

ESPRIT DU QUARTIER ET FORMES DE SOLIDARITE DANS LES MOUVEMENTS SOCIAUX ET POLITIQUES DES OUVRIERS EN SOIE DE LYON, 1830 A 1880

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The neighborhood has drawn the attention of social historians both for its own sake and as an ikon for functional analysis of political dynamics and social causation. Gerard Jacquemet's study of Belleville in the nineteenth century, as well as much of the work of scholars of the Centre Pierre Leon in Lyon, notably the landmark studies of Maurice Garden and Yves Lequin, are largely neighborhood studies of the first type.¹ Such studies focus attention on the archaeology of the neighborhood, especially the urban neighborhood, in physical, architectural and human terms. Other studies, such as those of the Anglo-Saxon historians John Merriman, Robert Gray and Geoffrey Crossick, represent the neighborhood functionally, as a formative element in the construction of a particular social identity, usually an identity of class.² Neighborhood thus explains or illustrates a solidarity or division of class within a context of developing social or political militancy.

Using the example of neighborhoods in the city of Lyon and the role of Lyon's silk workers, this paper will examine the interaction of physical and social milieu with expressions of militant solidarity in the construction of neighborhood identities in social and political movements between 1830 and 1880. The paper seeks to merge the perspectives of the two different types of neighborhood studies mentioned above. It will seek, like the "functional" approach, understanding of the impact of milieu on particular

¹ Gérard JACQUEMET, Belleville au XIXe siècle du faubourg à la ville, Paris, Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1984; Maurice GARDEN, Lyon et les lyonnais au XVIIIe siècle, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1970; Yves LEQUIN, Les Ouvriers de la région lyonnaise (1848-1914), Lyon, Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1977, 2 tomes.

² John M.MERRIMAN, The Red City: Limoges and the French Nineteenth Century, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1985; Robert Q. GRAY, The Labor Aristocracy in Victorian Edinburgh, Oxford, Clarendon, 1976; Geoffrey CROSSICK, An Artisan Elite in Victorian Society: Kentish London, 1840-1880, London, C. Helm, 1978.

forms of social and political mobilization, but its primary intent is, like that of the first studies mentioned, the characterization of neighborhood. It will pursue this characterization not merely in physical, architectural and social terms, but also in terms of patterns of militant solidarity manifest in associations and informal collective actions in which Lyon's silk workers were prominent. The focus of attention will be on the period 1850-1880, when the documentation is most extensive, but some reference will also be made to prior developments.

Silk-weaving Neighborhoods in the City of Lyon

On the eve of the Revolution of 1789, Lyon's silk weavers were dispersed throughout the city, but the right bank of the Saone, especially the parishes of St. Georges, St. Jean and St. Paul, concentrated their residence. Following the revolution they moved in growing numbers onto the slopes and plateau of the Croix-Rousse, without abandoning entirely their location in the future Fifth Arrondissement of Lyon. The Croix-Rousse slopes had been occupied under the Old Regime by numerous convents and properties housing religious orders. Confiscation and sale of these properties under the Revolution facilitated rapid settlement of this area by weavers, in response to intense speculative building offering lower rents and more exposure to air and light than the older silk-weaving districts.³ In place of the tranquil and low-density occupancy of the former religious houses, this building activity raised numerous residential complexes of five to eight stories high -- exceptionally tall for the period -- separated by narrow streets and alleys. These buildings were "très élevées et peu en rapport avec la largeur des rues," creating the effect of numerous interior spaces delimiting separate neighborhoods. The physical aspect of the buildings accented this feeling of interiority, as did the pattern of human settlement. One contemporary described the residences as "ces enormes masses de pierres à 6 et même 7 étages, circonscrivant des cours intérieures où l'air est presque confiné et où la lumière fait défaut." These were "divisés en une infinité de petits

logements."⁴ Into this dense medley of stone and space was amassed a working population in rapid expansion, especially throughout the Restoration and July Monarchy. The bustling commerce of the streets and especially the bistranclaquepan of the loom echoed the transformation of this area into a center of Lyon's most important manufacture, that of silk fabrics.

On the plateau immediately adjacent this newly-settled area was the site of the autonomous faubourg of the Croix-Rousse. Throughout most of the Old Regime this area had been largely agricultural, planted in vines and gardens, but it also had served as thoroughfare for travelers from Geneva and the north of France. Along the Route de Bresse running through the center of the faubourg, later renamed the Grande Rue, numerous hotels, restaurants and cafes had been set up to service travelers' needs. The plateau was also an important center of recreation and promenade for residents of the city of Lyon. The bourg of Cuire La Croix-Rousse had long enjoyed the privilege of the Franc-Lyonnais, exempting its residents from payment of the octroi tax on goods entering the city. A wall erected in 1620, called the St. Sebastien wall, was a visible manifestation of this privilege, for it served as octroi frontier between the Croix-Rousse slopes, within the jurisdiction of the city, and the plateau-bourg. Although diluted by the eighteenth century, this privilege established an important commercial orientation to the area by the end of the Old Regime, distinguishing it from the more rural Cuire. The difference of milieu between the two parts of the plateau was given administrative definition during the Revolution, when the Croix-Rousse was made a separate commune from Cuire, which was attached to the commune of Caluire.⁵

³ A. KLEINCLAUSZ, Lyon: Des origines à nos jours: La formation de la cité, Lyon, Pierre Passon, 1925, pp. 283-294, 300-303; A. BELBAHRI et al., La Croix-Rousse, Paris, CNRS, 1980, pp. 15-17.

⁴ M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, Hygiène des grandes villes: Topographie et statistique médicales du département du Rhône et de la ville de Lyon, Lyon, Aimé Vingtrinier, 1866, pp. 392-393.

⁵ A. KLEINCLAUSZ, op. cit., pp. 283-294.

