Women's History MAGAZINE

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WHN Conference 2002 Report

Clare Evans Prize Awarded

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women's HISTORY NETWORK

WOMEN'S HISTORY NETWORK

Twelfth Annual Conference

Contested Terrains:
Gendered Knowledge, Landscapes and Narratives

13th – 14th September 2003

King's College, University of Aberdeen, Scotland

(GWW Collection, University of Aberdeen)

Call for Papers

'Men make history; women are history.' One of the primary functions of women's history has been to contest Oswald Spengler's notorious *diktat*. In recent years some of the most challenging work in the field has deconstructed the processes by which women's history is 'made', in every sense of the word, and how women have been represented in the historical record. This has meant reconsidering not only those areas in which women have challenged men's claim to own the spatial and intellectual terrain, but also the means – discursive or visual - by which women have been constructed and constricted. The purpose of this conference is to bring together the great variety of work being done in this area. Strands may cover:

Hearth and Home	Nation and Identity
Travel and Empire	Mapping the Female Body
Science, Medicine and Technology	Schools
Intellectual and Cultural Terrains	Workplace
Sexuality	The Socio-Political Sphere
Urban Space/ Rural Space	Health and Healing

(Other topics will be considered, but please ensure that they relate to the conference theme).

Please email abstracts of 250 words to Debbi Simonton by the 1st deadline of 31 January 2003, or the 2nd deadline of 31 March 2003, priority being given to papers submitted by 31 January.

Email: conference2003@womenshistorynetwork.org or Fax: +44 (0) 1224 272445

For conference information, please see the Women's History Network website at
www.womenshistorynetwork.org

Administrator: Joyce A. Walker (Women's History Network) , c/o Dept. of History, University of Aberdeen, Crombie Annexe, Meston Walk, Old Aberdeen, AB24 3FX

EDITORIAL

This autumn issue of the *Women's History Magazine* follows immediately upon the heels of another very successful Women's History Network annual conference. This year's conference — the WHN's eleventh — focused on the subject of 'Earning and Learning'. Under the careful guidance (and much hard work) of two members of the Steering Committee, Nicola Pullin and Stephanie Spencer, the conference drew a large group of women's historians to Royal Holloway College, University of London, on 14–15 September. The articles in this issue by Debbi Simonton, Nicola Pullin and Rebecca Rogers, originally papers given at the Berkshire Conference of Women Historians in June 2002, will provide an insight into the new research and thinking that is going on in this important area. Reading through the articles, one is struck once again by the importance of women's informal, as well as formal, education. The articles serve not only to reinforce our understanding of women's education as serving a variety of purposes, and to demonstrate the ways that women used their knowledge, but also to emphasize the multiplicity of strategies that women employed to turn their abilities to financial ends. Once again, it is the richness and diversity of women's historical experience that comes through so clearly — that diversity which confounds simple attempts at categorization and pushes women's historians to seek more subtle and satisfying answers to questions at every level.

Plans for the 2003 conference are already well under way. In accordance with the WHN's commitment not to be uniquely Southern and to cater to members outside of London, the 2003 conference will be held 'up North'. Indeed, Aberdeen will be the furthest 'North' the conference has ever been! However, cheap flights make Aberdeen easily accessible (and less expensive than many train fares to London!) and facilities in Aberdeen are excellent. For those who can combine the conference with a short break, the city and surrounding area offer plenty of opportunities for walking, shopping, touring or just taking a 'wee dram' and tasting any one of the region's many famous whiskies. The conference aims to give members a chance to share and debate new research and to make contact with the vibrant community of women's historians in Scotland. For further information or to submit a proposal for consideration, the call for papers has been included on the inside cover of this issue.

As you may have realised by looking at the contact name on the banner at the top of this page, the WHN has a new Administrator in the form of Joyce Walker. While we were all very sorry to lose Jocelyne Audsley, who had filled this role so competently and dealt with our idiosyncrasies so patiently for several years, we are very pleased to wish her well on her new ventures. In her place, we would like to welcome Joyce, who combines administrative expertise with a PhD in History from the University of Aberdeen.

The WHN is continuing to improve its website and update its membership database. The new website is located at www.womenshistorynetwork.org. Difficulties with the membership database have been dealt with and all members are encouraged to update their membership details with the Membership Secretaries, Amanda Capern and Carmen Mangion. Those of you with up-to-date email addresses will have already received an email letter and form asking for these details. Please do take the few minutes needed to fill out the form and email it back. The more complete our information is, the better we will be able to serve you!

We hope that you enjoy this new issue of the *Women's History Magazine* and that you find the articles in it stimulating and thought-provoking. We welcome feedback: please send any comments on either our new format or on issues in women's history to ehchalus@aol.com. The *Women's History Magazine* is a fully refereed publication and we encourage all of our members to submit papers for future issues. Anyone interested in submitting a book review is asked to contact Jane Potter at jpotter@calculus.wolf.ox.ac.uk. Special issues planned for the next eighteen months include 'gender and the Middle Ages', 'feminism and sexuality', 'the family' and 'women and leisure'. Anyone wishing to submit a paper on any of these topics, or something else, should contact one of the members of the editorial team and obtain a copy of our 'Notes for Contributors'. The deadline for contributions to the Spring issue on gender and the Middle Ages, due to be published in February 2003, is 1 November.

We look forward to hearing from you and hope that you will join in our debates and discussions. In addition to the research articles published in this issue, we welcome 'think pieces' and 'comments' on any article of relevance to women's history.

Wishing you all an enjoyable and productive autumn,

The WHN's editorial team:
Heloise Brown, Elaine Chalus & Debbi Simonton

Cover image: Women Putting at St. Andrews, from the George Washington Wilson Collection, University of Aberdeen.

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Gender, Identity and Independence: Eighteenth-Century Women in the Commercial World

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The Corporate Town

This essay is set against the backdrop of the growth in commercial activity and consumer trades that characterised the late eighteenth century, arising from increased internal and international trade. In many respects the urban community began to open up, so that there was more freedom to trade. *Laissez-faire* ideas also influenced the manufacture and production of goods. However, the corporate community and its regulatory practices showed great resilience. These factors influenced the ways women fitted into the character of a town and the ways they could claim a role in the urban community.

At the same time, the middle-classes were developing an identity and an awareness of their position, and the commercial middling orders asserted themselves in this situation both economically and politically. The same commercial tendencies contributed to the increasing identification of bourgeois women with the home and domestic pursuits.[1] Ideological trends underpinned such redefinitions of woman's place. However, large numbers of women maintained a role in commercial activities as proprietors working independently or in partnerships.[2] Thus, numerous women made their way in the commercial community of eighteenth-century Europe, claiming a place and establishing an identity in that community.

