issues I encountered while researching this subject was the lack of secondary literature and statistical data about women workers of Zagreb during World War I.

My research about women workers in war Croatia includes a broader, European context. The primary sources used for this thesis were greatly influenced by contemporary perceptions of possibilities, opportunities and conditions of the women workers of Great Britain, France and Germany. The second chapter provides a comparison to general trends related to women work in those countries during the war to trends that developed in Croatian lands and Zagreb and that can be seen in the primary sources.

When the workers' movement started to develop in Croatia in the second part of the nineteenth century, the country did not represent a united administrative and political area. After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 and Hungarian-Croatian Compromise of 1868, Croatian lands were divided among Austrian and Hungarian administration. Croatia³ and Slavonia became parts of the Hungarian section of the dualistic monarchy as they had certain autonomy and a capital, Zagreb. The Međimurje region was also a part of Hungary as was the city of Rijeka which was considered a special territory under direct control of the Hungarian government. The region of Dalmatia was considered as an Austrian province and Istria was known as the Austrian coast. This geographical division remained until the end of

³ In that period the term Croatia marked just the parts of today's north and northwestern Croatia, area from Zagreb to Varaždin.

World War I when Austro-Hungarian state was dissolved in late October 1918. The lands were united after the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1st of December 1918.⁴

While being part of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the Industrial Revolution did not leave a strong influence on the economy of Croatian lands. Because of this reason, Croatia had a low percentage of city population and industrial workers. During that period, Croatian workers were mostly involved in crafts and agricultural work. However, in 1870's until the beginning of the First World War, there was a modest growth of the productive forces and a growth of economic activities in the cities.⁵ In that period, the movement of workers started to develop in the Croatian lands, and in Zagreb where in 1873 the First Society of Workers in Zagreb was established and which will be the one of the main topics in the following chapters.

In chapter three I will focus on women in Zagreb before the war who mostly worked in the domestic service. A smaller number of them were employed as private teachers or school teachers or as nurses to female patients. The number of women working in factories was relatively low, due to the fact that Croatia and Slavonia were industrially underdeveloped regions. However, a part of them did work in factories where they folded tobacco into cigarettes, or in factories where they produced matches or writing pencils. When the war began, a hard economic situation followed. Men were mobilized daily, and around 4,000 families in Zagreb lost their male providers in the first months of war which led more women to find different work places.

⁴ Mirjana Gross and Agneza Sabo. *Prema hrvatskom građanskom društvu: društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća* (Towards Croatian civic society: social development in Croatia and Slavonia in 1860's and 1870's). (Zagreb: Globus, 1992), pg. 272.

⁵ Ibid, pg. 295.

The forth chapter includes the issue of war nurses as their occupation represented a boundary which divided women's paid and unpaid work, at least in the case of Croatian women nurses. After war broke out with Italy, Zagreb became a centre for providing care for the wounded soldiers from that front. Because of the lack of male workers, hospital administrations were forced to accept female nurses. Women of all ages and social classes were among the applicants as they volunteered in Zagreb and other parts of Croatia. However, it is seen that in certain cases, nurses were paid for their duty on the war front through different forms of payment. Likewise, in specific cases, due to their effort on the fronts, some women were able to continue working as nurses and gain experience in their profession.

In chapter five I will examine the changing labor laws and regulations that proscribed working conditions for both male and female workers in Zagreb. Due to the fact that women of Zagreb worked as teachers in the war, in this chapter I focus on how the teaching profession was legally reregulated and changed depending on the circumstances conditioned by the war. Likewise, I am focusing on the changing law that enabled women to work in public offices which was not the case before the war.

The sixth chapter of my thesis looks at women's role in labor organizations. Although women did not form a separate organization of workers for themselves, they were a part of the First Society of Workers in Zagreb where they were supported in cases on work injuries, various illnesses and possible pregnancies. The same chapter also deals with the issue of working strikes and unions in Zagreb in which women participated either as members or as leaders of certain events. I will consider in which ways were women involved in labor

unrest and if their activity in this field brought about changes in their labor possibilities and opportunities.

If we take into consideration that workers did not form working unions during the war as it was prohibited to form new organizations, the participation of 25 women out of 91 workers on the assembly of the General Worker's Alliance in Zagreb in 1918 could show that women had a significant role in the later development of the workers' movement in Zagreb which is the topic of the last and seventh chapter of the thesis.

2. Women workers and World War I in Europe

In this section, I am focusing on the issue of the impact of the First World War on women workers in three European countries. Women in Great Britain, France and Germany faced different working conditions and possibilities, as some remained working in their households while others began factory work. I will be comparing the situation of women laborers during the First World War by concentrating on how many of them worked, where they worked and how demobilization affected their rights as workers.

Very often the First World War is considered as a crucial point in the sphere of women's work. Many scholars have claimed that the First World War enabled women to enter new working spaces that they could not reach before, especially ones related to the industrial branches. The main reason given was the shortage of male workforce that previously worked in the industry, and that was then, in most European countries, mobilized. However, not every country faced with the lack of male workers experienced the same changes in labor.

Women of Great Britain experienced great changes in the working sphere in World War I. Women who had previously worked in domestic services or textile sectors, now were “replacing” their husbands in plants and factories, especially specializing in the production of ammunition. The numbers of working women grew until the end of the war, when they had to give up their jobs to the returning soldiers.

Unlike Great Britain, the number of French working women did not change drastically during the war. As France was one of the countries with most employed women in the world

already, the rise of around 20 percent of women workers was not as significant as in the British case. However, there was a notable growth of women employed in the war industry; in munitions plants and factories there were about 250 percent more women workers than before the war.

A great number of literature reviewed the topic of women work in war Germany, and most of the writers agreed that German women laborers underwent serious changes regarding working conditions. However, recent interpretations of the topic shed light on a possible alternative situation in which women had the opportunity to work in war industry, but chose not to do so. Due to the difficult economic situation, women remained at home where they worked and produced goods needed for their families. Because of this fact, statistic data show that the rise in women's work was about low 17 percent.

2.1. Comparative perspectives

Great Britain

In Great Britain, before 1914, the pattern of employment for women was established during the second half of the nineteenth century. The most important trades for women were domestic services, tailoring, clothing, and textiles. The most lucrative trades, especially those in industry, were held by men as they intended to keep them. Their excuses for it varied; women were incapable of skilled work, and they did not deserve to learn skilled work, as they would marry, and leave. Likewise, women were cheaper to employ because they were paid less than men and because it was assumed that they were living with husbands or fathers who were also working. Working men felt that women were taking jobs

which should have gone to men, and they argued that as women were classed as dependents, men's employment should be given priority.⁶

However, with the start of the First World War, by November 1914 Great Britain was faced with a labor shortage in some sections of industry. As the war progressed and engineering and chemical industries began to expand munitions production, it soon emerged that there was a shortage of skilled labor. The problem became increasingly evident in 1915 when women were extensively used in place of men as their “substitutions”. As men enlisted, women were indeed employed as van drivers, window-cleaners, and shop assistants but they were often informally taking the place of husbands, fathers and brothers.⁷

Between 1915 and 1917, approximately 1,300,000 British women were employed in classified industrial employment. One fourth of them had never been employed before the war for most of them were housewives and active mothers. They now worked in munitions plants where their male colleagues often mistreated them because they agreed to work for lower wages. Male employees often viewed the employment of women at lower wages as a threat to their jobs, opportunities, and security. Some men did accept the idea of low wages for women, but only as a good argument against women working outside of homes. Likewise, the male reformers of the period tended to react to bad working conditions by calling for a ban on women in the work environment instead of advocating for improvements for men and women alike.⁸

In Britain, male-dominated trade unionists, male employers and male employees did not change their hostile attitudes towards women's work despite women's growing numbers in

⁶ Gail Braybon. *Women Workers in the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pg. 16.

⁷ Ibid, pg. 45.

⁸ Ibid, pg. 46.

industrial work. Many men wished to keep women out altogether from the trade unions, and some unions succeeded in doing this. Regardless, women established their own unions during the war through which they could debate wages and working conditions. In 1916, Women's Trade Union League complained about long hours, low pay and poor conditions as they were working with dangerous substances such as aircraft dope or TNT. Both these substances could kill, and women who worked with them were in immediate danger. First irritative symptoms were nasal discomfort, nosebleeds, smarting eyes, headaches, sore throat, tight chest, coughs, pains in the stomach, nausea, constipation alternating diarrhoea, and skin rashes. These were followed by toxic symptoms: nausea, anorexia, giddiness, the swelling of hands and feet, drowsiness and finally death.⁹

Besides doing urban work in factories, shops, and offices, British women also did rural work which was as essential as any other form of national support. Given the difficulty of importing foodstuffs during the war, the Women's Land Service Corps showed different posters like the one of a departing soldier holding out his hand to be grasped by a woman. Besides her stands a wheelbarrow and a small boy, with the message "I leave the land to YOU". Likewise, a robust woman patting a small calf stands in the foreground of another poster, while an equally cheerful woman in the background takes to the fields as viewers were told: "for food production, forage and timber the help of British women is urgent and indispensable".¹⁰

France

For France, statistical information about women workers can be found from fifteen surveys conducted by Work Inspectors in war plants in 1914. However, some important branches of

⁹ Gail Braybon. *Women Workers in the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pg. 114.

¹⁰ Susan R. Grayzel. *Women and the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), pg. 13.

economy are not covered, such as railways or state-owned firms. Therefore, data is restricted to the following trades: food, chemicals, book production, textiles, clothing, earthen production, leather, wood, building, metalwork, transport, and commerce. These surveys cover a large number of workshops and factories, between 40,000 and 50,000 establishments, which were employing around 1.5 million women workers.¹¹

Nevertheless, in the French case, the wartime increase in female labor was not as explosive as in Great Britain. The continuity in numbers during the war period is due to women already working in great numbers before the war and that the French economy was characterized by a relatively high level of women in the paid workforce. The female participation rate in prewar France was around 35 to 40 percent, which was one of the highest rates in the world.¹²

Although the recruitment of women into new war industries in France began in 1915, by late 1917 the number of women working in commerce and industry was only 20 percent higher than before the war. By 1918, only 25 percent of the munitions factories' workforce was female.¹³ The French case did not witness the same seemingly explosive growth of women into wartime factories as did Britain. By the end of the war, the small increase in the numbers of French working women during the war was further decreased by the process of demobilization.

Even though the female labor in war industry has grown by 250 percent during the war, by January 1919 the index of women in the workforce was again close to that of 1914. This

¹¹ Jean-Louis Robert, "Women and work in France during the First World War", *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pg. 251.

¹² Ibid, pg. 253.

¹³ Susan R. Grayzel. *Women and the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), pg. 29.

data is supported by the evidence of a survey of 952 war factories which showed a total female labor force of 110,000 in November 1918 and only 48,000 in early March of 1919. The return of enlisted men to work brought the proportion of women among the factory labor back to the 1914 level.¹⁴ In the case of France, demobilization ushered in a 50-year decline in the levels of women's employment.

Machine-calibration, handling, and inspection jobs were the three key functions of French women war workers, but the range of tasks they performed was much wider still. Nevertheless, the most skilled jobs remained entirely out of the reach of women workers: there were no women typographers, tailors, cabinetmakers, mechanics, tool-makers, and some skilled jobs remained still solely within the male sphere.¹⁵

Germany

In Germany, women's labour force participation rose annually from 1889 to 1913. During the war years of 1914 to 1918, the upward trend continued but was not accelerated; the increase in female employment was relatively small - around 17 percent. One major reason for that was that most of the women, who had never gone out to work before the war, were not employed during the war. Although they were not employed, they did work, and continued to work, in the family. Secondly, where there was an accelerated increase in the proportion of women in employment, it took place not in the factories of the war industry, but within the confines of home and family. The majority of those women who, during the

¹⁴ Jean-Louis Robert, "Women and work in France during the First World War", *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pg. 256.

¹⁵ Ibid, pg. 259.

war took up employment for the first time, preferred housework to factory work. In this way, they were able to combine domestic tasks with wage labor.¹⁶

A relatively small number of women took advantage of war industry's offer of a job. Most of them were married and had family and household work to do. Wartime conditions made these demands upon women considerably more intensive. During the war, the household economy, which had previously consumed many market-produced goods, decreased and many households went over to producing their own food instead of buying it. Likewise, family ties stand out as the factor which prevented more women from going out to work in war industry. It proved impossible to cope with looking after children and dependents and a “second job”.¹⁷

However, groups of women did enter the workforce directly as “replacements” for absent husbands or dead ones. After the census of the Transport Workers' Association (*Transportarbeiterverband*) was enacted, nearly 14,000 women were employed as streetcar workers in Germany in late 1915. 20 percent of them, 2,800 women, were married to workers in that occupation who had been mobilized into the army.¹⁸

2.2. The war as a motor of women's emancipation?

Although the war enabled women to explore new possibilities and opportunities related to work, the demobilization caused women to lose these jobs in many European countries. They were limited to job offers related to the household in which they had difficulties to

¹⁶ Ute Daniel, “Women's Work in Industry and family: Germany, 1914-18”, *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pg. 267.