Motivated by the same incentives as those inducing relocation on the Croix-Rousse slopes, weavers settled in growing numbers on the plateau during and after the Revolution and transformed its physical and occupational environment according to its emerging vocation as a silk-weaving center. Their settlement and especially the layout of streets and buildings to accommodate the newcomers assumed a different character from that which prevailed on the slopes. Most of the new streets were laid out in a more linear, rectangular fashion than on the slopes. They were "bien tracées" and "larges," such that the "ventilation, dans cet arrondissement, se fait aussi largement que possible; il jouit, à juste titre, d'une réputation de salubrité parfaite."⁶ The maisons, moreover, though "élevées de quatre étages au moins," were nonetheless "spacieuses,"⁷ for each apartment was designed to house the tall Jacquard loom. The overall effect of such street and building design was to accentuate the feeling of open space consuming the entire plateau, even amidst the definition of distinct neighborhoods. This feeling was especially evident "les soirs d'été," when, "après le travail, toute cette population se répand au dehors pour respirer l'air pur que le ciel leur envoie à profusion."⁸ By its open spaces, its well-aired and well-lit streets, and its salubrious dwellings, the Croix-Rousse plateau stood in sharp contrast to the darker, more confined and compact spatial environment of the slopes.

Across the Rhone River to the east, on its left bank, was a relatively unsettled area originally under the jurisdiction of the estates of Dauphine, the faubourg of the Guillotiere. During the Revolution, this too, like the Croix-Rousse, was made an independent commune. The northern part, the Brotteaux, was the object of an ambitious development plan by the architect Morand at the end of the eighteenth century. The plan called for the construction of a bridge across the Rhone from Lyon to the Brotteaux to facilitate transit and settlement from the city, the creation of a high-class residential district around the present-day Place Morand, and the promotion of tourism from Lyon

⁶ M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, *op. cit.*, pp. 421,423; M. le Dr. ROUGIER et M. le Dr. GLENARD, Hygiène de Lyon: Compte-rendu des travaux du Conseil d'hygiène publique et de salubrité du département du Rhône (du 1er janvier 1851 au 31 décembre 1859), Lyon, Aimé Vingtrinier, 1860, p. 31.

⁷ M. le Dr. ROUGIER et M. le Dr. GLENARD, *ibid.*.

through theaters, circuses and guinguettes. Though not completed before the Revolution, these efforts nonetheless defined the vocation of the Brotteaux through the early nineteenth century as a residential and entertainment spot for the bourgeois of Lyon.⁹ Further south, in the Guillotiere proper, service to travelers engaged in overland carrying trade of the Rhone valley continued, throughout the Restoration, to favor the proliferation of inns, cabarets and numerous small shops and trades to fit out and repair vehicles. The Guillotiere also had numerous cafes and recreational establishments, for it too, like the Brotteaux, attracted Lyonnais on their holidays and jours de fete, such as the fete des Brandons held on the plains of the Madeleine on the first Sunday of Lent.¹⁰ The distinctive trait of the left bank of the Rhone inherited from the Old Regime was therefore that of a population in movement, whether for settlement, trade or recreation.

Throughout the nineteenth century, the Brotteaux-Guillotiere was the most rapidly changing part of metropolitan Lyon. This change was the result of extensive immigration from both Lyon and the plains of Dauphine. Population growth transformed the area from semi-rustic to urban, and throughout the century extensive construction and numerous urban development projects gave the area a distinct physical character. In contrast to most of Lyon, but not unlike the Croix-Rousse plateau, the streets were laid out in linear and rectangular fashion, the so-called "American" pattern, and some of the streets, especially those traversing the Brotteaux, were wide thoroughfares planted with trees and offering delightful promenades and "d'excellentes conditions hygiéniques."¹¹ The population that settled in the area was marked by extreme social diversity. Alongside the wealthy bourgeois, whose residences were concentrated along the thoroughfares of the Brotteaux, were numerous artisans, many of them employed in the silk industry, both weavers and workers in the ancillary trades, such as dyeing and thread reeling. This gave

⁸ M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

⁹ A. KLEINCLAUSZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-321.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-345.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-349; M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, *op. cit.*, p. 409

the Brotteaux in 1866 the impression of being relatively "aisée," with "un noyau de bonne population mêlée de gens riches, d'industriels et d'artisans."¹²

The population of the Guillotiere proper was predominantly artisanal and working-class, employed in a variety of new industries, particularly metallurgy, machinery, chemicals, and transport.¹³ The settlement pattern and physical aspect of the neighborhoods concentrating this working population derived from the real estate policies of the Hospices of Lyon, which owned much of the land. As in Belleville outside Paris, the policy of leasing land in small lots for a short duration, instead of alienating the land through sale, encouraged the construction of numerous small dwellings that depreciated rapidly and were subject to ravages of floods from the overflowing Rhone River. These dwellings attracted the less affluent working population from the more crowded and expensive popular districts of Lyon into neighborhoods that easily degenerated into urban slums.¹⁴ By the time of the Second Empire, such conditions gave the Guillotiere a disreputable reputation. The Guillotiere was regarded as "le réceptacle d'une portion impure de la population lyonnaise: filles publiques de bas étage, voleurs, ecrocs, y trouve un refuge." Physically the presence of "de véritables marécages, des rues non pavées, des eaux infectes et stagnantes" was seen to reflect the morality of the worst neighborhoods, even though "les gens honnêtes, les bons ouvriers" were to be found amidst "ces tristes éléments." Very few of these workers were employed in Lyon's silk manufacture.¹⁵

By 1866 each of these various parts of Lyon and faubourgs thus had a distinct character. Such character might be summarized through several quantitative indicators derived from census data and specialized surveys from this period. Our statistical overview will represent the character of these areas in terms of their silk-working population, in order to highlight those aspects pertinent to the subsequent discussion of militant solidarity. From

¹² A. KLEINCLAUSZ, *op. cit.*, p. 323; M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

¹³ Michel LAFERRERE, *Lyon: Ville industrielle*, Paris, Presses universitaires de France, 1960.

¹⁴ A. KLEINCLAUSZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-353.

this perspective, three areas of the city of Lyon in 1866 should be distinguished as concentrating the overwhelming share of the silk-worker population. These were the Croix-Rousse area, including both slopes and plateau and delimited by the First and Fourth Arrondissements, the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, which included the area on the left bank delimited by the Third Arrondissement (which, in 1867, was divided into the Sixth and Third Arrondissements), and the Fifth Arrondissement on the right bank of Saone, site of the original concentration of silk weavers in the eighteenth century. Table 1 represents the distribution of silk-weaving activity ("Looms") among these three areas, which corresponds roughly to the distribution of the population dependent on textiles.