This essay is not exclusively based on the experience of women in Aberdeen, Scotland, in the late eighteenth century, but by looking at specific women, we can illustrate the role that women could achieve in such a community. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the commercial classes virtually controlled Aberdeen through the corporate structure. Corporate regulation helped protect trades, maintain quality and regulate the workplace — and through it the community. The effect was to link economic, social and political roles in explicit and implicit ways, which had important ramifications for rank and status, but which also had meaning for gender in urban society. This was not unusual: throughout Europe, guildsmen appeared on town councils and the system 'with all its ways penetrated … political institutions through and through'.[3] Such was the case in Aberdeen where the Dean of Guild, Merchant-councillors and Trades-councillors were elected city positions.[4] The Provost, Dean of Guild and Magistrates were recruited exclusively from the merchant élite, a group which averaged twenty-seven men across the century. To enter the Guildry Court, a man had to be worth £150 of free stock and produce a certificate signed by two creditable burgesses: regulations that excluded women from formal political power.[5] The Trades-councillors formed a second tier that represented the seven incorporated trades. Records indicate the vast range of their influence and authority in the Corporation: poverty, trade, shipping, parliamentary appeals, providing teachers, inspecting schools, and so on.

Aberdeen was substantial in terms of size, importance and wealth, by eighteenth-century Scottish standards, with a mixed commercial economy which supported a fairly large middle class. By the second half of the century, harbour improvement was essential, since the commercial traffic of the town was necessarily seaborne. Much of this trade was internal, but true to Daniel Defoe's definition of a merchant, the merchants of Aberdeen were engaged in international trade. Thus, corporate Aberdeen was a trading centre for the hinterland and carried on more distant trade to Scottish and English ports, as well as further afield, largely to the Netherlands and Scandinavian and Baltic countries, where there were well-established links.

Writing Business

Along with a sense of industrial and scientific improvement and a feeling of growing prosperity, social aspirations governed the actions of wide sections of eighteenth-century European society. Increasing affluence, particularly for the bourgeoisie, enabled them to assume the trappings of those above them in the social hierarchy. At the same time, distinctions between labourer and artisan were blurred by increasing employment of waged labour instead of journeymen qualified by apprenticeship. The desire for advancement and the shifting relationships were also factors for stress in the community. The uncertainty about status heightened a concern for maintaining social distinctions and control, and also had implications for gender, where women could be seen as a threat to the male hegemony of business.

During the late eighteenth century we can see a process at work that was writing business as a male concern. It was decisively reconstructing the world of business as a masculine realm, where men, disciplined in habit, controlled the flow of commerce.[6] Male commentators, such as Joseph Collyer, Robert Campbell and Daniel Defoe, couched the concept of tradesman firmly in a male idiom: their tradesman was always male.[7] The language of business defined the tradesman as

restrained, non-emotional and self-disciplined. In admonishing him to be diligent, honest and to speak and write plainly, Defoe advised him to learn the business, learn to speak the language of business and 'understand the meaning of everything'.[8] He also put great store on 'credit,' by which he meant business reputation far more than the mere pecuniary sense of the word:

> There is a particular nicety in the credit of a tradesman … a man is slandered in his character, or reputation, and it is injurious; … but if this happens to a tradesman, he is immediately blasted and undone; a tradesman has but two sorts of enemies to encounter with, namely, thieves breaking open his shop, and ill neighbours blackening and blasting his reputation; and the latter are the worst thieves of the two.[9]

Business reputation was also important to women, and the vulnerability of the female trader and her ability to navigate the male world of trade required a consciousness of the terrain she was travelling. Defoe's analogy of a tradesman to a virgin is pregnant with significance: 'A tradesman's credit and a virgin's virtue ought to be equally sacred from the tongues of men'.[10]

Women in Towns

Women were ubiquitous in eighteenth-century towns. There was a steadily rising female-to-male sex ratio in the cities of Europe and an expanding range of work open to women. The urban economy represented opportunity for them, but it could be a minefield, with the risk of destitution leading to prostitution and other dangers, even for 'unprotected' women of the business classes. *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799* stressed the importance of accommodation, employment opportunities and rural emigration in drawing women into town, points echoed in Sharpe's work on Colchester:

> Besides the temptations of cheap commodious houses, of easy access to fuel, and to all the necessaries and comforts of life from our vicinity to the port and the market of Aberdeen and of the high probability of finding employment from some of the many manufactories carried on in our neighbourhood, induce many old women, and many of the widows and daughters of farmers and tradesmen, to leave the country and reside in this parish while their sons have either settled as farmers in their native place, or gone abroad or entered into the army or the navy.[11]

Although their existence might be precarious, the availability of furnished rooms, lodging houses and networks of women, not to mention shops and taverns which provided prepared food, meant that women could live alone and survive.

Throughout early-modern Europe women regularly participated in the urban economy, their economic role was acknowledged and their status as traders was widely recognised. But women were rarely given, or gained, an identity in the words of the law, at least as it pertained to trades and thus were rarely able to claim rights of their own. Where they did establish corporations, they enjoyed privileges comparable to those possessed by male masters. Yet female guilds were limited to a small number of 'feminine' trades. If the composition of the bureau of Parisian seamstresses is a guide, many women who achieved such a corporate identity were relatively prosperous minor entrepreneurs and virtually all practised on their own recognisance without the support of a male trader.[12]

Natalie Davis has argued that independent female traders could gain and maintain a sense of status through the esteem in which they were held by husbands, kin, neighbours, clients and other women traders. Credit for their work and ability remained largely within 'their street, their commérage, their tavern, their kin — unpublished and unsung'.[13] Status derived from work roles is an essentially male concept, particularly in a corporate community where reputation was closely linked to political power and standing. Yet, for women as for men, economic and social roles were closely linked, either as a way of creating a position in the corporate community or as a way of creating an independent identity.

Women and Marriage

Through marriage most women gained position and status. Eighteenth-century Europe was a patriarchal society in which men held overt political power and in which law and custom recognized the subordination of women to men. Of course, *most* women are not *all* women, and a substantial population of single and widowed females worked in their own right. Economic partnerships of husbands and wives dominated urban areas. Marriage also frequently went with the trade — indeed wedlock was often the point of conception for commercial activity.[14] Complex networks of family connections also fostered business, and many brides gained experience in a trade before marriage, entering the marital partnership with skills and experience. Wives appear regularly with husbands in legal documents such as apprenticeship

indentures, especially when a girl was involved.[15] Legal documents for Paris and the Ile de France were usually signed by merchants and countersigned by their wives, and port books for Scotland contain wives signing for cONSIGNMENTS instead of their husbands.[16]

In many respects the master's wife was the most important figure in the shop; she was responsible for its smooth running: providing food, keeping accounts, selling products, collecting debts, purchasing raw materials and running errands. Recognising the importance of her contribution, guild regulations often specified that masters were to be married. Her latent power is recognised by Robert Campbell who, in *The London Tradesman* (1747), warned that the master's wife must be considered before agreeing an indenture:

> Such a Woman who has got the better of her Husband, in the Management of her Domestic Concerns, must of Course rule his Apprentice; the youth must be Madame's Slave, must fetch and carry, & do all the Drudgery of her House without regard to his business, in which he is never employed but when she has nothing for him to do in the Kitchen.[17]

Note, however, his allocation of her to the kitchen and the male apprentice to the business. This passage depicts the tension between the emergent ideal of the subservient domestic woman and the reality of the potentially strong businesswoman. The workshop wife's position was 'utterly ambiguous', but her wide range of duties and responsibilities also made her more important. She worked in close parallel with her husband, had a powerful influence over day-to day matters and exercised considerable authority over workers in the shop. The character of her work could mean that she was in the shop more than he was. Indeed, her prominence and power also was her vulnerability, since it rested upon convention and marriage, and exposed her to grievance, a feature implied by Campbell.[18]

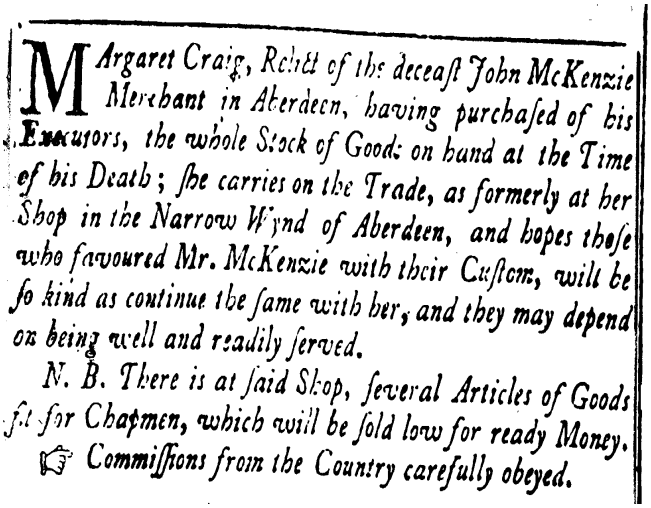
That women often worked side-by-side with husbands and substituted for them, either in the short term by taking turns at a loom, for instance, or in the longer term by managing an entire concern, suggests that some tasks were interchangeable. Women certainly learned many of the same jobs as men and could do them when required. However, if some work was interchangeable, ideas about it were not: wives temporarily took on *men's* work. When a woman's husband was able, she was expected to leave it to him and get on with *her* work.[19]

Widows were often allowed to maintain businesses because it was the simplest way to ensure that the family of a former colleague was provided for, but they had few rights of their own simply because they were women, not journeymen, and had not produced a masterpiece. Usually wives' and daughters' right to work in a trade was not formally recognized and was seldom mentioned in guild ordinances. However, as widows, women were permitted to continue in a private capacity, despite guild restrictions, precisely because authorities preferred that they worked rather than receive public charity. Wherever possible they carried on their husbands' trades, hiring workers for tasks that they could not perform, either through lack of ability and knowledge or because of customary taboos and restrictions. Of course, even when a widow concentrated on management and sales, with journeymen producing the goods, she required a good overall knowledge of the trade if not of the detail of the manufacture. In some cases, as trading widows, women gained greater economic status than other women and a certain amount of independence. At the same time, the difficulties of coping alone in the eighteenth-century economy, combined with difficulties attendant on women operating alone as masterless persons, meant that many widows were unable to maintain their livelihood.[20] It was the existence of networks of friends, family or trade colleagues that could give a widow an advantage over a spinster who tried to operate in the urban economy.

Innkeepers, Shopkeepers, Merchants

In Aberdeen, numerous women advertised that they were continuing husbands' businesses, often in so-called male trades. In 1755 and 1757, Christian Aberdein advertised in the *Aberdeen Journal* that she would continue her husband's staymaking business, and, similarly, in 1764 Margaret Craig gave that she would carry on her husband's merchant trade:

Figure 1: Advertisement placed by Margaret Craig



Margaret Craig, Relict of the deceaſt John McKenzie Merchant in Aberdeen, having purchaſed of his Executors, the whole Stock of Goods on hand at the Time of his Death; ſhe carries on the Trade, as formerly at her Shop in the Narrow Wynd of Aberdeen, and hopes thoſe who favoured Mr. McKenzie with their Cuſtom, will be ſo kind as continue the ſame with her, and they may depend on being well and readily ſerved.

N. B. There is at ſaid Shop, ſeveral Articles of Goods fit for Chapmen, which will be ſold low for ready Money.

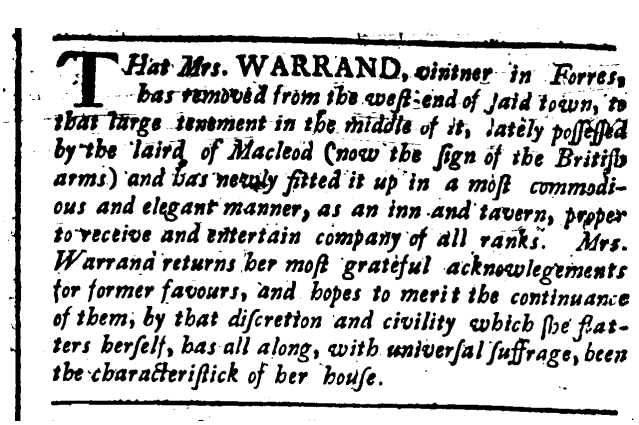
☞ Commiſſions from the Country carefully obeyed.

Margaret Craig provides several clues to her intentions and her claim to operate as a businesswoman. She purchased the stock

because she did not inherit it, and, by doing so, the executors could pay off McKenzie's debts.[22] As a result, she could have started in business on her own with a clean financial slate, however, in the advertisement, she suggested that she needed ready money, which she hoped to obtain by selling off some goods to chapmen. So, while she purchased the stock and intended operating the commercial operation on her own, she did appear to begin with a disadvantage in needing operating capital. The other clue, in common with many records, is that she claimed her place as a businesswoman. Her advertisement said that business 'will be carried on as formerly' and indicated goodwill among her husband's customers. She also said that 'they may depend on being well and readily served' and that she would 'carefully obey' commissions from the country. As the trading centre for the region, the hinterland was important. She was literally setting out her stall as a competent and reliable businesswoman. The wording is typical of advertisements placed by men and it is significant that she used the same language to establish her place in the commercial community. In this she followed Defoe's strictures and spoke plainly and directly, using the language of business. She was not using a 'feminine' discourse, nor was she trading on femininity.