¹⁷ Ute Daniel. *The War From Within – German Working-Class Women in the First World War* (New York: Oxford, 1997), pg. 278.

¹⁸ Ibid, pg.

settle for domestic's wages. In spite of the fact that their work had given great support to the war effort, after it, a woman came to be seen as the “parasite” that refused to give up her job to the returning soldier. Although the exact number of European women who worked in the munitions industry during the war is unknown, it provided employment for more working-class women than other types of work. Munitions workers might put in long hours and have difficult working conditions, but servants often worked longer hours, and laundresses' working conditions were often worse.¹⁹

The vulnerable position of women in wartime can be seen through the treatment of women as a reserve labour force that the war only temporarily invited to work and offered them a few rights afterwards. As soon as the war was over, the state authorities imposed legal regulations on women's rights such as the policy of pronatalism which occurred in France and Great Britain. In both countries, women came to be seen as “baby-machines” in order to increase overly declined population. The results of the mentioned policy were similar in France and Great Britain; in France the suffrage movement suffered severe setbacks because of it and in Britain's post-war ideology, despite the suffrage movement, women were supposed to return to their husbands, homes and children.²⁰

Keeping in mind this review of women's work in the First World War in Europe, in the next chapter I will consider similar questions in relation to Zagreb and the Croatian lands: who were the women that worked, what did they do and what was their status after the war? Did the First World War enable women to step into previously unknown sectors of work, into “men's work”? Likewise, I am asking how were women involved in labor unrest during the

¹⁹ Susan R. Grayzel. *Women and the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2002), pg. 29.

²⁰ Margaret Randolph Higonnet. *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pg. 271.

First World War and did their activity in this field bring about changes in their labor possibilities and opportunities.

Throughout the thesis, I refer to parallel, through similar and different cases, developments in other parts of Europe. In the conclusion I aim to evaluate what I have found against European trends, taking into consideration the overall variety of these trends which I have found when reviewing the results of research on other parts of Europe.

3. Women's work in Zagreb on the eve of the First World War

The history of workers' movement in Croatia can be traced from its beginnings in 1873 when the first general workers' society was founded in Zagreb²¹ until the fall of Austro-Hungary in 1918 when the movement was already organized by main concepts of social democracy. Because of its geopolitical surroundings, the movement of workers in Croatia was under a great influence of German and Austrian concepts of social democracy. The representatives of these ideas were smaller groups of workers who acted accordingly to the specific occasions in Croatia. Usually, their primary goal was the insurance of workers in case of a disease or an accident. Likewise, women workers were a part of this general working movement in Croatia and Zagreb, although they did not have a separate women workers organization.²²

The first factory in Zagreb where women were the majority of the employed workforce was the state's Tobacco Factory of Zagreb, founded in 1865. In 1875 in the mentioned tobacco factory there were 30 male workers, 257 female workers and 228 children, mostly girls under the age of 14. The reason for such high number of women (and children) workers was the fact that women (and children) were paid less than men for their work, as they were not considered as capable in the craft.²³

²¹ Josip Cazi. *Prva radnička društva u Hrvatskoj: samostalni ekonomski i politički istupi (1860-1880)* (The First Societies of Workers in Zagreb: Independent Economic and Political Offsets (1860-1880). (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije, Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1957), pg. 151:

It was called *Prvo zagrebačko radničko društvo* (The First Society of Workers in Zagreb). The First Society of Workers in Zagreb accepted women as members after 1874 and the failed attempt of women workers of Zagreb to form The Women's Workers Society. However, more about The First Society of Workers in Zagreb and its women members will be revealed in the next chapters.

²² Gross, Mirjana, "Počeci radničkog pokreta u Zagrebu" (The Beginnings of the Worker's Movement in Zagreb), *Historijski zbornik*, Zagreb: Year VIII, No. 1-4, 1955, pg. 1.

²³ Josip Cazi. *Prva radnička društva u Hrvatskoj: samostalni ekonomski i politički istupi (1860-1880)*. (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije, Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1957), pg. 192.

The trend of cheaper work of women, similar to the one in Great Britain, continued in the period before the First World War. Report from *Zemaljska blagajna za osiguranje radnika*²⁴ (The State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers) from 1910²⁵ shows that in Croatia and Slavonia there were 7,147 or 11,40% of insured women workers in case of a disease. In 1911 the number of insured women was higher, 7,933 or 11,54%. This data reveals that there was a slight increase of women workers employed in industry and that the number kept slowly growing. However, the reason for it was that women worked for less money which is why the number of new female employees rose from 1910 to 1911 for 11% unlike the number of new male employees which rose for 9,3%.

Likewise, the report from the State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers for 1910²⁶ shows how much insured men and women earned on a daily basis for the mentioned year by categorizing them into classes which represent a certain amount of salary. The first wage class represents daily earnings of 1 *Krone*²⁷, the second wage class represents daily earnings of 2 *Krones*, the third class of 3 *Krones* etc.

²⁴ Mandatory insurance of workers in case of a disease was legally regulated for the first time in 1891 through a legal article XIV: „About supporting craft and factory workers in case of a disease” after which *Zemaljska blagajna za osiguranje radnika* in Zagreb was established. The last year before the war that the data for insured workers are available is 1912 when 18 495 workers were members of the Treasury. The Treasury continued its work in the new state, Kingdom of Serbs, Slovenes and Croats where the organizations of insured workers were still active.

State Archive in Zagreb: *Okružni ured za osiguranje radnika* (The District's Office for Insurance of Workers): HD-DAZG-243

²⁵ Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve* (Women of Croatia in the Worker's Movement until 1941). (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 34.

²⁶ Ibid, pg. 34.

²⁷ The *Krone* was an official currency of Austro-Hungarian Empire from 1892 until the dissolution of the Empire in 1918. The subunit was one hundredth of the main unit, and it was called *Filler*.

Table 1. The percentage of working male and female members of the State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers divided into classes which marked the amount of their daily earnings in 1910.

Class	Men	Women
I	23.61	19.98
II	20.27	51.07
III	33.14	21.83
IV	12.64	5.08
V	5.85	1.08
VI	2.42	0.53
VII	1.04	0.18
VIII	1.03	0.25

Source: Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*, (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 34.

From the data shown above, there were 77.02% of men in the first three wage classes and 92.88% of women which proves that the trend of smaller wages for women was also present in Croatia. This meant that out of 7,147 women workers insured in cases of a disease, 6,638 of them were living with a daily salary under 3 *Krones*.

Besides working for less money, women in Austro-Hungary were not free from night work which was officially prohibited by the Bern Convention in 1906. Although Austro-Hungary

did agree to honor the convention²⁸, the issue of women's night work soon became a topic discussed in various Croatian newspapers and magazines.

One unknown author wrote in 1911:

“There are some laws that more or less all states decided to enforce. These are called the international conventions. One of these laws is the Berne Convention, which prohibits night work for women. Although Austro-Hungary did commit to enforce the convention, it is clearly waiting for the last moment to ratify it which is January 14th, 1912. By that time in Austro-Hungary, the law against women night work must be enforced. However, when the Hungarian committee for the proposed law discussed it three months ago, the representative of the Hungarian industrialists Roland Hegeduš attended the session and asked to speak. He stated that enforcing this law will bring great damage to the Hungarian industry. For that not to happen, he demanded that some industrial branches be bypassed by the law. Those exceptions he demanded for the industry of book printing, weaving, wool producing and sugar making factories. By the end of the session, his proposal was accepted by the representatives. They were accepted as a part of a law which was internationally binding and which by that fact should not be changed. How is this possible? The law accepted by the committee will be discussed in parliament where it will surely be accepted. The validity of the law applies, of course, for Croatia too.”²⁹

²⁸ The event gathered representatives of thirteen European nations in Bern, Switzerland in September of 1906 where they agreed to act in concert to ban night work for women. Austro-Hungarian representatives were also present.

Susan Zimmermann. *Divide, Provide, and Rule*. (Budapest-New York: Central European University, 2011), pg. 83.

²⁹ *Slobodna riječ*, March 23rd, 1911, Year X, No. 68, pg. 7: “Prohibition of Women's Night Work” *Slobodna riječ* (The Free Word) was daily newspaper published in Zagreb from 1902 until 1914. The newspaper was the official publication of Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia which was established in 1894 in Zagreb. The activity of the Party was prohibited shortly after the war began.

Due to poor conditions of women workers and workers altogether, from 1902 to 1912 there were sixteen big and general strikes in different Croatian cities in which thousands of women and men workers were involved. Those strikes contributed to the political, moral and numeral empowerment of the organizations of unions through which workers could fight for their rights and freedoms.³⁰

On August 11th, 1911 there was a general strike of workers in Zagreb. The strike was organized by the Main Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia in Zagreb and around 20 000 male and female workers of various professions participated in the strike. Satisfied with the great number of people that were involved in the event, the next day the stated Party printed a leaflet with a message:

“After the general strike in Zagreb, there should not be a single woman worker or a man worker not joined into an organization. We saw that we can be united when we want, so tighten our concord and make an organization stronger than any force in the world!”³¹

Although women did not found their own workers' organization on the eve of the First World War, they were a part of the First Society of Workers in Zagreb. Through this organization, women could form temporary associations in order to “spread the word” about their jobs and work. For example, women working as maids and servants in Zagreb formed a small group which wrote to *Slobodna riječ* asking to publish their article regarding their working conditions and responsibilities in order to organize the regulation of their service. “Servants and maids are being exploited and harassed by the employees in the worst possible way”, they wrote stating that they work overtime, they do not have any free time for vacation and education. “The worst thing is that we are paid depending on the will of our

³⁰ Josip Cazi. *Grada za povijest sindikalnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj* (Material for the History of the Union Movement in Croatia). (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije – Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1955), pg. 12.

³¹ *Slobodna riječ*, August 24th, 1911, Year X, No. 194, pg. 14.

employer, not by law and justice”, they complained demanding that the service must be regulated; the number of working hours must be restricted, and more justly wages must be given.³²

However, with the beginning of the First World War, it was forbidden to organize new societies. In Ban's³³ order from 1914 all organizations, including those with rules that have been approved by the Croatian provincial government, had to suspend their work until further notice. It was forbidden to call, hold and participate in any kind of social assemblies. Law enforcement authorities had been authorized to enter social rooms and centers for the purpose of supervision. Anyone who would disobey this order could be punished by two months incarceration or by a fine of six hundred *Krones*. Ban could make an exception and allow a certain organization or society to operate, but his decision had to be in agreement with the city authorities of Zagreb, Osijek, Varaždin and Zemun, four biggest cities of Croatia and Slavonia that had military and territorial control over a certain region.³⁴

Due to the fact that the workers were not able to form their organizations, the Croatian press continued to write against such prohibitions, especially when it came to the affiliations of women workers. An unknown author wrote about the important role of a woman who works for money, brings up children and carries the weight of worrying for the household. Whether a woman worked in a factory or as a servant, the reporter stated that if she works for a private employer, she needs to be protected under a worker's organization. As he or she wrote, Zagreb is full of women working in factories, stores, offices, and households. The

³² *Slobodna riječ*, May 30th, 1914, Year XIII, No. 14, pg. 22: “For organization of servants”

³³ Ban was an imperial governor; chief government official in Croatia. He was the head of Ban's Government, effectively the first prime minister of Croatia.

³⁴ Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: July 27th, 1914, No. 4232, XI. Ban's Command - restriction of establishment and operation of societies and organizations during the war.

reporter concluded the article reminding women to save their working strength and women's dignity as members of an organization of workers.³⁵

³⁵ *Slobodna riječ*, July 23rd, 1914, Year XIII, No. 165, pg.3: “Women, marriage and organization“

4. Social consequences of the war in Zagreb

At first, there were no signs of war in the city of Zagreb. The citizens were living their usual routine by visiting theaters, concerts, cinemas, coffee rooms and pubs which were regularly full. Special events were celebrated very luxuriously in 1914, for example, the King's birthday on August 18th and his name day on October 4th.³⁶

Citizens became aware of the war through official regulations like temporary measures related to closing the doors of houses, pubs, coffee rooms and shops. Likewise, there were restrictions against the gathering of people in the streets and idleness. In later years of war, police measures were tightened by a new order on closing house doors between 9 p.m. and 5 a.m. The regulation was introduced as a direct consequence of the city's new circumstances – the city was full of soldiers that were hiding and leaving their troops. That Zagreb was at war, citizens also saw from the constant influx of wounded soldiers who came to the city in mid August of 1914. The streets were swamped with soldiers and the wounded.³⁷

The direct consequences of the war could be seen through extremely difficult social circumstances that mostly affected poor families and families whose fathers were on the war fronts. The data from 1914 shows that around 4,000 families in Zagreb lost its male providers who were mobilized. To compare, in 1914 Zagreb had around 83,000 citizens.³⁸ Because of this situation, the social life of war Zagreb was mostly marked by charity events

³⁶ Mirjana Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti” (Zagreb in the First World War: Historical Newspapers as a Source for Researching Social History), *Libellarium*, Zagreb: Vol. II, No. 2, 2009, pg. 124.