Table 1

¹⁵ M.-J. MARMY et Ferdinand QUESNOY, op. cit., pp. 411-413.

Distribution of Silk-Weaving Activity and Population in 1866

<u>Area</u>	<u>Looms</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Textile</u>	<u>Industry</u>	<u>Commerce</u>
Croix-Rousse (Arr. 1 et 4)	68	38	63	44	30
Brott-Guillot (Arr. 3 et 6)	12	40	14	34	47
5ème Arrond	20	22	23	22	22
Total (Nombre)	32500	240682	75713	162518	23685

Sources: M. Robin, "Situation de Fabrique," 1 juin 1866, présentée à la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon en juin 1870, Compte-rendu des travaux de la Chambre de Commerce de Lyon, années 1869, 1870, 1871, p. 101; "1866: Dénombrement de la population de la ville de Lyon, 1er à 5e arrondissements," Archives départementales du Rhône, 5M.

The Croix-Rousse area emerges clearly as the center of silk-weaving, followed by the Fifth Arrondissement and by the Brotteaux-Guillotiere. The same table suggests that the Croix-Rousse concentrated silk manufacture to a degree far exceeding its relative share of the total population of the three areas, whereas the Brotteaux-Guillotiere did so to a degree far less than its share of this population. The Fifth Arrondissement, by contrast, participated in this manufacture at a level nearly equivalent to its share.

Comparing the distribution of total population among the three areas with that of the population dependent upon industry and commerce offers further insight into their occupational profiles. In the Croix-Rousse area, the relative share of population

dependent upon industry exceeds the relative share of total population, whereas the relative share of population dependent upon commerce is less than this contribution to the total. In the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, on the other hand, the situation is exactly the reverse: industrial population is less than what might be predicted by the area's share in total population, whereas the commercial population is greater than this predicted value. In relative terms, the vocation of the Croix-Rousse area is decidedly industrial, emphasizing silk manufacture, whereas the vocation of the Brotteaux-Guillotiere is weighted more in the direction of commerce. Such a conclusion is re-enforced by a survey of shops in Lyon in 1864. If the number of shops is compared with the size of the population in each area, as represented by the demographic data of 1866, the commercial orientation of the left bank of the Rhone is clearly accented. Each shop in this area served 20 residents on average, as compared with 23 residents for the Croix-Rousse area. If the category of shops is limited to "Cafetiers, Marchands de vins, Restauranteurs, Buvettes" -- those associated especially with artisan sociability -- the contrast between the two areas is more stark: one shop per 93 residents in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere as compared with one shop per 190 residents in the Croix-Rousse. The contrast is especially evident between the Croix-Rousse plateau (Fourth Arrondissement) and the Brotteaux (Sixth Arrondissement) for all kinds of shops, including bread shops and groceries which artisans were most likely to frequent on a daily basis.¹⁶ Together these data suggest a greater intensity of commercial activity and sociability surrounding small commerce and the cafe in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere than in the Croix-Rousse. The Fifth Arrondissement, in contrast to both, harbored industrial and commercial activity corresponding exactly to its share of the total population in 1866.

Besides the greater proclivity to commerce, the industrial activity within the Brotteaux-Guillotiere was more diversified than that of the Croix-Rousse, as Table 2 shows.

Table 2

¹⁶ "Recensement des magasins loués et à louer dans les 5 arrondissements de Lyon. Fait par M. Nault et Charbon (5 novembre 1864)," Archives municipales de Lyon, Noms des

Distribution of Population by Type of Industry in 1866

<u>Type of Industry</u>	<u>Croix-Rousse Area</u>	<u>Brotteaux-Guillotier</u>
Textiles	67.4	19.0
Metals	0.9	5.0
Leather, Wood, Furniture	2.0 4.8	
Chemicals	0.1	4.4
Building	4.3	21.5
Clothing	16.7	15.5
Food	5.3	11.0
Transport	0.9	10.0
Other	2.4	8.9
Total Industry	70856	55586
% of Population	44	34

Source: "1866: Dénombrement de la population de la ville de Lyon, 1er à 5e arrondissements," Archives départementales du Rhône, 5M.

For the typical silk worker residing in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, this diversity implied a less homogenous neighborhood in terms of occupation. This hypothesis was tested by means of pilot samples from the 1872 census of heads of households residing in the two areas of the city. The samples were taken from twenty different "neighborhood units" (portions of streets recorded in two adjacent pages of the census register) in each of two parts of these areas -- the Croix-Rousse plateau and the Brotteaux. Each sample

contained, on average, 20-21 heads of household per neighborhood unit, and the samples were confined to those units that had three or more weaver heads of households. For the Croix-Rousse sample, the average percentage of weaver heads of household per neighborhood unit was 65%, whereas for the Brotteaux sample, the average percentage was 38%. More than half of the neighborhood units of the Croix-Rousse sample had 70% or more weaver heads of household, while not even a third of the neighborhood units of the Brotteaux sample had a majority of weaver heads.¹⁷ These indications suggest that silk weavers residing in the Brotteaux experienced on a neighborhood level the relative occupational diversity of the left bank of the Rhone as a whole. They were more likely than weavers of the Croix-Rousse plateau to interact with workers in other trades in their everyday neighborhood life.

The heterogeneity of social existence in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere was one aspect of an especially vivacious *vie de quartier* in this area long devoted to entertainment. Between 1856 and 1861 the Prefecture received fifteen requests to open dance halls, or to allow dancing in cabarets, twelve of which came from the left bank of the Rhone, and none from the Croix-Rousse.¹⁸ An 1872 survey of recreational establishments indicated the existence in the Brotteaux of a cafe concert, six dance halls, two cafes guignol, a theatre des Nouveautes, an Italian circus and five gaming establishments.¹⁹ The building of the Rotonde performance and meeting hall in the 1840's and the construction of the Parc de la Tete d'Or under the Second Empire consolidated this recreational vocation.²⁰ In contrast, the Croix-Rousse assumed a more serious air in the eyes of contemporaries. "En arrivant dans ce quartier," wrote the author of one guidebook in 1864, "on est d'abord frappé du peu d'animation des rues, mais si l'on s'approche en poursuivant ses observations, on ne

¹⁷ Dénombrement, 1872, Lyon, 4e Arrondissement, 6e Arrondissement, Archives départementales du Rhône, 6 MP 250, 251, 254.