She certainly was not unique in this: numerous other women placed similar advertisements employing similar language. For three weeks in August 1764, Mrs Kennedy of Montrose announced that she intended to continue the Ship's Tavern, 'where travellers and others may depend on the best Usage and Proper Accommodation'.[23] Advertisements regularly appeared for roups [auctions] at the inn until her death in July 1767. Similarly, advertisements placed by Mrs Forbes, a vintner of Peterhead, and Mrs Sherriffs, of Aberdeen, appeared regularly during the last half of the century. Keeping inns was considered a proper and suitable business for women and provided them with a good opportunity to make a living. When Mrs Warrand moved from the edge of Forres to the centre, in her advertisement she laid claim to the prestige of the location, the reputation of the previous possessor, and the elegance with which she had fitted out the premises:

Figure 2: Advertisement placed by Mrs Warrand



THat Mrs. WARRAND, vintner in Forres, has removed from the west-end of said town, to that large tenement in the middle of it, lately poſſeſſed by the laird of Macleod (now the ſign of the Britiſh arms) and has newly fitted it up in a moſt commodious and elegant manner, as an inn and tavern, proper to receive and entertain company of all ranks. Mrs. Warrand returns her moſt grateful acknowlegements for former favours, and hopes to merit the continuance of them, by that diſcretion and civility which ſhe flatters herſelf, has all along, with univerſal ſuffrage, been the characteriſtick of her houſe.

She also traded on her previous connections and 'the discretion and civility which has all along been the characteristic of her House'. Again, hers is the language of business, and the reference to discretion and civility is a particular reference to the sort of demeanour that was expected of the honest and 'complete tradesman [*sic*]'.[25]

The New Inn, which was built in a prominent position in the Castlegate in Aberdeen in 1754, was run by Mrs Robertson. The Masons owned the property and the Masonic lodge formed part of the tenement. John McGhie ran the Cross-keys coffee-house across the Square. Then in June 1763 he moved to the New Inn. He conducted the usual business of an inn, but his reputation was sullied by a complaint about his lack of hospitality for 'not receiving strangers to lodge' although he had accommodation available. He was fined and had to pay costs.[26] When he died, Mrs McGhie took over the business, which was thereafter regularly described in the *Aberdeen Journal* as 'Mrs. McGhie's House'.[27] It was a well-established concern and she conducted the wide range of activities expected of a prominent inn: she was certainly not restricted to selling beer. The central location of the inn on the Castlegate, which was the focus of the town's commercial activity, and the fact that the other two inns on the square were sold to other purposes, may well have been factors in her success. Indeed, the inn appears to have been an even more active place of commerce during her sole tenure. For example, on 24 May 1773, four different advertisements appeared simultaneously for events at her House: the auctions of two new houses, the sale of a mare and the meeting of the Club for its annual dinner when the annual contributions for the upkeep of the infirmary were to be paid. Those in charge of the roups and events placed the advertisements, which suggests that they were responsible for deciding where to hold them. Usually advocates in the town or other senior members of the community, they often used the same inn regularly, suggesting a recognised and trusted business arrangement with Mrs McGhie.[28] She had clearly gained and retained credit with a portion of the community: not only was the House identified as hers, but it also was a respected business. In 1769, Alexander Carlyle, Thomas Smollett's good friend, minister of Inveresk and a leading member of the Edinburgh literati, stayed at the New Inn and described it as 'a very good house — handsome rooms, very good service'. However, 'a little more attention to cleanliness thro' every part of the house would make it perfectly agreeable'. When James Boswell and Samuel Johnson visited the New Inn in August 1773 the inn was full, but on hearing who the visitors were, they were found room. Johnson approvingly wrote, 'we found a very good house and civil treatment'.[29]

So, by the use of language and the creation of business persona,

women like Mrs McGhie and her counterparts established themselves in the commercial and corporate community of Aberdeen. They claimed their place in the world of business by using the same language as businessmen portraying their business in the same terms. The operation of a 'civil business' with a good reputation, such as Mrs McGhie's, gained these women credit in the community.

Female Traders

Women trading on their own behalf in Aberdeen appear regularly in archival materials. The baker, Margaret Morice, another widow, is representative. She styled herself Margaret Morice and Co. from 1776 until 1794, when she reverted briefly to her birth name of Kennedy [sometimes Kennerty]. Notably, she retained the name Morice, under which she and her husband had built a business identity. Since Scottish women usually kept their own name, she appears to have deliberately utilised the company name to hold on to the prestige and commercial identity associated with her 'business' name. The firm was well established by the time she took it over. Her husband, John, had been recorded as 'burgess and baxter' in October 1739 when the first of their seven children was born. She was probably twenty-one at the time. John also served as a prosecution witness in a case of adulterated flour and was appointed three times as Master of the Hospital (1748, 1768 and 1769), a post which required, 'a diligent and godly man'. This position required him to organise the Incorporated Trades' charity events and oversee the accounts of the hospital, which housed indigent merchants, tradesmen and occasionally widows.[30] Thus he had achieved standing in the town, which operated by patronage and preferment within a closed community of status and prestige.

Other than birth records, the main source for Margaret Morice is the apprenticeship record, where she was described as 'baker in Aberdeen' from 1776 to her last entry in 1797. Her husband probably died about 1776, when she was 58. She is only associated with him as relict in the last indentures when she used her own name. Despite her seven children, three of whom were boys, none appeared to have joined the business — they are not associated with her in any records. Consequently, she would have needed apprentices to assist her.[31] As Campbell wrote, bakers' apprentices were usually a little older than average, because 'the great Burthens they are obliged to carry out in serving their Customers requires more strength than is normally to be met with in younger Years'.[32] While John was alive the partnership may not have needed apprentices, since he could have managed the heavy lifting. If they had taken apprentices while he was living, the records do not indicate it.

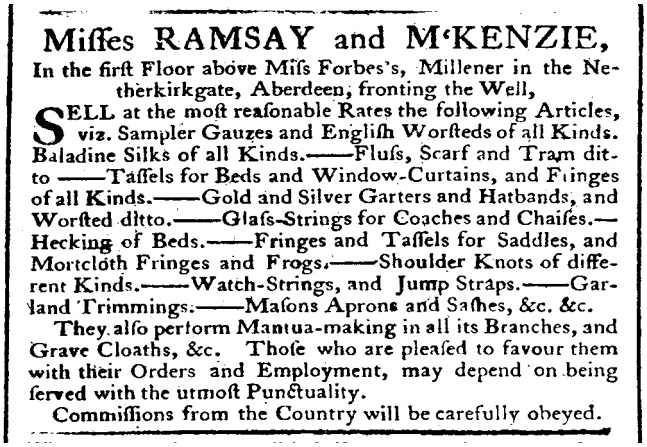
From the apprenticeship records, we can draw some idea of her position in the community (See Table). She operated on her own for about twenty years, and if apprentices served their full term, she had up to four apprentices at any time. The relatively large number gives some indication of the size of the operation. However, she might have been in breach of rules that specified that only three apprentices should serve a master at any time, and she took them on more frequently than rules allowed. An abstract of the rules indicates that 'no member to take a second [apprentice] until three years of the former apprentice's time be expired'.[33] Since these rules specifically referred to masters, it is likely the guild had turned a blind eye. The premium paid to her compared well with the average (£11) paid for boys apprenticed to male bakers in Aberdeen, Essex, Birmingham and Staffordshire. The term of apprenticeship was also comparable.[34] The fact that William Low paid no premium and his sons' terms were shorter suggests professional courtesy, since he was a baker and merchant.[35] The regularity of these apprenticeships suggests an orderly, well-run business and parents who must have been comfortable with placing their sons with her: the fathers and cautioners were all of middling status. On balance, this does not look like a business that was artificially propped up by the guild.