³⁷ Ibid, pg. 126.

³⁸ Mira Kolar, “Zbrinjavanje gladne djece u Hrvatskoj za Prvog svjetskog rata” (Taking Care of Hungry Children in Croatia during the First World War), *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb: Vol. 42, No.1, June 2010, pg. 35.

organized for the soldiers, the wounded, the families of mobilized soldiers, the widowed and the war orphans.³⁹

Food shortness and high prices affected the poor population the most which resulted in degradation of their health state. Likewise, the situation caused high mortality, especially in children. Pregnant and nursing women of mobilized soldiers were also in danger for they were living only on the support of the state which amounted to 36 *Fillers* a day. To compare, in 1917 the cheapest hot meal in *Zagrebačka pučka kuhinja* (Zagreb's Peoples kitchen) was the soup which cost 25 *Fillers* and the most expensive hot meal was potato goulash which cost 1 *Krone*. Due to this situation, many mothers were forced to leave their small and weak children at home and go to work to support their families.⁴⁰

However, because of the difficult economic and social situation, there was a development of a negligible phenomenon – the moral decline of women and mother in the cities and the country. The state authorities warned about the growing number of women whose husbands were mobilized and who were drinking and not looking after their children.⁴¹ There is a case of a certain Anka Lobor from a village nearby Zagreb, who was imprisoned for the neglect of her children because of her heavy drinking which started after her husband went to fight in France in 1917. In the report of her arrest, it is cited that she also sold most of their assets

³⁹ Vijoleta Herman-Kaurić. *Za naše junake...: rad dobrotvornih humanitarnih društava u gradu Zagrebu 1914.-1918* (For Our Heroes...: the Work of Charity and Humanitarian Societies in the City of Zagreb 1914-1918). (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2007), pg. 266-399.

⁴⁰ Vanja Branić, "Razvoj društvene skrbi za djecu u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća" (The Development of the Social Care for Children in the First Half of the 20th Century), Zagreb: *Ljetopis studijskog centra socijalnog rada*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006, pg. 8.

⁴¹ Mirjana Jurić, "Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti", *Libellarium*, Zagreb: Vol. II, No. 2, 2009, pg. 136.

in order to acquire more alcoholic beverages, although it is not mentioned that she had such problems in the past.⁴²

Although citizens of Zagreb successfully ignored the war in its beginnings, the state was soon affected by the deep changes in the everyday life of Zagreb, which was subjected to warfare. Zagreb became the background of the war in which wounded were carried and in which soldiers would run from their troops. The citizens could not feel safe anymore as the city was not functioning normally, especially not in the field of food supply and the security of the public order. As seen from the mentioned above, the consequences of the war were likewise devastating for the family life as it broke numerous families apart.⁴³

4.1. Media representations of Zagreb's women at work

In 1917 an article titled “Croatian woman in wartime” was published in Zagreb. In it an unknown author focused on the important role of women's work, both agricultural and urban during the war. The reporter wrote that although women did not have the same job opportunities as men before the war, now they are successfully replacing their husbands, and they were working as mailwomen, bakers, belt makers and barbers. The writer stated that the more intelligent, learned and educated women were working in offices, banks and private and public companies. Peasant women also did their part, by driving carts and wagons needed for agricultural work which was a totally new concept for that time. Likewise, they were cleaning and sweeping streets and public parks, again a new sight for

⁴² Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-79, Control over companies and factories in the First World War. Provincial government. Department for home affairs, 87454-917: Report of the arrest of Anka Lobor

⁴³ Mirjana Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti, Zagreb: *Libellarium*, Vol. II, No. 2, 2009, pg. 140.

the citizens of Zagreb. As the author stated because of their hard work, women of all classes should be given the deserved honor and respect.⁴⁴

Despite the considerable amount of researched data about women's work in the First World War, little is known about the working women of Croatia and its capital Zagreb. While there has been research about women organized in social welfare during the war, mostly conducted by Violeta Herman Kaurić⁴⁵, the women workers have been long neglected in Croatian historiography.

For the purpose of researching women workers of Zagreb during World War I, I analyzed the four most popular daily political newspapers that were published during the period. By comparing work advertisements in these papers from 1914 to 1918, I am establishing that there was a change in the jobs women were offered and also in the jobs they demanded. Work advertisements for jobs offers and demands were analyzed from *Male novine* (The Little Newspapers), *Novosti* (The News), *Hrvatski pokret* (The Croatian Movement) and *Obzor* (The Overview). These newspapers can be found in the main library of the libraries Zagreb, *Gradska knjižnica Zagreb* (The City Library of Zagreb).

*Male novine*⁴⁶ was published in Zagreb by *Dionička tiskara* (Shareholding Printing)⁴⁷ from January 23rd, 1910 until November 29th, 1918. It was daily political newspapers published

⁴⁴ *Ilustrovani list*, July 21st, 1917, No. 29, pg. 603: "Croatian woman in wartime"

⁴⁵ Prof. Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, PhD is currently employed at the Croatian Institute for History in Zagreb. Her field of research is focused on social history of the First World War in Croatia and Slavonia with emphasis on history of health, prominent medical professionals and the activities of charity societies. She has written 26 scientific papers which were published in Croatian scientific magazines and publications.

⁴⁶ Book catalogue of Libraries of Zagreb: *Male novine*

<http://katalog.kgz.hr/>

⁴⁷ *Dioničarska tiskara*, printing and publishing company was established in 1871 by the members of *Narodna stranka* (The Peoples Party) in order to oppose the Austro-Hungarian regime. It was opened until 1919 when *Hrvatski štamparski zavod* (Croatian Printing Company) took over the stated firm. Croatian Encyclopedia on line: *Dioničarska tiskara*

under editor-in-chief Ante Škalabrin with the newspapers' supplement *List za narodnu politiku* (Sheet for National Policy). During the First World War the newspapers focused on the internal and external policies of Austro-Hungary as well as on Croatian policies.

*Novosti*⁴⁸ was also daily political newspapers whose editor-in-chief, during the First World War, was Mirko Dečak. The newspapers were published from July 24th, 1907 until April 9th, 1941. It was published by *Društvo lista Novosti* (The Society of The News Newspapers) which was located in Zagreb and founded by its prominent members who were also its reporters. Likewise, during World War I the newspapers publishing office focused on the main events connected to the country's politics.

*Hrvatski pokret*⁴⁹ was published on October 14th, 1910 until November 6th, 1915. Earlier, from 1904 to 1910, it was titled *Pokret: glavno glasilo hrvatskih naprednjaka* which translates to The Movement: Main Newsletter of the Croatian Progressive Party. However, in 1910 its name was changed, and it became the main newspapers of the United Croatian Independent Party. During the First World War it was published by *Dioničarska tiskara* under the supervision of Ivan Lorković, the responsible editor-in-chief. It was published daily, except on Sundays and state's holidays with daily satirical newspapers' supplement *Koprive* (Nettles). After 1915, the publication of the newspapers continued under a new name, *Hrvatska riječ* (The Croatian Word) as the main newsletter of the United Croatian Independent Party from 1916 to 1918. Although the newspapers in question changed their name dependent on the political situation, for the purpose of my research I used work

<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica>

⁴⁸Book catalogue of Libraries of Zagreb: *Novosti*

<http://katalog.kgz.hr/>

⁴⁹Book catalogue of Libraries of Zagreb: *Hrvatski pokret*

<http://katalog.kgz.hr/>

advertisements published from 1910 to 1915 in *Hrvatski pokret* due to its easier access in the library's archives.

*Obzor*⁵⁰ was Croatian political daily newspaper which was founded in 1860 in Zagreb by the members of the Peoples Party who disagreed with the policy of neoapsolutism. Likewise, it was published by *Dioničarska tiskara* until its cancelation in 1941. Its editor-in-chief was Milivoj Dežman who supervised its publication from 1905 until his death in 1940. In 1918, the newspapers reached its largest circulation of 15,000 copies. However, after his death, the newspapers lost its priority in the Croatian media space and until its cancellation it was run by Rudolf Maixner.

An analysis of these papers reveals that Croatian women did feel the economic burden of “The Great War”. They were active in various forms of work. While the women of the upper classes were mostly involved in individual civil societies or humanitarian actions, women of the lower classes of Zagreb and its surroundings would often contribute to rural and farm work since most of the mobilized soldiers were farmers. Considering that Croatian lands were agriculturally oriented during the First World War, rural work was one of the main forms of women's work as well, even in the capital of Zagreb.⁵¹ Similar to the trend of British women who supported their country by doing rural work and taking on “men's” agricultural work, Croatian women would often be underpaid or not paid at all. However, they were essential for the maintenance of the state's rural economy.

⁵⁰ Croatian Encyclopedia on line: *Obzor*
<http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica>.

⁵¹ Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, „The First World War in Croatia – More or Less Known Facts”, *Review of Croatian History*, Zagreb: Vol. X, No.1, Croatian Institute of History, 2014, pg. 14.

After the general mobilization in 1914, women were offered various jobs in rural work in Zagreb. Some of them being: “Looking for a woman for my property. She will minister the cows for what she will get an apartment, wood for heating and a paycheck. Ask the concierge in Bošković Street, number 21”⁵² and “Looking for an independent peasant woman that knows how to treat cows. Permanent housing is included. Ask about the job at Ksaverska Road 23”.⁵³ The address listed in the first advertisement is located on the periphery of “old” Zagreb which proves that women did do rural work even in the capital. Likewise, the second mentioned location was considered as a periphery of the capital then, but today Ksaverska Road is a part of Zagreb's city centre.

Peasant women of Zagreb were not limited to rural work. Similar to the case of German women who chose not to become the workforce of industrial factories, some married Croatian women remained in their households providing for their families by selling their own products. A group of Zagreb's women in 1916 founded an organization *Zagrebačka udruga za promicanje narodne pučke umjetnosti* (Zagreb's Association for the Promotion of National Folk Arts) on Marija Valerija Street that sold handmade dresses with embroidered Croatian folk symbols all around the world. In the mentioned year, they earned a hundred thousand *Krones* after which they asked the state to support their organization which through its earnings and popularity also contributed to the state's economy. They were called to participate in a session of the Croatian Parliament where the representatives discussed their endeavor. In the end, all representatives agreed to support their work, although as the unknown reporter states in an article about this event, some representatives did not approve to support women work connected to fashion and art. The reason for this

⁵² *Novosti: Mali oglasnik* (Little Advertisements), March 20th, 1915, No. 79, pg. 7.

⁵³ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, August 3rd, 1917, No. 214, pg. 6.

attitudes was the prohibition enforced in 1916 by the Croatian government against jewelry and any kind of decoration on peasant women in war times, especially those who were receiving financial support from the state because their husbands were mobilized.⁵⁴ Regardless, the industrious women were commended for their resourcefulness and earned profit by the Croatian government who financially supported their export to other countries in Europe and the world until the end of the war.⁵⁵

From the selected primary sources I also analyzed what form of work was most common among women in Zagreb between 1914 and 1918 by focusing on both agricultural and urban types of work. After analyzing the data related to the urban work women did, I noticed that the offer and demand for those works changed drastically during the war-time period. For example, from 1914 to 1916 in various work advertisements from the four stated newspapers of Zagreb, women were usually offered domestic types of work, working as cooks, seamstresses, servants and house ladies. However, as seen in the sections of job advertisements of the mentioned newspapers, they demanded “more serious” works as cashiers, saleswomen and stenographers.

During this period, the usual job offers for women were similar to this one:

“A house lady is wanted by a merchant family with two children. She should be married or widowed, in her thirties, vice-free life and from an honest family. Her purpose would be to run the household and supervise the children. She would have a complete care and an

⁵⁴ Croatian State Archives, HR-HDA-79, Control over companies and factories in the First World War. Provincial government. Department for home affairs, 685 br.-1915: “Prohibition of ornaments of our peasant nation”.

⁵⁵ *Male novine*, March 1st, 1916, Year VII, No. 60: “Fear not the women have not entered the Parliament. At least not yet”, pg. 2.

apartment with the same family, and the rest of conditions would be settled under agreement”.⁵⁶

However, several job demands published in the same year shows that women were interested in job opportunities which would provide them with more financial and management responsibilities. Some examples are: “Young lady, beginner looks for a place as a saleswoman in an ice-cream shop, bakery or selling booth” and “A woman looks for a place in the store as a saleswoman or a cashier”.⁵⁷

Women did not just search for work that ensured them with more financial and management responsibilities, they were also looking for work possibilities that would provide them with more free time and more privacy, which they could not expect working for certain families. As it is seen in the above advertisements, employers were looking for a married or a widowed woman with a “clean” past which, for the employee meant revealing her private life as a condition of the employment.

Likewise, in the British case, factory girls would express their distaste for the long hours, lack of privacy and lack of freedom which servants had to endure, and many women who went into war work during 1914-18 came from service and were glad to leave it behind. By both masters and mistresses it was taken for granted that their servants were always on call, had no regular free time, had to live with their employees accepting whatever standard of food and lodging was offered, and were to have no male “followers”. All this was in total

⁵⁶ *Hrvatski pokret*, June 11th, 1914, Year 10, No. 193, pg. 12.