¹⁸ "Fêtes," 1856-1861, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 454 (?).

¹⁹ Préfecture du Rhône, "Etat des Théâtres, petits Théâtres, Crêches, spectacles mécaniques et de curiosités -- Guignols, saltimbanques, physiciens, jongleurs, bals, Cafés-Concerts-Cirques etc. existant dans le Quartier le 25 Novembre 1872," quartiers Part-Dieu, St. Pothin, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 481.

²⁰ A. KLEINCLAUSZ, *op. cit.*, pp. 325, 327.

tarde pas à s'apercevoir que le mouvement le plus actif règne dans l'intérieur des maisons."²¹

Despite these differences, the Croix-Rousse plateau and the Brotteaux-Guillotiere shared a common political heritage. These were both autonomous communes prior to 1852 with a strong attachment to self-government. Both had been implicated in the insurrections of 1831 and 1834, and both had elected radical municipal councils under the Second Republic, marking their autonomy from Lyon in political as well as administrative terms. Because of their role in the insurrections, they were ringed with military fortifications after 1834 to prevent further uprisings. The fortifications of the Croix-Rousse followed the line of the Saint-Sebastian wall and thus re-enforced the physical division between the population of the plateau and that of the slopes. These fortifications symbolized the suspicion with which these faubourgs were regarded by the authorities, until their assimilation to the municipal jurisdiction of Lyon in 1852, after which the fortifications were dismantled. The silk-weaving populations of the Croix-Rousse plateau and the Brotteaux shared, moreover, the characteristic of affluence, relative to weavers in other parts of the city. Studies of death inventories and successions for 1869 by Pierre Leon indicate that silk weavers in these two districts possessed the greatest share of real estate value held by silk workers in the city overall in 1869.²² Therefore, despite many differences of milieu and social experience which gave these two areas of the city their distinct character, they shared a common political legacy, and the silk weavers residing in such areas tended to be, in relative terms, among the more prosperous artisans of their trade.

Patterns of Social and Political Mobilization

²¹ Adrien PELADON fils, Guide de l'amateur et du l'étranger à Lyon et dans les environs, Paris, Benjamin-Duprat, 1864, p. 453.

²² Pierre LEON, Géographie de la fortune et structures sociales à Lyon au XIXe siècle (1815-1914), Lyon, Centre d'Histoire Economique et Sociale de la Région lyonnaise, Université Lyon II, 1974, pp. 220, 224-225.

Social and political militancy from the time of the early July Monarchy manifested a complex fusion of localist identities, centered on the neighborhood, with identities transcending the locality and representing a more unitary spatial concept. Both the nature of these identities and the varieties of fusion of localist and unitary perspectives reflected the different characteristics of milieu for the areas of the city discussed above. In the militancy of the early July Monarchy, in which the silk weavers played the prominent role, events and associations highlighted the emerging position of the Croix-Rousse in the city's silk manufacture. The critical event which triggered the 1831 insurrection was the confrontation of weavers assembled on one side of the St Sebastian wall, that of the plateau, with a national guard unit of silk merchants and industrialists on the other side, that of the slopes. The weavers' attempt to cross the wall in order to descend the slopes by the Grande Cote manifested a solidarity of slopes and plateau based on the common industrial vocation of weavers residing on either side of the barrier between city and faubourg. In the fighting which ensued, weavers of slopes and plateau played the central part. They were joined, however, by weavers of the St. Georges and St. Just quarters on the right bank of the Saone, the other large center of silk-weaver residence, and by workers from the Brotteaux and Guillotiere. The contribution of insurgents from both of these other areas insured the success of the Croix-Rousse uprising. In one of the more dramatic actions, such solidarity involving different parts of city and surrounding faubourgs was vividly manifest. A group of 100 workers of the Guillotiere and Brotteaux under the lead of Leclerc, founder of the velvet-weavers' mutual aid society, made its way from the left bank of the Rhone to the right bank of the Saone and, gathering recruits along the way, marched from St. Just to Vaise, crossed the Saone at L'Isle Barbe, and then marched into the Croix-Rousse through the rural commune of Caluire-Cuire.²³

A similar fusion of perspectives involving both concentration in particular areas and cooperation among several parts of the city was evident in various organizational efforts surrounding and following the insurrection. Meetings to mobilize support for a tariff of

²³ Fernand RUDE, L'Insurrection lyonnaise de novembre 1831: le mouvement ouvrier à Lyon de 1827-1832, Paris, Anthropos, 1969, pp. 379-388, 436-437.

piece-rates for silk weaving -- the main issue which provoked the insurrection -- were held largely in the Croix-Rousse, yet delegates were recruited for drafting the tarif from "40 circonscriptions de quartiers ou de rues" throughout the city and faubourgs, "comprenant sans doute chacune 200 chefs d'atelier environ."²⁴ The Societe d'Indication mutuelle, from which the leadership of the weavers' movement was recruited, included, among its 105 members in 1828, 85 residents of the Croix-Rousse plateau and slopes, 14 residents from the right bank of the Saone, and only 2 from the Brotteaux.²⁵ The leadership of the Devoir mutuel which succeeded it and had, by 1834, several thousand members came from all parts of the city where silk-weaving took place, including a significant number from the Brotteaux and Guillotiere, where 9% of the looms were located by 1833. This was indicated by the residences of those arrested and interrogated following the 1834 uprising.²⁶ The same association embodied the fusion of localist and unitary perspectives in its organizational structure, which was articulated progressively from the twenty-member neighborhood loge at the base to the central Council of Presidents at the summit.²⁷

In the events of 1848 and the Second Republic, the Croix-Rousse, especially the faubourg-commune of the plateau, again emerged as the center of mobilizing action. Several dramatic incidents occurred here, notably the takeover of the fortifications between plateau and slopes by the paramilitary group of journeymen weavers, the Voraces, and the failed insurrection of June 1849. The Croix-Rousse also centralized the democratic movement through its organization of clubs. The Jandard cafe in the heart of the Croix-Rousse faubourg served as headquarters for both Voraces and the Central

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 306-313.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-137.