The premiums and number of apprentices fell off a little towards the end of the record, but then she was quite elderly (eighty years old). It is possible that William Low put his sons with her as a favour — only in these two indentures did she use her own name and not the company name. This would tally with what we know of guilds supporting widows of former masters. We have, therefore, a mixed picture of Margaret Kennedy Morice. She took over a well-established business and continued to run it, apparently in a well-ordered and well-regarded fashion. At the same time, there are indications of trade support for a widow in her old age through the apprenticeship of John Low's sons and her larger numbers of apprentices. It is a moot point whether or not an elderly man could have expected the same support.

Independence and Partnerships

Milliners, such as Misses Ramsay and McKenzie who worked in a partnership upstairs from Miss Forbes, also a milliner, also advertised frequently in the *Aberdeen Journal*:

Figure 3 : Advertisement of Ramsay and McKenzie



Miſſes RAMSAY and M'KENZIE,
In the firſt Floor above Miſs Forbes's, Millener in the Netherkirkgate, Aberdeen, fronting the Well,
SELL at the moſt reaſonable Rates the following Articles, viz. Sampler Gauzes and Engliſh Worſteds of all Kinds. Baladine Silks of all Kinds.——Fluſs, Scarf and Tram ditto ——Taſſels for Beds and Window-Curtains, and Fringes of all Kinds.——Gold and Silver Garters and Hatbands, and Worſted ditto.——Glaſs-Strings for Coaches and Chaiſes.—Hecking of Beds.——Fringes and Taſſels for Saddles, and Mortcloth Fringes and Frogs.——Shoulder Knots of different Kinds.——Watch-Strings, and Jump Straps.——Garland Trimmings.——Maſons Aprons and Saſhes, &c. &c.
They alſo perform Mantua-making in all its Branches, and Grave Cloaths, &c. Thoſe who are pleaſed to favour them with their Orders and Employment, may depend on being ſerved with the utmoſt Punctuality.
Commiſſions from the Country will be carefully obeyed.

The advertisement is typical of many that appeared over the years in that it indicated the range of goods supplied and the influence of luxury and fashion. When Miss Forbes died in January of 1773, the quality and range of her goods sold to settle her estate also demonstrated the growth in luxury trades and the demand for decoration and changing fashions:

> … a large and neat Assortment of Perfians of different Colours, Modes and Sattins of all kinds, Sarfinets, Muflins, Flowered, Striped and figured Gauzes, Blond and other Laces of all Sorts, Ribbons of the neweſt Patterns, Gloves for Ladies and Gentlemen, Silk Mitts, Ear-rings, Breast Flowers, Fans, Necklaces, together with a great Variety of Articles in the Milanery way of the latest and neweſt Fashions, ready-made.[38]

Indeed, milliners were often at the forefront of setting fashion. In the High Street, Colchester, Essex, from 1761, a large firm of milliners operated for some twenty years. Lucia Reeve took apprentices, at times with Hannah and later Sarah Reeve. Sometimes she styled her business Lucia Reeves and Co. It became Clara Reeve and Co in 1775.[39] Similarly, Ann and Hannah Prior began taking apprentices in 1786, while Mary Gibbon of Colchester (from 1753–1761), Dorothy Anslow (from 1786) and Phoebe Moreton of Wolverhampton (from 1791) each operated millinery or mantuamaking businesses on their own.[40] These firms demonstrated a regular pattern of apprenticing new girls and appear conscientiously run, successful enough to employ at least two women and two apprentices. They also emphasize the overwhelming female character of the trades.

In Aberdeen, Scotswomen Margaret Morice, Mrs McGhie and Mrs. Craig had worked as partners with their husbands; Misses Ramsay and McKenzie worked in partnership, and in a 'cluster' with Miss Forbes. In Edinburgh, at least 140 single women ran businesses, often in female partnerships.[41] The Priors and Reeves in Essex similarly show the significance of partnerships to women in running a business in eighteenth-century England. Similar situations also obtained on the Continent. In Geneva between 1741 and 1751, 50 of 206 licensed enterprises belonged to women, including 21 female partnerships, and a further 26 partnerships of men and women.[42]

Many female partnerships thrived. No doubt mutual dependence and reliance on the business for subsistence helped to cement them over time. Partnerships halved the cost of rent, servants and other outlays connected with setting up and managing a concern. Relatives, often sisters, lived together sharing expenses. Pam Sharpe's study of Hester Pinney has demonstrated the role of family networks, particularly sisters.[43] The recurrence of *de facto* associations in such numbers suggests that many women saw them as a valuable and often necessary route to survival. The millinery firms where girls of the same family were apprenticed also illustrate the networks of women in these trades. Only once did Christopher Gibbon share an indenture with his wife Mary, as did John Moreton with Phoebe. Given the gendered association of the female milliner to the male tailor, it is very probable that these men may have been tailors; however, the records suggest that these women operated independently or in a roughly equal partnership with husbands.

What this data does not tell us, of course, is how these women formed partnerships, how permanent they were and how they felt about them. It does provide snapshots. Cissy Murray, after marriage, looked back on her partnership with Janet Muschet, a shopkeeper in Edinburgh: 'I am sartin never was 2 more happy than we were, and tho I have reason to be thankful for the way I now am yet I never think on the years we spent thegether but with regrate'.[44] It is certain that some women strove for and valued independence. Ann Buchanan, from a landed family, wrote to Janet Muschet in 1758 asking to go into partnership in millinery with her and her cousin Cicely (Cissy, above):

> Dear Jannie,
>
> I am glad business is going on well with you … my most sincere thanks for your ready Agreeing in taking me in partners with you and your beloved Spouse [Cicely Murray]; Oh how happy will I be with you both … Mama and Grandpapa is very

TABLE

Margaret Morice (aka Kennedy), Margaret Morice and Co.[36]