⁵⁷ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, October 1st, 1914, Year VIII, No. 231, pg. 6.

contrast to the lives of the factory girls, which involved hard work for a limited number of hours, followed by freedom to do what one chose in the evenings.⁵⁸

Yet, it was not until late 1915 and early 1916 that women gained the jobs they demanded. As more men were sent to the war fronts, women represented a main working force in Zagreb's stores and factories. In late 1915 a job advertisement was published :

“300 girls are wanted in S. Berger's laundry factory located in Zagreb in the main square, Jelačić Square, number 2”. The advertisement continues with a clear message for all women: “Every woman that can, should apply now if she did not do so before. Every woman should learn one profession for it will be greatly needed when the normal times return”.⁵⁹

Likewise, in mid 1917 the following advertisements were published: “Imperial and Royal Atelier Mosinger looks for a female photographic assistant in Ilica Street, number 8”⁶⁰ and “Looking for a female pharmacist with several years of experience for work in the pharmacy. Ask at Opatovina Street, number 27, in the courtyard”.⁶¹ From such evidence, one can conclude that during late 1915 and early 1916 women's working options and possibilities changed in the most obvious way.

From 1917 various schools and courses for women who are looking for work were opened throughout Zagreb. Women were learning to work as stenographers, typographers and typewriting operators. For example, in that same year, the Croatian provincial government financed the establishment of *Ženska poslovna škola* (Women's Business School) located in

⁵⁸ Gail Braybon. *Women Workers in the First World War*. (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), pg. 26.

⁵⁹ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, November 7th, 1915, Year IX, No. 38, pg. 5.

⁶⁰ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, August 30th, 1917, Year XI, No. 241, pg. 6.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, pg. 6.

the Franz Joseph Square No. 5 in which women could be educated during five months long course. Women were trained in the practical and theoretical knowledge of bookkeeping, Croatian and German stenography and typewriting and trade accounting.⁶²

Soon, similar job advertisements appeared in newspapers:

“Looking for a woman equipped to operate on a typewriter machine Remington and who would work in a public office in Zagreb. Persons who have worked in an office before and speak the German language are in advantage. We are hiring only diligent and reliable people. Your documents and typewriting certificate send to the listed address.”⁶³ These ads prove that there was an increase in women working in public offices during 1917 which cannot be found in earlier war years. Likewise, the possibility of education and training for women in this type of work is also a novelty, not mentioned in the material before the year 1917.

Women received the opportunity to be educated and to work in a new work area precisely because of the lack of male population who previously performed a specific type of work which could be viewed as “men's work”. For this reason, until the end of the war in 1918, women were offered such job opportunities which they had strived for at the beginning of the war. As seen in previous years, women asked for those types of work.

Also, through my work, I am investigating if the working conditions for women in Zagreb can be compared to the situations in other countries and their capitals. For instance, it was common in several European countries for women to replace their husbands in their professional occupations after they had been drafted into the army, or worse, wounded or

⁶² *Obzor*, January 1st, 1917, Year LVII, No. 1, pg. 4.

⁶³ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, July 18th, 1917, Year XI, No. 198, pg. 6.

killed in action. Similar to the German trend of women “replacements”, in July 1914 Paula Landsky was the first woman conductor of Zagreb's Electric Tramway. She replaced her husband at this position who was drafted shortly after the war started.⁶⁴ Very soon, in September of 1914, Katica Pošla also replaced her husband as a temporary conductor supervisor of the same company. Likewise, her husband was mobilized in September 1914 and Katica, who previously worked as a conductor, became the new manager of 90 conductors of whom already 65 were female.⁶⁵

However, there is no data and statistics which can provide information about the number of women working in Zagreb during the World War I. Likewise, there is no information about how much these working women earned. For this information there are fragments and occasional mentions in Zagreb's newspapers and magazines of the time. I believe the lack of this sort of data is caused by the distress during wartime which prohibited the state's offices to function properly.

Nevertheless, Croatian press of the time followed European trends and reported through the war years how much women earned in other countries such as Germany and Great Britain. Being the periphery of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, I believe Croatian public and media were more interested in the social and economic situations of the Western countries, especially when it came to the idea of the “women's movement”. Considering all of the above, instead of statistics dealing with the Croatian working women, published article of the time focused on the working conditions of German and British women.

⁶⁴ Andrea Feldman. *Žene u Hrvatskoj: ženska i kulturna povijest* (Women in Croatia: women's cultural history). (Zagreb: Institut Vlado Gotovac, 2004), pg. 89.

⁶⁵ *Male Novine*, January 1st, 1916, Year VIII, No.2, pg. 2: „First Women Supervisor of Tramway Conductors”

In “How much do women earn” the unknown author wrote about the problem of women's low wages, who were paid less as men while doing the same type of work. The reporter explained this issue by claiming that women were paid less because they used to do all kinds of work and were not specialized in a specific area. Because they did various work, they could not be professionals in a certain type of work. As the reporter claimed, women had smaller wages for it was considered that their earnings should be less, so that their husbands make the “real money”.⁶⁶

For example, the reporter stated that in the English textile industry women make from 12 to 20 *Krones*, monthly in average 16 *Krones*. However, men made from 23 to 30 *Krones*, monthly in average 25 *Krones*. Likewise, in Germany, women and men working as professional weavers earned different amounts of money. While men made 1 *Krone* and 20 *Fillérs* per hour, women earned just 70 *Fillérs*.⁶⁷ The unknown author wrote his impression: the weaker the strength, the smaller the wage which can indicate the awareness of the same problem of unequal payment for women and men workers in the Croatian lands and Zagreb.

4.2. War time women's works and the changing public image of Croatian women

The change in opportunities and possibilities for women's work in late 1915 and early 1916 occurred parallel to the changing image of Croatian women in the media. After analyzing articles, features, and reports about women and women's work in the primary sources⁶⁸ I

⁶⁶ *Ilustrovani list*, October 3rd, 1914, Year I, No. 40, pg. 931: “How much do women earn”

⁶⁷ *Ilustrovani list*, October 3rd, 1914, Year I, No. 40, pg. 931: “How much do women earn”

⁶⁸ Here I analyzed *Male novine*, *Novosti* and *Ilustrovani list*.

Ilustrovani list (The Illustrated Magazine) was an entertainment magazine with various political and economical topics which were published weekly in Zagreb from January 1914 to December 1918.

noticed that the demand for more women workers in 1916 was followed by a more positive media image of women who did work, which was not the case in the first two years of war.

For example, while following European trends reports would often refer to the situation in Great Britain where women fought for their suffragette. In 1914, most reporters and authors of news in the analyzed material looked down upon those women often making sarcastic comments about their activities such as “one English newspaper tried to count how much damage have the suffragettes done last year. By their statistics, the damage comes up to 12 million *Krones*”⁶⁹.

However, after 1916 in the analyzed material one could find that the authors of news and stories would support women political and civil rights, after they have seen how much women contributed to the war, especially through their work in the war industry. One journalist wrote from Rotterdam in January 1918:

“It is known that the English women have their voluntary regiments in which they work in warehouses, pharmacies, telephone and telegraph service as well as they drive the supplies all the way to the line of fire. According to the data from different English newspapers, those women regiments are consisted of 4 battalions and each battalion of 8 companies. They are commended by a woman colonel, the sister of English First Lord of Admiralty, Ser Godders”⁷⁰.

Although Croatian women did not experience a strong women's movement as those in Britain, the press would inform the public of “those women who were corrupted by the

⁶⁹ *Novosti*, January 3rd, 1914, Year VIII, No. 3, pg. 2: „The results of English suffragettes fight“

⁷⁰ *Male novine*, January 15th, 1918, Year IX, No. 12, pg. 3: “Women's regiments in England“

women's movement”⁷¹ in 1914 and of “those women who should fight for their rights for they did so much for the Croatian nation in the war”⁷² in 1916.

In early war years the Croatian media would offer women readers topics against “the modern woman” and related to housekeeping; how and what to cook, which cleaning products to choose, how to dress by the latest fashion and how to be a good wife. “Modern women think that when they are married their social duties towards their husbands stop. Today is a common thing that the wife, as soon as her husband leaves for work, leaves the house to take walks with her girlfriends and to shop for unnecessary things just to please her curiosity” one unknown reporter wrote. He continued to focus on how much time a woman should spend with her husband:

“Every woman should out of the 12 daily hours, devote at least 7 hours to her husband. It that time she should always be in a place where her husband can find her, especially during lunch and dinner when she must be at home. However, a husband is required out of his 6 daily hours, because he spends the other 6 at work, to devote 3 hours to his wife. In case that a woman also works, she is required to devote to her husband, and family, at least 5 hours. If any woman would do otherwise, then her husband is free to leave her, without the fear that the court will make him support her”.⁷³

Although this author does mention a working woman, from the material one can see that her work has a negative connotation to it. Regardless the fact that the working woman also provides for her family, she needs to be at least 5 hours available for her husband and children, unlike an unemployed woman that is required to be available for 2 hours more.

⁷¹ *Male novine*, June 16th, 1914, Year V, No. 162, pg. 3: “How will England get rid of the suffragettes most comfortably?”

⁷² *Male novine*, March 25th, 1916, Year VII, No. 84, pg. 2: “Croatian woman in the war. Everything our woman did in the war”

⁷³ *Male novine*, June 5th, 1914, Year V, No. 151, pg. 4: “Duty of a wife towards her husband”

The article, indirectly, puts a negative stigma on a woman that works, as on her husband who cannot provide for his family by himself.

In the later years of war, the press still focused on the similar topics and themes directed to women. Fashions, cosmetics, products related to the household were still being advertised to women in most of the media. However, because of the lack of the male work power, women workers came to be seen as a primary workforce and the press started to encourage their activities through different news.

In 1916 an unknown author wrote:

“And now we see women working where there was previously needed just the “strong” hand of a man. In Zagreb, we can now see women tramway conductors and newspapers dispatchers who are amazingly capable and successful. A similar image can be seen in bigger capitals. In Vienna, women are wearing uniforms with a short blouse and wide pants, as well as hats with names of the companies they work for. These women deliver bread and milk throughout the town”.⁷⁴

Women were entering a new sphere of work by being educated in certain professions. They listened to classes and courses organized by the Croatian provincial government in *Pučka radionica* (People's Workshop)⁷⁵ in Zagreb where they learned household and agricultural work which was common for the stated city at the beginning of the century.

“The war has taught us to appreciate a Croatian woman as a capable worker in every field of work. Although a woman did not work as much before the war due to different

⁷⁴ *Ilustrovani list*, April 22nd, 1916, Year III, No. 17, pg. 400: “What women can do!”

⁷⁵ Mirjana Jurić, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti”, *Libellarium*, Zagreb: Vol. II, No. 2, 2009, pg. 136.

circumstances, during the war she has strongly grasp every work she could, and she did it by herself. She has truly helped the state” – stated Antonija Kaszovitz-Cvijić during a lecture held in the People's Workshop. She continued her speech:

“The People's Workshop helps women find jobs. There is a course for every woman to learn something new. Stenographers learn how to read and write properly. There are courses for hair styling and hand care. Likewise, there are courses for toddler care and baby nursing, as well as cooking courses for future maids. Women learn about agriculture and how to do gardening, hens breeding, fruit growing as well as breeding rabbits which are the healthiest people's food.”⁷⁶

Stories about women who replaced their husbands in their workplaces, reports about women working as nurses on the battlefield and news about women soldiers became main headlines of Zagreb's newspapers.

4.3. Case study of war nurses

After war broke out with Italy, Zagreb became a centre for providing care for the wounded soldiers from that front. Because of the lack of male workers, hospital administrations were forced to accept female nurses. However, despite the chronic lack of workers women were not allowed to work in wards for mentally ill patients or those with venereal diseases. At the beginning of the war, respected physicians of Zagreb held two week courses for volunteer nurses, but these were the lucky few, since others were forced to learn from experience. Women of all ages and social classes were among the applicants. At the end of the course, the nurses could work anywhere, including the front if they wished. Women were never

⁷⁶*Male novine*, January 19th, 1918, Year IX, No. 10, pg. 3: “Women's work as a bedrock for material independence“

required to serve at the front, but a number of them applied as volunteers.⁷⁷ The case of Zagreb's nurses is important for it represented a boundary which divided women's paid and unpaid work as it can be seen in the following text.

Regardless the great number of women applied for the warfront as nurses, already in 1915 there was a shortage of them, especially in areas which were stricken by the war battles. An unknown journalist wrote in 1915 about the need for auxiliary nurses who were being moved to the east of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in order to help the wounded on the front: “Recently we wrote about the hospital in Brdšćan, near the city of Vukovar which needs a great number of nurses. However, not enough women answered the call. Because of this, the Zagreb's City Council was forced to choose among the women of mobilized soldiers who have no children, but still enjoy the support of the state. A certain number of them have to be transported to the mentioned hospital to work as nurses. At first, 60 women were chosen, but now 20 more are joining them. 80 women are given a certain time to settle their private affairs, but on Monday or Tuesday, they will be traveling to Vukovar”. Even though it is not clearly stated here, the women that were sent from their homes were being paid for their work - through the aid the state was giving them.⁷⁸ However, it is questionable if they were actually forced to the battlefield or they did have the possibility to choose their work.