²⁶ "Information contre la Société des Mutualistes du 22 mai au 3 juillet 1834," Archives nationales CC 558 dossier Mutuellisme; "Recensement de Gasparin, Préfet du Rhône, 1833," reported in Arlès-Dufour, Un mot sur les fabriques étrangères des soieries, 1834, pp. 106ff., 129 ff., Archives de la Chambre de commerce de Lyon, Soieries - Carton 21 - Tissage de Soieries (Statistiques), Recensement des métiers à différentes époques (1600 à 1844).

²⁷ Robert J. BEZUCHA, The Lyon Uprising of 1834: Social and Political Conflict in the Early July Monarchy, Cambridge (USA), Harvard University Press, 1974, p. 101.

Democratic Club, and, after the dissolution of the Club by the authorities, for one of the large cooperative "fraternal associations." From this center emerged a political and social movement that aspired to embrace the entire city. The Democratic Club sent its "citizens" throughout the city to organize or to affiliate into a unified network clubs in every neighborhood. The main cooperative societies organized in 1849 and 1850 either set up branch outlets or envisaged the establishment of stores in the various areas of Lyon and faubourgs, notably in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere and in the silk-weaving quarters on the right bank of the Saone. These outlets and stores were to serve specific neighborhoods. The most concentrated activity of such associations, however, was on the plateau and slopes of the Croix-Rousse, which, by the time of the Second Republic, was the uncontested center of silk weaving. The military and political repression following the June 1849 insurrection provoked division within some of these associations, however, and this generated a certain fragmentation of territorial identity.²⁸ Thus overall the cooperative movement, like the club movement, reflected two different territorial orientations, one confined to a particular area of the city, such as the Croix-Rousse plateau, and inspiring a concentration of organizational efforts there, and the other more imperial in scope, where association in one area served as the starting point for a universal enterprise embracing the city as a whole.

These two different yet correlative territorial orientations were evident in the cooperative movement of the 1860's and 1870's as well, especially in the consumer cooperatives. These latter were more localized and fragmented than the fraternal associations organized under the Second Republic. Membership lists and other archival records of such consumer cooperatives suggest especially strong concentration of membership, not only by area -- for example, in the Croix-Rousse area or in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere -- but also by arrondissement or neighborhood within a given area. Localism was especially evident

²⁸ Mary Lynn STEWART-MCDOUGALL, The Artisan Republic: Revolution, Reaction, and Resistance in Lyon, 1848-1851, Kingston and Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984, pp. 50-57, 65-68, 78, 120-122, 128-134, 142; Jean GAUMONT, Histoire générale de la coopération en France, Tome I: Précurseurs et prémises, Paris, Fédération nationale des coopératives de consommation, 1924, pp. 382-396.

in consumer cooperatives of the Croix-Rousse area. Among 15 such cooperatives for which lists are available, the membership of 13 resided predominantly either on the slopes (First Arrondissement) or on the plateau (Fourth Arrondissement). In a majority of these latter societies, 80% or more of their members resided in one or the other of these arrondissements in the 1860's.

Concentration of membership went even further than this, as one might see by grouping residences of members in standard map districts of the municipality for 1866-1895.²⁹ The results of such grouping are given in Table 3 below. For each arrondissement, the layout of map districts, each of which is identified by its official map district number, is given in the initial grid (bold print). This layout indicates the actual physical correspondance of the areas included within the cells of the grid in relation to one another. The map districts represented in each grid are those having the largest share of members of the consumer cooperatives represented for each arrondissement. For each cooperative a grid corresponding to the initial grid for that arrondissement distributes, in percentage terms, the residences of members among the various map districts in the grid. The percentage in each cell of the grid represents the share of members of the cooperative residing in the corresponding map district relative to all members residing in **that** arrondissement. The sum of percentages in all cells of the grid is given below each cooperative's grid. This is followed in parentheses by a ratio, the first term of which is the percentage of **all** members of the society residing in that arrondissement, and the second term of which is the percentage of **all** members residing in the **other** arrondissement. Since only two arrondissements are studied in these examples, it is clear what the other arrondissement is.

²⁹ Plan Général - Atlas, 1866 -, Archives municipales de Lyon 450.037; Plan Général, 1895, Archives municipales de Lyon, 450.032.

Table 3

Distribution of Residences of Members of Selected Consumers'
Cooperatives According to Map District, 1860's - 1870's

Sources: Listes des Actionnaires, Archives départementales du Rhône, 9U
Sociétés - Constitutions et Modifications, sociétés Epicerie ouvrière (le 10 septembre 1864), Prévoyante (le 29 septembre 1865), Ruche (le 17 mai 1866 et le 21 août 1867), Espérance ouvrière (le 23 août 1866), Emancipation des Consommateurs (le 12 septembre 1866), Francs Coopérateurs (le 20 septembre 1866 et le 21 mars 1868), Boulangerie du Bon-Pasteur (le 19 novembre 1869); Listes des Membres, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 562, Société alimentaire du Quartier des Tapis, et 4M 564, Boulangerie Ménagère, Société coopérative de Boulangerie des Familles.

Tableau 3 : Répartition des lieux de résidence des membres d'un échantillon de coopératives de consommation d'après le plan des districts, 1860-1870.

Sources : Listes des Actionnaires, A.D.R., 90 Sociétés - Constitutions et Modifications, sociétés Epicerie ouvrière (le 10 septembre 1864), Prévoyante (le 29 septembre 1865), Ruche (le 17 mai 1866 et le 21 août 1867), Espérance ouvrière (le 23 août 1866), Emancipation des Consommateurs (le 12 septembre 1866), Francs Coopérateurs (le 20 septembre 1866 et le 21 mars 1868), Boulangerie du Bon-Pasteur (le 19 novembre 1869) ; Listes des Membres, A.D.R., 4M 562, Société alimentaire du Quartier des Tapis, et 4M 564, Boulangerie Ménagère, Société coopérative de Boulangerie des Familles.