Start Date	Style	Apprentice	Term	Premium	Cautioners
1776	Morice & Co	Thomas Warnach	5 years	£11	John (father) and James Warnach
1780 (April)	Morice & Co	William Anderson	5 years	£8	Duncan Anderson, father
1780 (Sept)	Margaret Morice & Co	Alexander Shepherd	4 years	£10	Father, James
1781	Margaret Morice & Co	Alexander Burgess	5 years	£10	Father, Alexander
1782	Margaret Morice & Co	William Abel	5 years	£8	David Morice, Advocate
1784	Margaret Morice & Co	Alexander Walker	4 years	£8	Wm Walker (father deceased)
1785	Margaret Morice & Co	George Murray	5 years	£8	
1786	Margaret Morice	Robert Watson	5 years	£8	
1789 (Jan)	Margaret Morice & Co	Andrew Robb	5 years	£7	
1789 (May)	Margaret Morice & Co	George McIneray	5 years	£8	
1791	Margaret Morice	George Moir	5 years	£2	William Moir, father
1792	Margaret Morice	James Fettes	5 years	£5	Mary Ogston, mother, and William Christie, Saddlers in Aberdeen
1794	Margaret Kennedy	Adam Low	3 years	none	Wm Low
1796	Margaret Kennedy, relict of John Morice	John Low	3 years	none	Wm Low

> well pleased with the proposal and is willing to give as much credit as needed; … they were told att home that it was Lady Polmaise that first made the proposal of taking me in with you; So in case they be writing any thing of it to Cicy Dont say Anything that it was myself, I long for the time when I shall be with you.[45]

The fact that she suggested joining the partnership was itself an indication of her intentions. She later objected to Janet Muschet treating her like a servant and her tone clearly indicated that she saw herself setting up in business with a partner on an equal basis. While the expectations of the two cousins were different — Cicely needed a subsistence while Ann was secure in a landed family — they both used the partnership for their own ends and valued the experience.

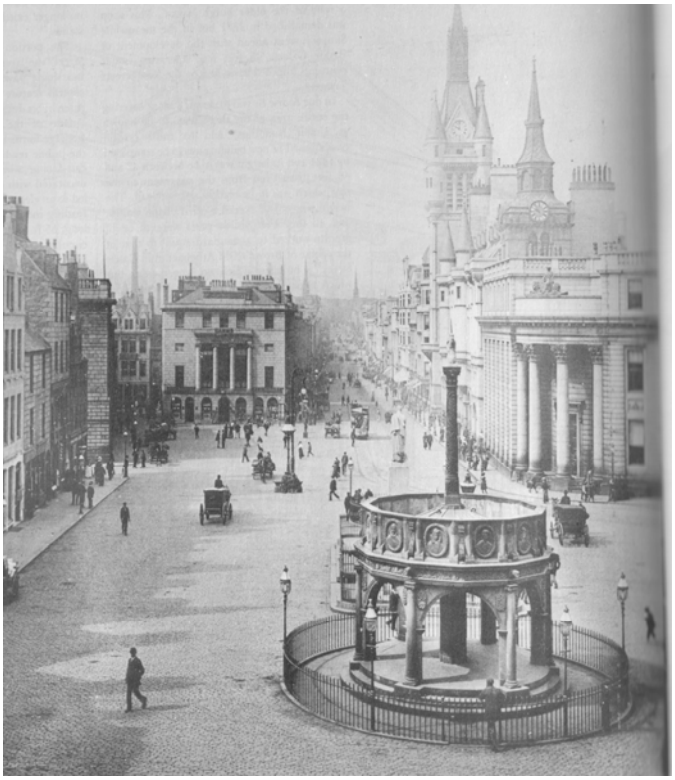
Conclusion

Yet, around this obvious female commercial activity, a contemporary discourse was developing which was antipathetic to businesswomen.[46] There was also a tension with the emerging ideology in which woman was increasingly defined in terms of and restricted to domestic pursuits. Together with this redefinition, sexual language was increasingly used in describing and labelling the businesswoman in negative terms. Critics mixed sexual and commercial language — Campbell using ‘intercourse’ for ‘business’, for example, when it had clearly gained a sexual meaning — accusing milliners and other tradeswomen of seducing customers into buying. Within this context, female reputation was an important commodity. Women whose lives most closely approximated those of their men and were furthest from the domestic role were most likely to be in court defending their reputations, giving us some insight into the contested areas and about conflicts over power. Polly Morris, working on defamation cases in Bristol, suggested that ‘whore’ was a metaphor for the loss of

femininity that accompanied women's exercise of authority over men. The focus on female adultery and marital relations in defamation cases carried with it comment on a husband's inability to control his wife.

> Women who had to exercise authority in their working lives were vulnerable to insult, and given the prevailing definition of female reputation, the congruence between 'whore' and 'ungovernable', it is not surprising that these insults should have taken a sexual shape. Where that authority was exercised over men, as in pubs, where publicans' wives, female publicans and servants had to keep order among male customers … Landladies, who ruled over men and women, and shopkeepers and market women could be injured along with their livelihoods. … The language of defamation was a tool for disciplining women, for returning them to their proper place by reducing them to the lowest common denomination of womanhood, the whore, and it is not fortuitous that it was its use by men that most commonly led to litigation'.[47]

The position of women in the corporate community was always somewhat problematic and always at risk was their 'good name'. Women of property with a good family name could be protected by their inherent position and by their association with male family members. But women could be caught by the insecurity of their position in a growing and surging commercial world and by their sex. They were rarely perceived as 'independent' and married women and widows often used their marital association, however obliquely, to bolster their claims in the corporate world. Single women were even more vulnerable.



THE CASTLEGATE, ABERDEEN

Women in commerce not only had to obtain credit but also had to stay in credit. They had to retain their reputations as traders who could be trusted and whose characters were seen to be above reproach. Reputation was both a private and a public attribute. It was effectively a political commodity which was worth owning and demonstrating, and protecting and publicising. Women who operated in the corporate world had to establish, maintain and use their reputations to gain and stay in business. Those who were successful, did. They required both personal and financial credit. Again, those who were successful, secured it. They also used family connections, networks and patronage to further their standing. They built reputations that they could use and protect to maintain a place in the community. Thus women, like those in Aberdeen, gained an identity in the community by utilising the language of the corporate world, and claimed a place in that world by exploiting the mechanisms of commerce in a world of growing trade and consumerism.

NOTES

1 This is a well-developed body of literature, the classic statement being Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (London, 1987). See also the critical approach adopted by Amanda Vickery in 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Hist. Jl*, xxxvi (1993), 383–414; also her *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, 1998).