Although these women were paid for their work in a certain way, the case of Mrs. Roksandić shows us that even unpaid work on the war front could contribute to the further development of one's career. In 1916 the following article was published:

“Mrs. Draga Roksandić, a wife of Doctor Julije Roksandić from Petrinja, is the first Croatian woman who has received a rare official's medal, the soldier's golden cross and the

⁷⁷Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, “The First World War in Croatia – More or Less Known Facts”, *Review of Croatian History*, Zagreb: Vol. X, No.1, Croatian Institute of History, 2014, pg. 19.

⁷⁸ *Novosti*, March 3rd, 1915, Year IX, No. 73, pg. 4: “Auxiliary nurses needed”

ribbon of courage. The awarded lady has been on the battlefield since the first day of the war, with her husband, as a voluntary nurse. She has worked in Zagreb and now works in Lalkovac, Serbia”.⁷⁹ As one can notice here, Mrs. Roksandić was not paid for her work on the war fronts, but as a member of her husband medical team, she did manage to find employment later, in the capital of Zagreb and the country of Serbia. I believe that her example could confirm that by working as auxiliary medical forces, women succeeded, in time, to work independently and freely, according to their own possibilities and will.

There are also cases when women joined the army as professional soldiers and were paid for their military work. In 1914 Mrs. Falica from the city of Zagreb joined her mobilized husband as a voluntary nurse on the warfront with Serbia in July of the same year. Mrs. Falica followed her husband right away and after working as a nurse, she started to fight on the front as a soldier. She stated: “I was in the crossfire. My heart played with joy when I used all my force against the enemy. I did not mind the noise of cannons or fires”. In September of 1914, she and her husband were captured in Serbia as war prisoners. She managed to escape and returned to her squad while her husband was transferred to the city of Niš as a prisoner. Because of her courage, she was awarded the corporal star, and she continued to work in the army.⁸⁰

The Croatian press was not only interested in the current situation of Croatian women nurses, doctors, and soldiers. The media continually reported about other European women working in the stated professions. “Lovely, a young woman, elegantly dressed, passed us by. We ask who this gracious appearance is and they answer: It is one of the most

⁷⁹ *Male novine*, June 10th, 1916, Year VII, No. 160, pg.3: “Military medal for a Croat woman”

⁸⁰ *Ilustrovani list*, November 11th, 1914, Year I, No. 45, pg. 1071: “A woman corporal!”

recognized doctors of a big hospital in London” - wrote an unknown reporter in 1914. The author continued:

“In England, a female doctor is already a common sight. There are more than thousand women names in the registry of the British doctors. In London only, there are 200 women doctors; Brighton has 10 and Manchester 5. Almost all cities that have any kind of importance in the country have at least one female doctor. Those cities that do not have one are waiting impatiently for her. It is unheard how quickly women doctors captured the hearts of the English audience. In England, the women find a nature friend and a helper in a female doctor. Because women understand women better than men, many female doctors are already heads of departments in various English hospitals. An educated English woman, especially a suffragette, is treated only by a female doctor because she trusts her above others.”⁸¹

Because the Croatian woman was living on the periphery of the Empire and fighting with the man for her country's independence, she was not able to follow European trends as the English suffragette movement. Regardless, the Croatian woman did work as much as she could and where she could. As journalist signed “A” wrote in 1914 “because Croatian economically backward states need all the given work, women's work is twice as much appreciated”. The reporter stated, and we should remember that he/she wrote it just before the First World War, that the Croatian woman can handle all the difficult consequences of the undeveloped conditions and she works, whatever she cans. Her diligence and wiliness for work in such opportunities is the best guaranty that she is capable of creating much more for her country and herself.⁸²

⁸¹ *Ilustrovani list*, January 31st, 1914, Year I, No. 5, pg. 37: “Woman as a doctor”

⁸² *Ilustrovani list*, January 3rd, 1914, Year I, No. I, pg. 16: “Our woman”

5. Changing labor laws and regulations

In this chapter I am focusing on the changing laws and regulations that were related to women's work during the war. I am analyzing legal regulations of the teaching occupation since a number of Zagreb's women were working as private or public teachers in the war. Also, I am concentrating on laws which protected factory workers, both male and female as well as on the regulations for women who were, for the first time during the war, working in the public offices.

Before the war, a small number of Croatian women, including residents of Zagreb, were working paying jobs as private teachers, schoolteachers and nurses of female patients. In early 1914 the job demand for the stated occupations was rather high which can be seen from the advertisements found in the analyzed media as these ones: "Looking for a woman teacher for my three children (a boy who is 10 years old and two girls, age 7 and 5) who would prepare them for an exam in elementary school and who would teach them in French. She would get a full provision in our house", wrote a certain Peter Filipović from Šamac in the region of Slavonia. He also asked for teacher's offers with the index of wanted payment and their certificates of work.⁸³ Likewise, a certain "older lady was looking for a nurse that understand the pain of female patients"⁸⁴ and the family in Đorđićeva Street, number 24 in Zagreb was in urgent need of a "woman nurse to care for an older lady"⁸⁵.

⁸³ *Hrvatski pokret*, January 18th, 1914, Year X, No.18, pg. 16.

⁸⁴ *Male novine*, February 2nd, 1914, Year V, No. 49, pg. 4.

⁸⁵ *Novosti: Mali oglasnik*, January 4th, 1914, Year VIII, No. 4, pg. 16.

Teaching in the city's schools was as well one of the most common forms of women's work in the prewar and wartime Zagreb. During the war the teaching profession was legally reregulated and changed depending on the circumstances conditioned by the war.

Before the war affected Austro-Hungary, and the city of Zagreb, economically and socially, in the August of 1914 a law was passed that regulated earnings of school teachers and school masters in Croatia.⁸⁶ Female teachers' basic one year salary amounted to 1,400 *Krones* that were paid out on seven occasions, first two times by 200 *Krones*, next two times by 250 *Krones* and the last three times by 300 *Krones*. Likewise, women school headmasters had a basic one year salary of 1,800 *Krones* as they had the right to be paid five times a year: first three times by 250 *Krones* and last four times by 300 *Krones*. For school teachers and school masters the yearly accommodation fond was equal to 900 *Krones*.

In 1916 the City Council of Zagreb (*Gradsko poglavarstvo u Zagrebu*)⁸⁷ ushered a “Regulation of status and organization of pays of city's officials”. The city employed six woman schoolmasters and twelve female teachers in children schools, and the “Regulation” prescribes their yearly paycheck and the financial amount of pension. In the mentioned year women schoolmasters earned 1,200 *Krones*, and if they were retiring, their pension amounted to 200 *Krones* for the first six years which would then be halved to 100 *Krones* until their death. Women schoolteachers enjoyed a salary of 900 *Krones* per a year, and if they were retiring, they would earn the same amount as the schoolmasters, 200 *Krones* for six years after which the amount would be split into half. Likewise, the city paid for the

⁸⁶ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-17: Law of payment organization of the teaching staff of public and popular schools in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, Law number 48, August 6th, 1914.

⁸⁷ I analyzed records of Zagreb's City Councils from 1914 to 1918. The records of Zagreb's City Councils are located in the main library of Zagreb's libraries, *Gradska knjižnica Zagreb* (The City Library of Zagreb).

accommodation of women schoolmasters and teachers which amounted to the same number, 720 *Krones* per a year.⁸⁸

The main difference between the two regulations was the reduction of women school teachers and school masters paychecks. Because of the difficult economic situation that hit the country after 1914, the accommodation amount for both occupations was smaller for 180 *Krones* during the span of two years, as were the wages. Teachers earned 500 less *Krones*, and schoolmasters earned 600 less *Krones* which marks a significant reduction of salary compared to the situation before the war.

Shortly before the end of the war, on July 12th, 1918, Dragutin Erega who was the city's schools supervisor put forward a proposal. Erega, as a member of the Council, proposed a notion that school teachers should be given their paychecks even during the summer, for the school year 1917/1918. The only condition was that the women teachers previously had worked for five months in schools. The notion was carried unanimously, and teachers were paid during the summer vacations.⁸⁹

At the same time, women teachers continued to be discriminated by many rules. The law from 1888 about the organization of elementary education and the working organization of teachers of popular schools forbade female teachers to marry for it was considered that a married woman teacher could not equally perform her household duties, as a mother and a wife, and

⁸⁸ Zagreb's City Council Record for year 1916: Regulation of status and organization of pays of Zagreb city's officials, article 5, number 74.

⁸⁹ Zagreb's City Council Record for 1918: Discussion about issues which are decided by the Assembly of the City Council, article 150, number 27349-IX-1918.

her school work. Married teachers did not work in schools as it was a common opinion that if a woman teacher got married, she was voluntarily resigning from her service.⁹⁰

The law was changed in early 1914 when the Croatian Parliament passed a new law by which married teachers could maintain their work but only if the authorities would agree with their choice of the marital partner or spouse. The authorities did not have to give permission only if the woman teacher is marrying a colleague from the educational profession, a man teacher. If a woman teacher would marry without the permit from the authorities, it was considered she was giving up her position voluntarily. In that case, teachers who were working for more than five years would get a severance pay in the amount of one year's pay. However, those with shorter length of service would not be compensated at all.⁹¹

The law⁹² clearly stated that the married teacher had to have a governmental permission unless she is married to a man employed in her profession. Regardless of the change in the law, teachers were still under legal and social restriction concerning their work.

Although women teachers were legally restricted to freely work in their occupations, the provincial government accepted them as very successful in their line of work, especially when most male teachers in Zagreb joined the mobilized soldiers of the war front. In early 1916, an unknown journalist wrote: "On Thursday the 13th of the month, the Croatian Head of the Department of Theology and Education, Stjepan Tropsch handed the professor, Mrs.

⁹⁰ *Male novine*, January 14th, 1914, Year V, No.14, pg. 3: "Marriage and female school teachers"

⁹¹ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-17: Law which alters article 152 of law from October 31st, 1888 about the organization of elementary education and the working organization of teachers of popular schools, March 25th, 1914, Law no. 27.

⁹² *Ibid.*

Klotilda Cvetišić-Kreneis a gold cross of merit with a crown.⁹³ He emphasized her effort in the field of public education, for which she was divided this supreme medal.

Near the end of the war, the city officials were thinking and discussing more the women workers in Zagreb, who were actively and successfully replacing men in their working positions. In a council meeting from December 30th 1918 “The Statute of employment and dischargement of city's additional employees” was passed. It cited that the extra employed forces could be male and female, and their official title would be *gradski manipulatori* (the city's manipulators). In Croatian language, there are two versions of the term, the male one - *manipulator* and female one - *manipulatorica*. *Gradski manipulatori* were responsible for technical service, registry, treasury and tax service in the city administration. Likewise, they could be employed in auxiliary services as a school janitors and suppliers. It is one of the first cases when the authorities of the city of Zagreb recognized women working as city's officials.⁹⁴

When it came to women workers in the industry, they were mostly employed in factories that produced matches, cigarrets and pencils.⁹⁵ Although they worked in the branch of “light industry” they still demonstrated against poor working conditions that were not regulated by the state. Against the background that women, with their male colleagues, during the war protested working conditions, the Croatian government imported new laws regarding workers in factories of matches as see in the following text.

⁹³ *Male novine*, January 16th, 1916, Year VII, No. 15, pg. 3: “Handing over awards to Mrs. Klotilda Cvetišić-Kreneis“

⁹⁴ Zagreb's City Council Record for 1918: The statute of employment and dismissal and the supply of auxiliary employees in the city of Zagreb, Chapter I, General institutions: article 1.

⁹⁵ Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*, (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 47. Likewise, more information on this topic will be given in the next chapters.

In 1917, Croatian government issued an order to ensure physical vigour and health of workers working in the factory of matches.⁹⁶ All flammable substances used in the production of matches, especially potassium chloride which is used as a catalyst for fire, were to be stored in storages safe from fire and separated from the working spaces. Only equipped worker was allowed the access to flammable substances.

Likewise, potentially harmful material that could enter through dust was not allowed to pollute the air of the working spaces as there were specially installed ventilators to aerate the rooms.⁹⁷ The working spaces had to have safe entrances and exits in sufficient numbers which had to be illuminated at any time. Workers had special working suits which were provided by the employer and which were saved in workers' lockers. Workers had clean water and rooms for washing so that one fifth of them can use the facilities at any time. They needed to be provided with a special eating area which did not allow food and beverage from outside of the factory. Also, children under 16 years could not work in such factories. If those conditions were not met, employers had to pay from 200 to 600 fine *Krones*, and employees 200 *Krones*.⁹⁸

To sum up my finding about the labour laws and regulations during the war, the fact is labour laws were changing due to the hard economic situation of the war. One can notice that the war did bring change in the working laws of women. Although still with legal restrictions, school teachers were able to get married which was prohibited since 1888 and changed in the war times. Likewise, due to women protesting unhealthy working

⁹⁶ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-18: Code of Laws and Decrees for Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, Year 17, Piece V, published and dispatched on June 8th, 1917, No. 26, Order of Ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia from April 6th, 1917 to ensure physical vigour and health of workers working in the factory of matches.No.VI-166.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

environment, the Croatian government enforced a law which protected workers operating in such conditions. Also, it was in the war time that women were allowed to work in the public offices. Perhaps these changes seem like minor ones, but they are still significant for the women workers and the general movement of workers in Zagreb and Croatia.