Premier arrondissement							
		102	103				
		118	119				
La Ruche	Francs Coopérateurs	Bon-Pasteur		Boulangerie des Familles			
45	26	14	39	35	32	34	
31	53						
76	(80 ; 12)	93	(56 ; 39)	74	(82 ; 8)	66	(60 ; 37)

Quatrième arrondissement								
		56						
		71	72					
		86	87	88				

Epicerie Ouvrière		Prévoyante		Espérance Ouvrière	
35	10	31	12	38	49
10	22	17	14		
77	(80 ; 20)	74	(68 ; 28)	87	(96 ; 3)

Emancipation des Consommateurs		Tapis		Boulangerie Ménagère	
12	10	57	25	30	18
51	13			19	
86	(95 ; 1)	82	(82 ; 14)	67	(76 ; 21)

FIRST ARRONDISSEMENT

102	103
118	119

La RucheFrancs CoopérateursBon-PasteurBoulangerie
des Familles

45
31

26	14
53	

39	35

32	34

76 (80:12)

93 (56:39)

74 (82:8)

66 (60:37)

FOURTH ARRONDISSEMENT

		56
	71	72
86	87	88

Epicerie OuvrièrePrévoyanteEspérance Ouvrière

35	10	
10	22	

		12
31	14	
17		

38	49	

77 (80:20)

74 (68:28)

87 (96:3)

Emancipation des
ConsommateursTapisBoulangerie Ménagère

12	10	
51	13	

57	25	

	18	
30	19	

86 (95:1)

82 (82:14)

67 (76:21)

These examples illustrate a tendency within some societies to recruit most of their members from a limited number of districts within the arrondissement as a whole. For example, within the First Arrondissement, the cooperatives La Ruche and Francs Cooperateurs recruited respectively from the two different sides of the Croix-Rousse slopes -- one from the western side and one from the eastern. Within the Fourth Arrondissement, the majority of members of the societies Emancipation des Consommateurs and Societe Alimentaire des Tapis resided in two different map districts, while the membership of Esperance Ouvriere was concentrated elsewhere on the Croix-Rousse plateau. Between the cooperatives Bon-Pasteur and Boulangerie des Familles on the slopes, and between Epicerie Ouvriere and Prevoyante on the plateau, however, recruitment of members appears to have been more competitive, since membership in both societies of each arrondissement was concentrated in the same map districts. Closer examination of three of these societies -- Boulangerie des Familles, Epicerie Ouvriere and Prevoyante -- indicates that they belonged to a group of cooperatives having a significant dispersion of membership **between** the two arrondissements, a group which included, in addition, Francs Cooperateurs and Boulangerie Menagere. One of these, Boulangerie Menagere, had a dispersed membership even on the plateau. In other words, within the same cooperative movement, at least two different tendencies of territorial identification might be discerned -- one emphasizing localization around the neighborhood, the other more expansive with respect to the larger area and therefore potentially more competitive for membership with other societies. The case of La Ruche and Francs Cooperateurs suggests that differentiation on a localized basis was sharper on the slopes than on the plateau, where, despite tendencies towards differential concentration in particular neighborhoods, there remained much overlap of memberships of different societies in any given map district.

Study of the institutional development, social programs, and ideological profiles of individual consumer cooperatives provides further evidence of these distinctions and illuminates their rationale. Two of the expansive societies identified above, Boulangerie

Menagere and Boulangerie des Familles, were cooperative bread bakeries whose members were largely radical-democratic activists.³⁰ One suspects a political and ideological motivation behind their commercial ambitions. The two societies competing for members on the northern slopes of the First Arrondissement, Boulangerie du Bon-Pasteur and Boulangerie des Familles, were not only bread bakeries but political rivals as well -- the first clerical, the second radical-democrat.³¹ Their competition for members within the same neighborhoods thus had a clear ideological rationale. The two cooperative groceries competing in the same districts on the plateau, Epicerie Ouvriere and Prevoyante, on the other hand, were not ideologically opposed. Between the 1860's and 1870's, Epicerie Ouvriere narrowed its ambitions to the plateau, becoming more localized in its territorial perspective, while Prevoyante widened its horizons to the Croix-Rousse area as a whole by a dramatic increase in membership (from 152 to 369 members) and a simultaneous growth in the percentage of members residing outside of the Fourth Arrondissement (from 32% to 44%).³² This seemed to correspond to the exceptional dynamism and expansiveness shown by this society in the cooperative movement as a whole. It took the lead in the 1860's, for instance, in an attempt to federate all consumer cooperatives into a unified umbrella enterprise, and its administrators were among the more prominent militants in the city-wide cooperative movement.³³

³⁰ "Boulangerie Menagère" et "Société Coopérative de Boulangerie des Familles," Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 564.

³¹ "Boulangerie du Bon-Pasteur" et "Société Coopérative de Boulangerie des Familles," Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 564.

³² Liste des Actionnaires, Archives départementales du Rhône, 9U Sociétés - Constitutions et Modifications, Prévoyante, le 29 septembre 1865; Liste des Membres, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 562, La Prévoyante.

³³ Eugène FLOTARD, "Projet de l'établissement d'un magasin central de commerce," dans le Bulletin coopératif, Le Progrès (Lyon), le 18 décembre 1865; FLOTARD, Bulletin coopératif, Le Progrès, le 15 avril 1867; George SHERIDAN, "Les réseaux de direction dans les associations sociales et non politiques des ouvriers en soie de Lyon (1860-1877)," Du groupe au réseau: réseaux religieux, politiques, professionnels (Textes réunis et présentés par Philippe Dujardin), Paris, Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1988, p. 178.