2 There is a growing literature on this subject: Pamela Sharpe, 'Dealing with Love: The Ambiguous Independence of Single Women in Early Modern England', *Gender and Hist.*, xi (July 1999), 209–32; also her *Adapting to Capitalism, Working Women in the English Economy, 1700–1850* (London, 1996); Natalie Zemon Davis, 'Women in the Crafts in Sixteenth-Century Lyon', in Barbara Hanawalt (ed.), *Women and Work in Preindustrial Europe* (Bloomington, 1986), 167–97; Elizabeth C. Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1996); Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London, 1650–1750* (London,

1994); Hannah Barker, 'Women, Work and the Industrial Revolution: Female Involvement in the English Printing Trades', in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth-Century England, Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (Harlow, 1997), 81–100; Deborah Simonton, 'Gendering Labour in Eighteenth -Century Cities', in Margaret Walsh (ed.), *Working out Gender* (London, 1999), 29–47; Shelagh Ogilvie, 'Women and Proto-Industrialisation in a Corporate Society: Württemberg Woollen Weaving, 1590–1760', in Pat Hudson and W. R. Lee (eds.), *Women's Work and the Family in Historical Perspective* (Manchester: 1990), 76–104; Mary Prior, 'Women and the Urban Economy, Oxford 1500–1800', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society 1500–1800* (London, 1985); Geraldine Sheridan, 'Women in the Booktrade in Eighteenth-Century France', *Brit. Jl Eighteenth-Century Studies*, xv (Spring 1992), 51–70; E. William Monter, 'Women in Calvinist Geneva (1550–1800)', *Signs*, vi, 2 (1980) 189–209; Merry Wiesner, 'Women's Work in the Changing City Economy, 1500–1650', in Marilyn Boxer and Jean Quataert (eds.), *Connecting Spheres* (Oxford, 1987), 64–74; Shani D'Cruze, ' "To Acquaint the Ladies": Women Traders in Colchester, *c.*1750–*c.*1800', *The Local Historian*, xvii, 3 (1986), 158–62.

3 Mack Walker, *German Home Towns, Community, State and General Estate, 1648–1871* (London, 1971), 100.
4 *Aberdeen Jl,* 3 October 1758.
5 Tom Devine, 'Social Composition of the Merchant Class', in George Gordon and Brian Dicks (eds.), *Scottish Urban History* (Aberdeen, 1983), 99–100.
6 Elizabeth Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects, Women, Shopping, and Business in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1997), 82, 87, 112.
7 Daniel Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman* (London, 1726); R. Collyer, *The Parents' and Guardians' Directory* (London, 1761); Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman (*London, 1747).
8 Defoe, *English Tradesman*, 33.
9 *Ibid.*, 132.
10 *Ibid.*, 133.
11 Sir John Sinclair (ed.), *The Statistical Account of Scotland, 1791–1799*, intro Donald J. Witherington and Ian R. Grant, xiv (Wakefield, 1982), 293–94.
12 Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages* (London, 1989), 66.
13 Davis, 'Women in the Crafts', 183–4.
14 Alistair J. Mann, 'Embroidery to Enterprise: The Role of Women in the Book Trade of Early Modern Scotland', in Elizabeth Ewan and Maureen Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c1100–c.1750* (East Linton, Scotland, 1999), 139.
15 Deborah Simonton, 'The Education and Training of Eighteenth-Century English Girls, with Special Reference to the Working Classes' (University of Essex, PhD thesis, 1988), 327–8.
16 Sheridan, 'Women in the Booktrade', 53–5; Léon Abensour, *La Femme et le Féminisme en France avant la Révolution* (Geneva, 1923), 168, 200–4; Rab Houston , 'Women in the Economy and Society of Scotland', in R. A. Houston and I. A. Whyte (eds.), *Scottish Society, 1500–1800* (Cambridge, 1989), 122.
17 Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 23.
18 Arlette Farge, *Fragile Lives: Violence, Power and Solidarity in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London, 1993), 114–15.
19 See the discussion in Deborah Simonton, *A History of European Women's Work*, *1700 to the Present* (London, 1998), 30–6, 76–83.
20 Sheridan, 'Women in the Booktrade', 57–63; Olwen Hufton, 'Women without Men: Widows and Spinsters in Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century', *Jl of Family Hist.,* ix (1984), 364–5; also *The Prospect Before Her* (London, 1997), 299–331; Prior, 'Women in the Urban Economy', 105–7; Penelope Corfield, 'Tinker Tailor Bleeder Grieve: On the Division of Labour in the 18th Century', *Times Higher Ed. Suppl.*, 13 September 1985, 13; Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1930; 1981), 284–5. Also see Pam Sharpe, 'Literally Spinsters: A New Interpretation of the Local Economy and Demography in Colyton in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Econ. Hist, Rev.*, xlvi, 1 (1991); Simonton, *European Women's Work*, 58, 66–8; Barbara Todd, 'The Remarrying Widow: A Stereotype Reconsidered', in Mary Prior (ed.), *Women in English Society*, 54–92; Dorothy Marshall, *The English Poor in the Eighteenth-Century. A Study in Administrative History* (London, 1926); Bridget Hill, *Women Work and Sexual Politics in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989), ch. 13.
21 *Aberdeen Jl,* 11 June 1764. For Christian Aberdein, *ibid.*, 24 June 1755 and 26 April 1757.
22 In general, on marriage, Scots women kept their own names. See, however, the exceptions discussed below.
23 *Aberdeen Jl,* 6, 13, 20 August 1764.
24 *Aberdeen Jl*, 1 August 1758.
25 Defoe, *English Tradesman,* 71, for example.
26 *Aberdeen Jl*, 23 September 1765.
27 Due to the lack of burial records for this period, I have thus far been unable to find the date of his death.
28 *Aberdeen Jl,* 17 October, December 1758; 30 January, 4 July, 15 August, 21 November 1763; 13 June, 31 December 1764; 5 April, 24 May, 28 June 1773.
29 Samuel Johnson, *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*, ed. R. W. Chapman (London, 1924), 12; Alexander Carlyle, *Journal of a Tour to the North of Scotland*, 2 September 1769, intro Richard B. Sher (Local Hist. Pamph. Ser., School of Scottish Studies, University of Aberdeen).
30 Ebenezer Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds: A History of the Aberdeen Incorporated Trades* (Aberdeen, 1887), 169, 171.
31 Since the death records do not exist, it is impossible to determine whether they survived. Marriage and birth records have not yet turned up a reference to them either. David Morice does appear in the records as an Advocate and witnesses some of her indentures, but it is not clear if he was her eldest son or a relative. If he was her son, it would also say something about social mobility.
32 Campbell, *London Tradesman*, 276. John Morice appeared as a deponent against adulteration of meal in August 1763, but no other mention of him has yet been found: *Aberdeen Jl*, 22 August 1763.
33 Bain, *Merchant and Craft Guilds*, 228.
34 City of Aberdeen Archives, the Town House, 'Enactment Books, v: Register of Indentures, 1622–1878', 164–219;

Simonton, 'Education and Training', 341, 352; see also Joan Lane, *Apprenticeship in England, 1600–1914* (London, 1996), 117.

35 'Enactment Books, v: Register of Indentures', 211, 219.

36 *Ibid,* 164–219.

37 *Aberdeen Jl,* 22 June 1767.

38 *Aberdeen Jl*, 25 January 1773.