6. Workers' organizations and activism

After the December Constitution was proclaimed in 1867 by the Emperor Franz Joseph I, the workers of Austro-Hungary were allowed to organize publicly for the first time. Doubtless, this event affected the workers of Croatia and Zagreb to form their own workers' organizations.⁹⁹

In this chapter I will give a short presentation about the workers' organization that was active during the war in Zagreb as it offered workers financial support in case of accidents, diseases and others potential changes that could stop workers' from performing their jobs. I will focus on the organization's members, their duties and obligations as well as on certain trends that developed during the war and are related to women workers. Likewise, I will concentrate on the role of women in working strikes during the war and on the idea of the restoration of trade unions in Croatia and Zagreb.

The first organization workers was founded in 1873 and it was active during the World War I. *Prvo zagrebačko radničko društvo* (The First society of Workers in Zagreb) had male and female members and women members paid the same amount for the membership as men members despite the fact that they earned less money. This data is visible from the statistical data of the organization. Likewise, after examining the rules and the regulation of the organization one can see that there was an unequal treatment of wives and husbands of the workers members, as the husband of a late woman worker was not entitled to any kind of pension. Also, when comparing the data from earlier war years to the data from later war

⁹⁹ Josip Cazi. *Prva radnička društva u Hrvatskoj: samostalni ekonomski i politički istupi (1860-1880)*. (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije, Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1957), pg. 12.

years, one can realize that there was a serious decline in the number of pregnancies of female members of the First Society in Zagreb.

While analyzing women's role in workers' strikes in Zagreb during the First World War one can apprehend a certain trend; despite striking for an increase in wages women workers still demanded half the men's wages. The fact that women did earn less than men for the same kind of work could explain this phenomenon, but half of the amount for the same work could be seen as a serious social problem of sexual inequality.

6.1. The First Society of Workers in Zagreb

As it was previously mentioned, the First Society of Workers in Zagreb was founded in 1873 by male workers of different occupations of the mentioned city. During the next year, in 1874 women workers tried to establish their own organization of workers in order to protect themselves on their workplaces in cases of injuries, illnesses, pregnancies or death. When the attempt failed for unfamiliar reasons, women started to join the Zagreb's First Society of Workers in the same year.

An unknown journalist wrote about the event:

“We are able to report that the Women's Workers Society of Zagreb is about to be established. The regulations of the society have been written, and now they need to submit to the government. There is no doubt; there will be a great benefit from this society for all women workers in Zagreb. We want, as does every friend of a worker that the society be established as soon as possible. In Vienna, Pest and Graz there are already such societies

that are very well organized as they count a great number of female members. This will surely be the case in Croatia also. We will write more about this on a second occasion”.¹⁰⁰

Many decades later, the Society was active during the First World War and as it was stated in its regulations, the purpose of the Society was to mentally and morally help its members as well as to support the sick members, pregnant members and mothers. Likewise, the society supplied for the cost of the funeral of the deceased members as well as it supported the widowed women and orphan children of members. Due to its purpose, the society was divided into the Educational section and the Supporting section. The Educational section was founded from the contributions paid by the society's members. The section was responsible for the provision of books and magazines for the educational library, as well as to encourage conversations among the members about laboring and manufacturing work. Likewise, the section held trainings in different professions and lectures about scientific issues related to politics and religion. The Supporting section was also financed by the members of the Society as it was responsible for organizing all external income, contributions and gifts that were not specifically intended for the Educational section. This section was in charge of the financial support of the members in case of illness, pregnancy or death. Likewise, it financially supported the widows of the late male workers, their children and the orphan children of deceased workers.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ *Radnički prijatelj – Der Arbeiterfreund* (A Friend of a Worker), October 11th, 1874, Year I, No. 2, pg. 11: “Society of women workers”

Radnički prijatelj was an official newspaper of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb. It was published in Zagreb from October 4th, 1874 until October 13th, 1875. The newspaper dealt with everyday problem and conditions of Zagreb's workers, as well with events and position of workers in other countries. It was published in both Croatian and German language. Due to the fact that the publish office would often write articles in the socio-democratic spirit and set concrete political demands the authorities shut down the publication after a year of its work. The mentioned article I found as a segment related to The First Society of Workers in Zagreb in State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764.

Cveta Knapič Krhen, “Zašto je prestao izlaziti Radnički prijatelj” (Why was the publication of “A Friend of a Worker” stopped), *Kaj - časopis za kulturu i prosvjetu*, Zagreb: Year VI, No. 3, pg. 81.

¹⁰¹ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: The purpose and the means of the society, Articles I and II.

The Society had real members and the supporting members. A real member could become any man or woman who was mentally and physically healthy and without vices, regardless his or hers social strata, religion and ethnicity. The only condition was that the person was living in Zagreb. Likewise, a real member could become anyone who has turned 16 and was not older than 45 years, for men and 40 years for women. The supporting member was anyone who donated books, held lectures and trainings or anyone who helped the purpose of the society by donating 4 *Krones* a year or 25 *Krones* indefinitely.¹⁰²

When a real member joined the Society, he or she was to pay 1 *Filler*. The members were then divided into four classes categorized by the amount of their earnings. The cost of their membership depended on the amount they were earning. Higher classes represented bigger wages and lower classes represented smaller wages. Every regular member of the Society was obligated to pay his membership regularly, every week. Members of the first class were paying 20 *Fillers* and members of the second class 15 *Fillers* a week. The third class was to pay 10 *Fillers* and the members of the fourth class paid 7 *Fillers*. From their registration fees, one fourth of the money was given to the Education section and three fourths were given to the Supporting section. If any member would change his or her occupation or started earning more or less money, they were obligated to contact the Society's officials and enter a higher class and vice versa.¹⁰³

When it comes to women workers, the Society did not accept pregnant women as members.¹⁰⁴ However, pregnant women workers were financially supported if they had been

¹⁰² State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Membership, Articles VII, VIII, IX and X.

¹⁰³ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Real members and their duties, Articles XI and XII.

¹⁰⁴ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Acceptance of members, Article XV.

members for over ten months. During their maternity leave, they would be paid 14 *Krones*, regardless if they were shorter or longer time incapable of work. In the case of an illness or a disease, she was entitled to further support only after the period of four weeks has passed after giving birth.¹⁰⁵ Another data that is related to women members concerns with the issue of the financial aid for husbands of the late female members. As it was previously stated, the Society supported widowed wives of deceased male members. However, the Society did not provide aid for widowed husbands of late women workers.¹⁰⁶ I believe this rule was connected to the idea that the man should be able to provide for himself. Regardless, it can be viewed as another case of unequal payment among sexes.

At the beginning of 1914, there were 815 members of the Society. After the war began the number came to 682 real members and 74 supporting members, altogether 756 people. Although the exact number of women workers of the Society for the war years is unknown, the data for sick leaves and maternity leaves exists. In the stated year 604 workers went on sick leave as they were financed with 9,990 *Krones*. Some of them were women workers: in January Ivana Novak went on a leave for 18 days and was financially supported by the amount of 36 *Krones* and in June Ana Majcen was on a leave for 11 days and got 22 *Krones* of support. Unfortunately, the Society did not keep track of the workplace of the person on a leave as well as there are no reasons listed why a person is on a sick leave.¹⁰⁷

By analyzing the numbers for maternity leaves, one can notice that in January of 1914, there were 28 *Krones* given for the support of mothers. If taken into account the previously

¹⁰⁵ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Support for mothers, Article XXVIII.

¹⁰⁶ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Severance pay for the widowed, Article XXXIX.

¹⁰⁷ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1914; the statement of medical support, pg. 19.

mentioned amount of 14 *Krones* for a new mother worker, it meant two women members went on maternity leave. In February, there were no expenses which marked that there were no maternity leaves. In March, the sum of 42 *Krones* meant three women on leave. There were zero leaves in April, while there was an amount of 14 *Krones* in May. June had 42 *Krones* while July had none. In August, there were three maternity leaves of the sum of 56 *Krones* and in September the number came up to 28 *Krones*. In October, November and December there was one leave per month, which meant 14 *Krones* for each month. The total amount of the financial aid for mothers came up to 252 *Krones* which meant 18 women took the maternity leave in 1914.¹⁰⁸

In 1915 the Society counted 669 members, 594 real members and 75 supporting members. Again, the deficit in people was caused by the wartime which also affected the amount of money the Society had access to. Due to the fact that the Society was financed by its members, less people meant less money for the organization. Likewise, the number of workers on sick leave rose because most of the workers were older men and unfit men that were not mobilized and women. In the mentioned year there were 429 workers on sick leave who were supported with 7,691 *Krones*. 11 women on maternity leave financed with 154 *Krones*.¹⁰⁹

In 1916 the trend of less workers members continued. There were 613 members, 534 regular members, and 79 supporting members. 326 people were on sick leave and were financed with 5,758 *Krones*. Only 6 women went on maternity leave for which they were given

¹⁰⁸ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1914; the expense, pg. 13.

¹⁰⁹ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1915: the statement of medical support, pg. 17.

altogether 84 *Krones*.¹¹⁰ Unfortunately, there is no data for the year 1917¹¹¹, but the numbers for 1918 show a small increase in the membership of workers. In 1918 there were 795 members of the society: 591 were real members and even 204 supporting members. Due to such a large number of supporting members, 1918 was the year of war in which the Society had raised the most money for the support of the workers. 416 workers went on sick leave that year and they were financed with 14,904 *Krones*. Only 7 women went on maternity leave as the Society supported them with 98 *Krones*.¹¹²

The numbers from analyzed data show three continuing trends in the First Society of Workers in Zagreb during World War I. The first one is that there was a decline in the numbers of workers members the Society. As I mentioned it can be explained by the fact that a great number of men were mobilized and the Society lost its male members. Although women were active members, the rapid loss of male workers could not be substituted even by new women workers. The second trend concerns the amount of money the Society had for the support of its members during the war. One can notice that the amount of available money was smaller with every war year until 1918 when over 200 supporting members helped raise 14,904 *Krones* for the workers.

The third trend relates to women workers leaving their workplaces for maternity leaves. Regardless of the unknown data for 1917, it is visible that there is a decline in women's pregnancies during the war. In 1914 there were 18 women on maternity leave and in 1918 the number fell to 7 women workers. This trend could be caused by the need for more

¹¹⁰ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1916; the expense, pg. 13.

¹¹¹ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: there is a manuscript of the Society's annual assembly and the number for the society's income. However there are no expense numbers of workers, workers on sick leave or women workers on maternity leave.

¹¹² State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1918; the expense, pg. 25.

women workers who replaced the male workforce. Likewise, it could be an indicator that the women chose to work and explored their new work possibilities which would confirm that in late 1915 and early 1916 women workers of Zagreb did experience a change in the working options and opportunities.

6.2. Women workers' strikes and the restoration of the trade unions

The first trade union of Croatia is considered to be *Društvo tiskara i slovara u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (The Society of printing workers and typographers of Croatia and Slavonia) which was founded in 1870 in Zagreb. It is viewed as the first trade union in Croatia because of a regulation that distinguished this Society from other similar organizations of the time. The rule was introduced in the Society's regulation from 1879; the Society was concerned with the working conditions of its members as well as it supported the collective contract of workers and their employees. The Society was active during the First World War, but due to legal restrictions related to the organization of workers, it was not viewed as a potential trade union but as a society which supports printing workers and typographers in cases of illness or accidents, similar to the First Society of Workers in Zagreb that rounded workers from various occupations.

Considering that workers were not able to form trade unions or any other workers' organization during the war, it is not unusual that women workers of Croatia did not organize workers' strikes until 1917 when they protested low wages, unhealthy working conditions and long working hours. In this year, there were strikes and demonstrations all over the country. Women workers of a tobacco factory in the city of Rijeka were protesting for a salary increase as were the women workers of a sugar producing factory in the city of

Osijek. Women workers of Zagreb started protesting against bad working conditions in 1918.¹¹³

In January of 1918, 700 workers of the private Zagreb's leather factory rose against low wages. The daily salary for men was 4 *Krones* and 40 *Fillers* while women were paid 2 *Krones* and 4 *Fillers*. They all received a war supplement since 1915 as extra financial support during war times. The war supplement from the state was between 25 and 30 percent of their salaries, yet it varied monthly depending on the state. Low wages of male workers and even lower wages of women workers caused them to ask for a salary increase. They organized between themselves and demanded rights from the factory's administration. They wanted that the war supplement be increased by 75 percent for both sexes. Women's daily salaries were to rise to 3 *Krones* and 50 *Fillers* while men's daily salaries were to rise to 6 *Krones* and 50 *Fillers*. For extra working hours, the workers demanded an increase of 30 *Fillers* of their hourly wage and the hourly wage for night's work was to be increased by 41 *Fillers*. The administration of the factory refused those terms and ordered the workers to disperse until January 19th of the mentioned year. Workers decided to strike which resulted in salary increase that was paid already by February 1st. Male workers older than 16 got 24 *Krones* a month as women workers were paid 16 *Krones* a month. Men and women under 16 years got half of those wages, 12 and 8 *Krones*. The increase in wages marked the end of the strike.¹¹⁴

On March 10th, 1918 the women workers of the "Penkala" pencil factory went on strike due to their small wages. The strike was induced by the events that happened the day before. On

¹¹³Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 40.