This city-wide movement attained its summit of unitary expression in the organization of the producers' cooperative, the Association des Tisseurs, in 1867. While articulating in the clearest way a solidarity transcending area or neighborhood identity, this association also provided another context for assertion of the latter. In fact, as a self-contained movement, producers' cooperation reflected the recurring fusion of localized and unitary perspectives in the most integrated way. The organizational structure of the association was based on neighborhood units called séries, in which funds were collected and policies debated.³⁴ Séries in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere tended to coalesce on certain issues against séries from the Croix-Rousse, or against the leadership of the association, which came predominantly from the Croix-Rousse.³⁵ This suggested that the association served as a forum for mobilizing area-wide opinion and thus contributing to the construction within the association of distinct political identities having clear territorial affiliation. The unitary identity of the association as a whole was nonetheless maintained and even ritualized by mass meetings of several thousand members. These were usually held at the Rotonde in the Brotteaux.³⁶ The same combination of serial organization and large mass meetings marked the mobilizing activity of silk weavers' resistance associations in the several cloth categories in 1869-1870. The federated Societe Civile de Prévoyance et de Renseignements pour le Travail des Tisseurs, which merged these several associations into a single body, also held its meetings of 7-8000 silk workers at the Rotonde.³⁷ The experience of unitary organization thus affirmed both the continuing significance of the neighborhood as the primary context for collective action and the authority of a new

³⁴ Rapport du Commissaire spécial, "Société industrielle et de prévoyance des tisseurs," le 27 avril 1864, et rapport de Faure au Préfet du Rhône sur l'Association des tisseurs, le 10 novembre 1866, dossier "Société industrielle et de prévoyance des tisseurs," Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 45, no. 114, 120.

³⁵ Rapport de Faure au Préfet du Rhône, le 6 février 1867, dossier "Société industrielle et de prévoyance des tisseurs," Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 45, no. 130; rapport de Faure au Préfet du Rhône, le 18 juin 1867, Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 43, no. 204.

³⁶ Dossier "Société industrielle et de prévoyance des tisseurs," Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 45.

³⁷ Dossiers sur le mouvement des catégories, 1869-1870, Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 47(B); dossiers sur la Société Civile et sur le mouvement des catégories, Archives départementales du Rhône, 10M 2 et 10M 3.

expression of city-wide community, the mass meeting, for which a particular site in the heart of the Brotteaux served as focal point.

Alongside these formal, legal and disciplined activities, a political movement developed in the last years of the Second Empire which reached fruition in 1870-71 and in the early years of the Third Republic. Like the formal organizational efforts, political association merged intense localism with various attempts to provide central direction. Localism reflected what seemed to be the natural expression of neighborhood identity and therefore persisted throughout periods of calm or repression, when central organization was either futile or impossible. This was evident in all areas of the city, but especially in the Croix-Rousse and Brotteaux-Guillotiere, where political militancy was concentrated.³⁸ The Brotteaux-Guillotiere seemed an especially fertile milieu for the proliferation of small, volatile, and ephemeral groups and gatherings. Police of the late Second Empire characterized the area as frequented by "demagogues" of various political orientations -- militants of the Workingmen's International, Carbonarist veterans of 1848, Proudhonian organizers of small mutual credit societies, and democrats supporting different candidates for various elections. Such concentration of "demagogery" on the left bank of the Rhone was in fact a complex mosaic of spontaneous and not always exclusively political enterprises, nearly always sprouting in particular places and around specific cafes. The meetings themselves often combined singing and family gathering with political discussion, thus assimilating politics with the natural sociability of the milieu long devoted to recreation and entertainment. Such groups were mobilized around a common center and affiliated with similar neighborhood gatherings on the Croix-Rousse for major elections, such as the national legislative election of 1869, and especially in response to crisis situations, such as that surrounding defeat in the Franco-Prussian War and the fall of the Empire in August-September 1870. Central committees emerged to give unitary direction to the various local groups of militants.

In the most crisis-ridden moments, such as those following military disaster at Nuits in December 1870 and in the wake of the suppression of the Commune of Lyon in April 1871, mass meetings and demonstrations provided a sense of common purpose. These meetings and demonstrations often took place at the same sites which had served as focal points for formal organization.³⁹ In the political mobilization among radical democrats and socialists during the years following the events of 1870-71, neighborhood "groups" and workers' cercles persisted as a basis for political action, while central committees and charismatic leaders provided unitary direction at critical moments.⁴⁰ Collections for political prisoners and for lay schools, which were also organized around neighborhoods, affirmed localism in another way, while civil funerals, which usually involved whole districts, ritualized the solidarity of the area as a whole.⁴¹ In these many ways, the natural bonds of neighborhood identity were strengthened and expressed, while ties of a more unitary territorial vision were periodically renewed and activated for political ends.

Conclusion

The panorama of milieu and weavers' militancy outlined above suggests certain types of convergence. The spatial environment of areas and neighborhoods of the city favored a tendency towards localized solidarity as the more "natural" expression of social and political identity. Yet this convergence operated at different degrees and in different ways for various parts of the city. In the Croix-Rousse area, the combination of physical

³⁸ Voir surtout les rapports de Faure au Préfet du Rhône, 1867, Archives municipales de Lyon, I2 43; rapports sur les mouvements, partis et associations politiques, 1872 à 1875, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 246.

³⁹ Voir, par exemple, les rapports sur l'assassinat du Commandant Arnaud à la Croix-Rousse, le 21 décembre 1870, et sur l'émeute du 30 avril 1871, Archives départementales du Rhône, 4M 223.

⁴⁰ Voir les rapports sur l'Alliance républicaine et sur les activités de l'Internationale, surtout le rapport du Commissaire spécial de police Delmas au Préfet de Police, le 2 octobre 1875, "Police politique - Agissements des partis politiques 1875," Archives départementales du Rhône 4M 246.

⁴¹ Voir, par exemple, les adresses des collecteurs pour les souscriptions en faveur de l'enseignement libre et laïque aux "Chroniques locales" du journal Le Petit Lyonnais des années 1871 à 1873.

geography and layout of streets and buildings fragmented neighborhoods and sharply defined interior spaces, especially on the slopes. The impact of such fragmentation was acutely apparent in the residential distribution of membership of consumers' cooperatives in the 1860's and 1870's. Patterns of life and work in the area tended to emphasize, moreover, the "interiority" of family and shop over the sociability of the street and cafe, as reflected in the smaller number of cafes and similar establishments per resident as compared with other areas of the city. The tendency of some consumers' cooperatives in the area to concentrate their membership and activity within the orbit of certain well-defined neighborhoods manifested this interiority. Within the Croix-Rousse area as a whole, then, localist tendencies of association and militant action were thus favored as most naturally fitting the topographical and social milieu, even though nothing about this milieu resisted a more expansive organizational and militant orientation, as the examples of several consumers' cooperatives showed.

In the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, on the other hand, localism was imposed by the circumstances of the milieu. The vast expanse of the area made localism the necessary approach to social and political mobilization and inhibited the ready construction of a concerted area-wide movement. At the same time, the sociability and occupational diversity of the area favored more intensity and variety of interaction external to the household than in the Croix-Rousse. The greater prevalence of commerce and cafe life enhanced the likelihood that residents of the area would communicate with one another outside family and shop more frequently during the day, and this communication involved workers of more diverse working conditions and experiences than in the Croix-Rousse area. The number of moments and variety of types of localized militancy that might thrive in such an environment were thus large, and the area as a whole invited more innovation and adventure in politics and association.

Concurrent with this accent on localized action, both areas provided fertile contexts for the construction of unitary solidarity, but in different ways. In the Croix-Rousse area, the relative openness of the plateau, both naturally and in terms of layout of streets and

buildings, facilitated communication among neighborhoods, rather than encouraging a compactness and exclusivism as on the slopes. Frequently the plateau thus emerged as the center of collective action, not merely in the localized, fragmented sense of consumers' cooperatives, but also as a unified community. The plateau was small enough to involve all residents in community events, and the traditions of autonomous faubourg existence and political initiative in the early July Monarchy and Second Republic enhanced feelings of communal identity. Certain centrally-defined places, such as the Boulevard and the Place of the Croix-Rousse, offered readily-identifiable points of common assembly, besides serving as sites for promenade and conversation on holidays and summer evenings. The construction of area-wide solidarity was facilitated by this sense of indivisible community transcending the fragmentation of formal association, a sense which was aroused especially in moments of political crisis.

Such a sense of community was less apparent in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, but there another factor contributed to the convergence of activity and purpose in unitary action. This was the tradition of entertainment and theater, which by the end of the Second Empire had itself been transformed from a more diffuse and petty entrepreneurial activity to a more centralized enterprise, associated with the Parc de la Tete d'Or and a few large concert and assembly halls. At the same time, the introduction of a new form of political and social action, the mass meeting, established a new kind of reciprocity between politics and theater. Political and social mobilization thus centered around the mass meeting and used as focal points the same establishments which served the recreational vocation of the area. This type of unitary expression was elicited in politics especially by the critical events surrounding the fall of the Second Empire and the founding of the Third Republic. The traditional entertainment function of the left bank of the Rhone thus translated into mobilization on a grand scale of workers who were both actors and audience in a drama concerning the destiny of the nation as a whole.

Unitary solidarity was not confined to the area, however, whether in the Croix-Rousse or in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere. In the early July Monarchy and the period of 1848, the area

served as the base from which a movement of universal scope was launched, territorially as well as ideologically. At these times the Croix-Rousse faubourg-plateau served most frequently as the starting point for such a movement embracing the city and faubourgs as a whole. In the late Second Empire and early Third Republic, such a universal orientation was manifest in city-wide associations, such as the producers' cooperative Association des Tisseurs and the resistance organization Societe Civile. It was also evident in the various attempts to centralize local political associations into a movement having unified direction for the city as a whole. These efforts did not emanate for the most part from a single area, as had the movements of the earlier periods. Rather there was a sharing of initiative and a distribution of militant activity between the two major industrial districts of Lyon, the Croix-Rousse area and the Brotteaux-Guillotiere, the character of which varied in relation to the different milieux in the two areas.

The centering of universalist activity on the Croix-Rousse plateau in the period up to 1848 and the dissemination of such activity more or less equally between the two areas in the later period reflected the concurrent relative position of these areas within the industrial matrix of the city. By 1848 the Croix-Rousse had emerged as the center of the city's most important industry, silk manufacture. The Brotteaux-Guillotiere was still in the process of development. By the end of the Second Empire, however, the continuing industrialization of the city had situated this latter area in a position rivaling that of the Croix-Rousse. In terms of new industry, the left bank of the Rhone was more developed. Although the statistical importance of this area in silk manufacture was inferior to the Croix-Rousse and even to the Fifth Arrondissement, the area was nonetheless predominant in several auxiliary industries essential to that manufacture. Weavers residing in the Brotteaux, moreover, were more like those of the Croix-Rousse plateau in terms of average wealth, a factor which was perhaps more significant than mere numbers as a determinant of social and political militancy.

Several Marxist historians have used some of these indicators to suggest that conditions in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere were more proletarian than those on the Croix-Rousse, and

that the politics and social activism of workers, including silk weavers, therefore tended to be more socially radical in the former area.⁴² Although such an argument oversimplifies both the character and the causation of militancy, it does elicit a highly significant point. The ideological universalism of the late Second Empire and early Third Republic, associated equally with revolutionary socialism and radical democracy, sprouted with as much force in the Brotteaux-Guillotiere during the 1860's and 1870's as it had in the Croix-Rousse in the period of 1848, and for reasons that were not fundamentally dissimilar. In both periods such universalism was a manifestation of industrial dynamism. This did not imply, however, a substitution of centers of militancy by the later period, but rather a different character of the universalist orientation of silk weaver militancy of the Croix-Rousse as compared with that of worker and weaver militancy on the left bank of the Rhone. Both areas of the city emerged integrally and frequently cooperatively to initiate and define Lyon's radical and socialist traditions for the remainder of the century. Yet both areas contributed to those traditions perspectives of program and organization that bore the marks of a nurturing in different socio-topographical milieux.

⁴² Sreten MARITCH, Histoire du mouvement social sous le Second Empire à Lyon, Paris, Rousseau, 1930; Maurice MOISSONNIER, La Première Internationale et la Commune à Lyon, Paris, Editions sociales, 1972.