¹¹⁴Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 43.

March 9th the director of the factory, a certain Mr. Leder called for the police guard after four of the factory's women workers were convincing the rest of their female colleagues to join them in a strike. The director fired twelve of the protesting women and although the rest of the workers dispersed peacefully, a great number of them went to Ilica Street number 55 where an illegal workers' organization was situated.¹¹⁵

There, one of the workers gave a speech where she called for a general strike in the factory and the replacement of the current director, Mr. Leder. As the women delivering a speech pointed out: "We are protesting the unpaid overtime working hours and low salaries. Beside that we demand for Mr. Leder to be removed as he treats women workers with brutality and fines the innocent while he rewards those women who let him touch them". The next day women did not show up to work in the factory. On the contrary, they wrote demands in which they asked for their monthly salary to be raised by 120% and that the workers were to be allowed to decide if they wanted to work overtime and night work. Likewise, overtime and night work should be reduced to 9 hours per worker in one week and if anyone decided to work those hours she should be paid 200% more than their current salary. They asked that the weekly payment be paid every Saturday at 4 p.m. and that working morning shift was to start at 7 a.m. and finish at 12 a.m. The afternoon shift was to start at 1.30 p.m. and finish by 6 p.m. Women workers also demanded that their fired colleagues be reemployed. The director promised to grant their demands and the factory continued its work without problems.¹¹⁶

Likewise, on 15th of April in 1918 fourteen printing offices in Zagreb (there were eighteen of them in the mentioned year) and theirs 207 male trained typographers and 187 female

¹¹⁵ Croatian Institute for History: HR-HDA-79: Report of the police agent about the movement of women workers in "Penkala" factory, No. 12001, March 15th, 1918.

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

printing assistants were striking for bigger monthly war supplement.¹¹⁷ Before the strike the typographers earned from 65 to 120 *Krones* per week, depending on their amount of work. Their war supplement amounted to 3 *Krones*. Women printing assistants were paid from 20 to 40 *Krones*, also depending on their work. Women workers would get 1 *Krone* as war supplement. The strike was conducted without the intervention of the constabulary and the police as the workers' demands were granted. Likewise, no one was arrested or held in custody as it was a peaceful strike. The representative of the workers was Hermina Baćani who was also a president of the organization of the book bindery and book printing supporting staff in Zagreb.¹¹⁸ The workers asked for the war supplement to be raised to 20 *Krones* per week for the trained workers and 3 *Krones* per week for the working assistants, only for the months of April, May and June. The strike lasted until 29th of April when trained workers received a wage supplement of 10 *Krones* per week from May to October and then 5 *Krones* a week from October to January 1919. From January to April 1919 their war supplement was to be 6 *Krones*. The women printing assistants were paid 4 *Krones* from July 1918 to April 1919.¹¹⁹

The strike wave that occurred in Zagreb during the first half of the year 1918 testifies that movement of the trade unions which was active during the 1870's in Zagreb was being restored with the end of the war. Although it was not yet fully formed due to the fact that during the war the organization of trade unions was prohibited, as it was mentioned earlier,

¹¹⁷ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-4: City Council of Zagreb, No. 01914, Statistics of strikes and exclusion from the labor: Certification of strikes and exclusion of work, Zagreb, September 15th, 1918.

¹¹⁸ *Hrvatski tipograf* (The Croatian Typographer), March 30th, 1918, Year XXI, No. 7, pg. 11.

Hrvatski tipograf was an official newspapers for interests of workers typographers. Its publication started in 1897 and it was published every second Saturday in a month. The newspapers were shut down in 1920 when the current government banned all trade unions.

¹¹⁹ State Archive in Zagreb: HR-DAZG-4: City Council of Zagreb, No. 01914, Statistics of strikes and exclusion from the labor: Certification of strikes and exclusion of work, Zagreb, September 15th, 1918.

it was not until mid 1917 when the Austro-Hungarian Empire was slowly facing its demise that the idea of trade unions was revived.¹²⁰

In May of 1917 a temporary committee for restoration of worker's movement in Croatia and Slavonia was founded. On July 21st, 1917 the government gave permission for an establishment of a worker's union. The first general workers assembly was held on August 3rd, 1917 when it was decided to establish the *Opći radnički savez* (General Worker's Alliance) which was entered by workers of different professions, including women. Some of them were: Ana Laboš, Justina Cerina and Ana Zadol.¹²¹

On July 21st of 1918 the second assembly of the General Worker's Alliance was held in Zagreb. The guests of the assembly were Mr. Rady, president of the Hungarian Blacksmiths Association, Mr. Jakšić, a delegate of the Bosnian Main Labor Federation and Mr. Petejan, a representative of the Occupational Council of Ljubljana. The subsidiary of Zagreb had 91 delegates of which 66 were men and 25 were women. They organized their administration by founding a *Nadzorni odbor* (Supervisory Board) as of its seven members, three were women: Katica Vardijan, Antonija Stiplošek and Micika Petrak.¹²²

By the end of the war and end of the mentioned year there were around 4,000 workers organized in various working organizations in Croatia.¹²³

¹²⁰ Vitomir Korać. *Povijest radničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (History of Workers Movement in Croatia and Slavonia). (Zagreb: Radnička komora za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, 1933), pg. 483.

¹²¹ Josip Cazi. *Građa za povijest sindikalnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj*. (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije – Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1955), pg. 12.

¹²² Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 51.

¹²³ Josip Cazi. *Građa za povijest sindikalnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj*. (Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije – Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1955), pg. 12.

After analyzing the material used in this chapter, I am establishing the main finding concerning workers' organizations and activism. The first one is that in the First Society of Workers in Zagreb both male and female members paid the same amount for the membership despite the fact that they earned less money. In the second finding, when comparing the data from earlier war years to the data from later war years, one can realize that there was a decline in the working women's pregnancies. When it came to the role of women in working strikes, in my third finding I am establishing that despite striking for an increase in wages women workers still demanded half the men's wages.

7. The aftermath of the war

On October 29th, 1918 Croatian lands separated from the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The Croatian parliament declared a formation of a new country which represented the unity of all South Slavs who lived in Austro-Hungary. The making of the *Država Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba* (State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs) was very welcomed by the citizens of Zagreb which was now the capital of the State. Rounded on the stated date on the Square of Saint Marko in Zagreb, people cheered and celebrated the unity of a new country.¹²⁴

Among the celebrating crowd, there were many workers, female and male alike. With the end of the war the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was able to operate again and many workers of Zagreb joined the Party as well as various organizations of workers, which was previously stated in the sixth chapter. In this time of military and political breakdown of the Austro-Hungary, the working masses of Zagreb and Croatia were under the influence of the October Revolution. The revolutionary mood of the workers could be seen on the October 29th when they stopped their work for a day and supported the forming of a new state under republic arrangement by waving red banners in front of the Croatian Parliament residence.¹²⁵

They were called for such action by the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party which handed leaflets stating:

“Working People! Men and women workers! On Tuesday 29th of October the Croatian Parliament will be in session to participate in the demolition of the dungeon in which we

¹²⁴ Zlatko Matijević, “Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu: osnutak, djelovanje i nestanak 1918/1919” (National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb: establishment, activity and disappearance 1918/1919), *Fontes: izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, Zagreb: No. 14, November 2008, pg.52.

¹²⁵ Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: The call of the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party and workers' organizations for a procession on 29th of October, 1918: Group V-18: Box 4212.

lived until now. Therefore, we call you to leave your workplaces on a stated day and at exactly 9:30 a.m. join the procession toward Petar Preradović Square where you will be given red banners in the support of the Revolution. From there we march to the Saint Marko Square to demand a republic. Men and women workers! After so much suffer and grief show how much you are worth for the peoples and your own liberation”.¹²⁶

After the war workers of Zagreb and Croatia were allowed to work under collective contracts which was a policy of the *Kraljevstvo Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca* (Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes). The new state was formed after the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was united with the Kingdom of Serbia in December 1918. Although women workers continued to protest small wages and bad working conditions, they were now able to demonstrate when their collective workers rights were not being respected. In July 1919 seamstresses of the Linen Factory of Zagreb went on strike for eight days, demanding that three dismissed workers be employed again. Although it is not known why the women were fired, their colleagues united against such illegal acts of the factory's administration and managed to give them their jobs back. Likewise, in August of 1919, women workers were striking in a candy factory “Union” of Zagreb where they collectively demanded a salary increase of 30 percent. After a nine days strike, their demands were met.¹²⁷

However, workers' demands were not always fulfilled. For example, public bank clerks of the city of Zagreb organized a strike in September 1919 in order to ask for better conditions of their collective contracts. Women participated in the strike due to the fact that their collective contract offered equality for both male and female employees in their rights and

¹²⁶ Croatian State Archive: HR-HDA-79: The call of the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party and workers' organizations for a procession on 29th of October, 1918: Group V-18: Box 4212.

¹²⁷ Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 65.

obligations. The strike which lasted for fifty-one days was not a success. After it was over, the banks of Zagreb fired 107 male employees, 88 female employees and 58 janitors. 253 employees out of 802 were dismissed from service because they were striking.¹²⁸

As in most European countries after the war, the workers movement was restored under the influence of socio-democratic concepts. It was similar in the newly formed Kingdom; the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was united with other socialist organizations that founded the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia which was formed in the capital Belgrade in April 1919. In 1920 the Party changed its name to the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. However, after the Party had won numerous municipal elections in 1920, the authorities of the state prohibited the activity of the Party due to its radical political views. With the royal decree of *Obznana* (The Notification) the Party was banned on December 30th, 1920 and its remaining members, including women, continued to operate illegally.¹²⁹

A certain woman comrade, Adela Pavošević, a stenographer by occupation was arrested in Zagreb and held in prison for two weeks in November of 1919 for being a worker and a communist. An unknown journalist reported about her case:

“Our comrade was accused of holding secret meetings. Anyone who knows her is aware that that is a lie as she is an intelligent and an honorable woman. On Thursday 20th of November [1919] she was taken into custody where she was not fed for two days and nights! She lay on the stoned floor without covers! After fourteen days spent with harlots and thieves she awaits trial. This monstrous act causes great indignation. A girl, that did no harm, held like

¹²⁸ Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 67.

¹²⁹ Croatian encyclopedia - Lexicographic Institute of Miroslav Krleža: The formation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia
<http://enciklopedija.lzmk.hr/clanak>.

this for being courageous enough to be a communist among workers. We blame the government for such treatment of communist women and we call it to investigate and announce why it was done so as well as to find the couplers who did it so they can be suitably punished”.¹³⁰

Although Croatian women workers were protect under the socio-democratic and later under the communist concepts, when the Communist Party was prohibited women were faced with troubles of those women workers in Great Britain and France. As Marija Šoljan has argued, regardless of the political orientation of Croatian women workers, by the end of the war they were considered by the state as parasites that refused to leave the workplaces for the returning soldiers. After the war the Croatian women held a subordinate position compared with men in the economic life of the state. Women once again belonged to their households and their children.¹³¹

However, these very general statements proposed by Marija Šoljan need much further research before clearly establishing the concrete developments in the post-war years. To conclude, women workers and their continuing role in the work sphere of the post-war and inter-war period needs further investigation.

¹³⁰ *Nova istina*, December 4th, 1919, Year I, No. 16, pg. 24.

Nova istina (The New Truth) was the official newspaper of the Socialist Workers' Party of Yugoslavia. It was published in Zagreb from 29th of August 1919 to 27th of August 1920 and it was distributed weekly, on every Thursday.

¹³¹ Marija Šoljan. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve*. (Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967), pg. 69.

8. Conclusion

This thesis has demonstrated that the First World War gave Croatian women the opportunity to step into a whole new sphere of “men's work” that they had previously no access to. After the mobilization, women did both rural and urban work that was previously intended for or limited to men.

When compared to the war situation in other European countries, I believe that women's work in Croatia shared a number of trends with those in Great Britain, or at least the Croatian press of the time tried to portray it as such. Zagreb's newspapers wrote about many trends related to women's work in Great, perhaps due to the fact that British women also experienced different changes in their work possibilities. From the stated data from the second chapter, similar to the Croatian case, from 1915 to 1917 a great number of British women entered what was previously known as “men's work” in factories and offices.

There are also similarities between the work of Zagreb and that of women in Germany. Most German women did not work in the war industry, but instead provided for their households by doing agricultural work. Similarly, many Croatian women worked on farms and lands for there was no war industry in Croatian lands. However, the pattern of women doing the rural works existed. I did not find any similarities between the Croatian situation and the French trends regarding women's work during the war; in France the percentage of women workers did not especially increase, except for the war industry, which Croatia lacked. Likewise, one can notice a small difference in the work place opportunities, from the stated data, the French women could not work as typographers during the war and the Croatian women had that possibility.

Unlike the European trends which are based on available numbers and statistics, there is no exact information about the number of women working in Zagreb and Croatia during the World War I. I believe the lack of this sort of data is caused by the distress during wartime which prohibited the state's offices to function properly. Nevertheless, the Croatian press of the time followed European trends and reported through the war years how much European women earned and what were the working conditions of German and British women.

For some occupations in Zagreb held mostly by women, there is data of their earnings and salaries. For women teachers and schoolmasters, the legal regulations about salaries changed due to the hard economic situation of the war, as they were earning less than in early 1914. The war also brought changes in laws regarding women's work. Although still with legal restrictions, school teachers were able to get married and keep their jobs which had been prohibited since 1888. Likewise, after women had protested against their unhealthy working environment, the Croatian government enforced a law which protected workers operating in such conditions. I should mention that there were no trade unions during the war period, which made those changes all more significant for women workers and the general movement of workers in Zagreb and Croatia.

Although it was prohibited to form new workers' organizations during the war, the First Society of Workers in Zagreb was able to operate because it limited its work to supporting the workers in need. In war time, the Society developed certain "war trends" which represent a specific image of women and men workers of Zagreb.

Regardless of the fact that workers were not allowed to form trade unions during the war time in Zagreb, women and men workers still protested against poor working conditions.

Although women and men would often protest together for the same cause, especially against low wages, the data show that women workers would usually demand half of the money amount men were demanding. This is another confirmation that women earned far less than men; the justification given for the unequal pay was women were equal to men in physical strength and capability. Likewise, this phenomenon of women's unequal pay shows a key similarity in trends related to women's work in Croatian and other European countries.

Under the influence of socio-democratic concepts the idea of workers' organizations and activities was slowly being restored in later part of the war Croatia. While the work of the Social-Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia was prohibited during the war, there were a number of illegal organizations active, such as the one located in Ilica Street in Zagreb discussed in chapter seven. When the end of the war came the Party was able to operate again and, as mentioned in the seventh chapter, its male and female members were very active in the support of the new state that the Croatian lands became part of in late 1918.

In this thesis I have established that women workers of Zagreb experienced significant changes in their work possibilities during World War I. After 1916 women became the main working force of Zagreb in different areas of work; from factories to public offices. Likewise, after the war and the formation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes women remained active in workers' organizations and societies. However, to clearly follow whether and how these trends regarding work continued and further developed, or altered and reversed in the inter-war period, additional research is needed.

Bibliography

I. Primary material

Archives

Croatian State Archives (*Hrvatski državni arhiv*)

HR-HDA-79: Box 882. Report of the police agent about the movement of women workers in “Penkala” factory, No. 12001, March 15th, 1918 (Izvještaj policijskog agenta o pokretu žena radnica u tvornici “Penkala”, Br. 12001, 15. ožujak, 1918).

HR-HDA-79: Ban's Command - restriction of establishment and operation of societies and organizations during the war, July 27th, 1914, No. 4232, XI (Banova zapovijed – zabrana osnivanja i radova društava i organizacija tokom rata, 27. srpanj, 1914, Br. 4232, XI).

HR-HDA-79: Control over companies and factories in the First World War. Provincial government. Department for home affairs, 87454-917: Report of the arrest of Anka Lobor (Nadzor nad poduzećima i tvornicama u Prvome svjetskom ratu. Zemaljska vlada. Odjel za unutarnje polove, 87454-917: Izvještaj o uhićenju Anke Lobor).

HR-HDA-79: Control over companies and factories in the First World War. Provincial government. Department for home affairs, 685 No.-1915: “Prohibition of ornaments of our peasant nation” (Nadzor nad poduzećima i tvornicama u Prvome svjetskom ratu. Zemaljska vlada. Odjel za unutarnje polove, 685 Br.-1915: “Zabrana o kićenju seljakinja“).

HR-HDA-79: Group V-18: Box 4212. The call of the executive board of the Social-Democratic Party and workers' organizations for a procession on 29th of October, 1918.

(Poziv izvršnog odbora Socio-demokratske partije i organizacije radnika za procesiju 29. listopada, 1918).

State Archive in Zagreb (Državni arhiv u Zagrebu)

HR-DAZG-243, *Okružni ured za osiguranje radnika* (The District's Office for Insurance of Workers)

HR-DAZG-17: Law of payment organization of the teaching staff of public and popular schools in the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia, Law number 48, August 6th, 1914 (Zakon o organiziranju plaća za učiteljsko osoblje javnih i pučkih škola u Kraljevinama Hrvatskoj I Slavoniji, Zakon broj 48, 6. kolovoz, 1914).

HR-DAZG-17: Law which alters article 152 of law from October 31st, 1888 about the organization of elementary education and the working organization of teachers of popular schools, March 25th, 1914, Law no. 27 (Zakon koji mijenja članak 152 iz zakona od 31. listopada, 1888 o organizaciji osnovnog školstva I radne organizacije učitelja javnih škola, 25. ožujak, Zakon br. 27).

HR-DAZG-18: Code of Laws and Decrees for Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, Year 17, Piece V, published and dispatched on June 8th, 1917, No. 26, Order of Ban of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia from April 6th, 1917 to ensure physical vigour and health of workers working in the factory of matches. No.VI-166 (Zbirka zakona i odredaba za Kraljevstvo Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije, Godina 17, Dio V, tiskano i otpremljeno 8. lipnja, 1917, Br. 26, Naredba bana Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije od 4. travnja, 1917 koja štiti fizičku snagu i zdravlje radnika zaposlenih u tvornicama šibica, Br. VI-166).

HR-DAZG-4: City Council of Zagreb, No. 01914, Statistics of strikes and exclusion from the labor: Certification of strikes and exclusion of work, Zagreb, September 15th, 1918

(Gradsko poglavarstvo u Zagrebu, Br. 01914, Statistike o štrajkovima i isključenima iz rada: Potvrda o štrajkovima i isključenju od rada, Zagreb, 15. rujan, 1918).

The First Society of Workers in Zagreb

HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1914 (Godišnji izvještaj Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika pri kraju godine 1914)

HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1915 (Godišnji izvještaj Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika pri kraju godine 1915)

HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1916 (Godišnji izvještaj Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika pri kraju godine 1916)

HR-DAZG-764: The Annual Report of the First Workers Society of Zagreb - the state of the society at the end of the year 1918 (Godišnji izvještaj Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika pri kraju godine 1918)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: The purpose and the means of the society (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: svrha i ciljeva društva)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Acceptance of members (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: Prihvatanje članova)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Membership (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: Članstvo)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Real members and their duties (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: Stvarni članovi i njihove obaveze)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Support for mothers (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: Potpora članovima)

HR-DAZG-764: The Regulations of The First Society of Workers in Zagreb for education and support of its members, 1918: Severance pay for the widowed (Pravila Prvog zagrebačkog društva radnika za obrazovanje i potporu članova, 1918: Otpremnina za udove)

Printed sources

Hrvatski pokret (year 1915)

Hrvatski tipograf (year 1918)

Ilustrovani list (years 1914 and 1916)

Male novine (years 1914, 1916 and 1918)

Nova istina (year 1919)

Novosti (years 1914, 1915 and 1918)

Obzor (year 1917)

Radnički prijatelj (year 1874)

Slobodna riječ (years 1911 and 1914)

Zagreb's City Councils from 1914 to 1918

Zagreb's City Council Record for year 1916: Regulation of status and organization of pays of Zagreb city's officials (Zapisi zagrebačkog Gradskog poglavarstva za godinu 1916: Pravila o statusu i organizaciji plaća za gradske službenike)

Zagreb's City Council Record for 1918: Discussion about issues which are decided by the Assembly of the City Council (Zapisi zagrebačkog Gradskog poglavarstva za godinu 1918: Rasprava o predmetima o kojima odlučuje Skupština Gradskog poglavarstva)

Zagreb's City Council Record for 1918: The statute of employment, dismissal and the supply of auxiliary employees in the city of Zagreb (Zapisi zagrebačkog Gradskog poglavarstva za godinu 1918: Statut o zapošljavanju, otpuštanju i opskrbi pomoćnih radnika Grada Zagreba)

II. Secondary literature

Book catalogue of Libraries of Zagreb: *Hrvatski pokret, Male novine* and *Novosti*

Branić, Vanja, "Razvoj društvene skrbi za djecu u prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća" (The Development of the Social Care for Children in the First Half of the 20th Century), Zagreb: *Ljetopis studijskog centra socijalnog rada*, Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006.

Braybon, Gail. *Women Workers in the First World War*. London and New York: Routledge, 1989.

Cazi, Josip. *Grada za povijest sindikalnog pokreta u Hrvatskoj* (Material for the History of the Union Movement in Croatia). Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije – Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1955.

Cazi, Josip. *Prva radnička društva u Hrvatskoj: samostalni ekonomski i politički istupi (1860-1880)* (The First Societies of Workers in Zagreb: Independent Economic and Political Offsets (1860-1880). Zagreb: Savez sindikata Jugoslavije, Republičko vijeće za Hrvatsku, 1957.

Croatian encyclopedia - Lexicographic Institute of Miroslav Krleža: Croatian encyclopedia - Lexicographic Institute of Miroslav Krleža: The formation of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia

Croatian Encyclopedia on line: *Dioničarska tiskara* and *Obzor*

Daniel, Ute, “Women's Work in Industry and family: Germany, 1914-18”, *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Daniel, Ute. *The War From Within – German Working-Class Women in the First World War*. New York: Oxford, 1997.

Feldman, Andrea. *Žene u Hrvatskoj: ženska i kulturna povijest* (Women in Croatia: women's cultural history). (Zagreb: Institut Vlado Gotovac, 2004.

Grayzel, Susan R. *Women and the First World War*. London and New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2002.

Gross, Mirjana and Sabo, Agneza. *Prema hrvatskom građanskom društvu: društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća* (Towards Croatian civic society: social development in Croatia and Slavonia in 1860's and 1870's). Zagreb: Globus, 1992.

Gross, Mirjana. “Počeci radničkog pokreta u Zagrebu“ (The Beginnnngs of the Worker's Movement in Zagreb), *Historijski zbornik*, Zagreb: Year VIII, No. 1-4, 1955.

Herman-Kaurić, Vijoleta, “The First World War in Croatia – More or Less Known Facts”, *Review of Croatian History*, Zagreb: Vol. X, No.1, Croatian Institute of History, 2014.

Herman-Kaurić, Vijoleta. *Za naše junake....:rad dobrotvornih humanitarnih društava u gradu Zagrebu 1914.-1918* (For Our Heroes....the Work of Charity and Humanitarian Societies in the City of Zagreb 1914-1918). Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet, 2007.

Higonnet, Margaret Randolph. *Behind the Lines: Gender and the Two World Wars*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987.

Jurić, Mirjana, “Zagreb u Prvome svjetskom ratu: povijesne novine kao izvor za istraživanje socijalne povijesti” (Zagreb in the First World War: Historical Newspapers as a Source for Researching Social History), *Libellarium*, Zagreb: Vol. II, No. 2, 2009.

Knapič Krhen, Cveta, “Zašto je prestao izlaziti Radnički prijatelj” (Why was the publication of “A Friend of a Worker” stopped), *Kaj - časopis za kulturu i prosvjetu*, Zagreb: Year VI, No. 3.

Kolar, Mira, “Zbrinjavanje gladne djece u Hrvatskoj za Prvoga svjetskog rata ” (Taking Care of Hungry Children in Croatia during the First World War), *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Zagreb: Vol. 42, No.1, June 2010.

Korać, Vitomir. *Povijest radničkog pokreta u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji* (History of Workers Movement in Croatia and Slavonia). Zagreb: Radnička komora za Hrvatsku i Slavoniju, 1933.

Matijević, Zlatko, “Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba u Zagrebu: osnutak, djelovanje i nestanak 1918/1919” (National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in Zagreb: establishment, activity and disappearance 1918/1919), *Fontes: izvori za hrvatsku povijest*, Zagreb: No. 14, November 2008.

Robert, Jean-Louis, “Women and work in France during the First World War”, *The Upheaval of War – Family, Work and Welfare in Europe, 1914-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Strukić, Kristian. *Odjeci s bojišnice: Zagreb u Prvom svjetskom ratu* (Echoes from the battlefield: Zagreb in the First World War). (Zagreb: Muzej grada Zagreba, 2015),

Šoljan, Marija. *Žene Hrvatske u radničkom pokretu do hiljadu devetsto četrdeset prve* (Women of Croatia in the Worker's Movement until 1941). Zagreb: Konferencija za društvenu aktivnost žena Hrvatske, 1967.

Zimmermann, Susan. *Divide, Provide, and Rule*. Budapest-New York: Central European University, 2011.

List of tables

Table 1. The percentage of working male and female members of the State's Treasury Office for the Insurance of Workers divided into classes which marked the amount of their daily earnings in 1910.