39 She was also the author of a frequently quoted tract on female education and of a number of gothic and other novels, some poetry, and a memoir of Walter Scott published between 1769 and 1799. Clara Reeve, *Plans of Education, with Remarks on the System of Other Writers* (London, 1792); also *The Old English Baron* (London, 1777). See D'Cruze, ' "To Acquaint the Ladies" ', 160–1 n.11.

40 These firms probably continued into the next century, but I have not examined those records.

41 Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*, 184–94.

42 Monter, 'Women in Calvinist Geneva, 1500–1800', 201.

43 Sharpe, 'Dealing with Love'.

44 Quoted in Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*, 107; Murray of Polmaise Muniments (Central Region Archives): GD 189/2/344 (former SRO reference).

45 Quoted *ibid.*, 95; Murray of Polmaise Muniments: GD 189/2/340 (former SRO reference).

46 See Kowaleski-Wallace, *Consuming Subjects,* 82, 87, 112; James Grantham Turner, ' "News from the New Exchange": Commodity, Erotic Fancy, and the Female Entrepreneur', in Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (eds.), *The Consumption of Culture 1600–1800: Image, Object, Text* (London, 1995), esp. 427–8.

47 Polly Morris, 'Defamation and Female Sexual Reputation' (University of Essex, seminar presentation, 27 June 1983); also 'Defamation and Sexual Reputation in Somerset, 1733–1850' (University of Warwick, PhD thesis, 1985), 296–7. See the critique of these sources in Rab Houston and Richard Smith, 'A New Approach to Family History?', *Hist. Workshop Jl*, xlv (Autumn 1982), 126.

48 Sanderson, *Women and Work in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh*, 22.

HOT NEWS!!!

Joni Seager and Eileen Yeo have just agreed to be two of our plenary speakers at next year's WHN Conference in Aberdeen—so make sure you register early to hear these prestigious speakers. Details of the conference and call for papers are inside the front cover of this magazine

ABERDEEN 2003

Our (Previous) Cover Girl

Stephanie Spencer
King Alfred's College, Winchester

Anne Barnes wrote to the editors commenting on our cover picture for earlier this year. We were duly admonished that the young girl is using a treadle fretsaw and not a lathe as we supposed. The photograph is part of a larger photograph from Wycombe Abbey School and came to light during research for the Spencer funded project, 'Women and the Governance of Girls' Schools'. It was in an anonymous file in the Public Record Office (PRO, INF 9/501) together with a number of other photographs of girls learning manual skills at the school. There are photos of girls tending their individual gardens and boating. The photographs are undated, but from the hairstyles we would guess that they were taken some time in the 1920s. In her book *Stands There a School: Memories of Frances Dove*, Elsie Bowerman notes how the girls made some of the furniture for the school in the early days, including some tall wooden candlesticks, chairs and tables.

Gender, Trade and Nationalism in Eighteenth-Century Britain

Nicola Pullin

King Alfred's College, Winchester

In 1837 *The Complete Book of Trades* proudly explained to prospective dressmakers that, although the trade had originated in France:

> Happily for us, those times are past; we have fashion, and taste and whim enough of our own, and … a little to spare for exportation to those immense transatlantic possessions, with which France or Italy have little intercourse.[1]

Yet despite claiming that English dressmakers and lacemakers provided 'further proof of our having supplanted our rivals in trade', the manual was distinctly hostile towards tradeswomen who were 'still French, or what is worse, pretend to be so'. The manual thus illustrates the ambiguous position of businesswomen engaged in luxury trades who were simultaneously praised for stimulating national trade but reviled for adopting French names or manners in order to appeal to their aristocratic customers. By contrast, women who produced wholly 'British' goods or raw materials could claim both public support and that of patriotic societies established in the mid-eighteenth century to combat the effects of foreign competition.

This article examines how women in business in eighteenth-century Britain could be helped or hindered in their commercial endeavours by patriotic discourses and the growth of an increasing sense of national identity formed in opposition to a foreign, predominantly French, Other. In so doing it also aims to widen the debate about representations of women's role in business beyond the limits imposed by the use of the public/private dichotomy as an analytical tool. As Amanda Vickery has argued, preoccupation with the language of separate spheres may have obscured other languages used to discuss women in trade.[2] Here the focus is on how gender operated in conjunction with, or in opposition to, other categories of economic, racial or class-based difference. All three were present in many different and often competing discourses in the eighteenth century — a century which, as John Bonell has argued, was characterised by 'the hybridity of the discursive formations … and the mobility with which different discourses and interests seem to change partners'.[3] Complex contemporary anxieties about effeminacy, luxury, foreign competition, national identity and social mobility all impacted upon debates about women in business during this period. This discursive fluidity meant that, paradoxically, nationalism could be seen as both a force for female enterprise and its scourge: women in business could be Britannia's allies or agents of Bonaparte.

Luxury and Desire

The eighteenth century has been identified as a period during which a distinctively British sense of national identity was actively forged.[4] In particular, this emerging national identity was formed by and through the construction of an alien Other, which, although broad enough to include all foreigners, was most specifically defined as French. Hostility between England and France was engendered by lengthy wars and colonial/trade rivalry between 1689 and 1815. Moreover, the English aristocracy in particular also displayed a passion for French imported luxury goods, manners and language, which meant that elements of class antagonism were also built into this mutually fascinated but hostile relationship. Numerous contemporary authors therefore feared that the influence of French culture and luxurious fashions could only lead to cultural disintegration, the emasculation of English men and the degeneration of national character.[5] Much discussion of luxury trades, and millinery in particular, was therefore framed within the context of French commercial competition and the need to keep an army supplied with fit men.

Despite the long-term association of women with needlework, the dressmaking trades were not originally in female hands, and the movement of women into the previously male preserve of tailoring caused a great deal of hostility. During the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century, outer garments for men and women of all ranks had been made by male tailors who were regulated by guilds. As the fashion for structured clothing changed towards the looser fitting, unstructured mantua dress for women, male 'seamsters' began to be replaced by female 'mantua-makers'.[6] The guilds fought hard to prevent women from entering these trades and were prosecuting 'pretended milliners' in Oxford from as early as 1668. In 1702 they pressed other towns for support for an act of parliament to suppress female mantua-makers. Similar pressure was exerted by guilds in York, Ripon, Wakefield, Hull, Newcastle and Pontefract in the 1690s. All these efforts were un-

successful. The York merchant tailors began accepting women in 1704 and female mantua-makers were widespread even in rural areas by the 1780s, despite some continuing guild hostility in towns like Oxford.[7] However, by 1760, in London at least, the traditional position was reversed, and public opinion began to be overtly hostile towards men in what were now regarded as properly 'feminine' trades.

The earliest reference yet found to this change of opinion is in the *London Courant's* announcement in April 1760 that the Female Parliament of the University of Rational Amusement, a debating society, was discussing, 'Male encroachments on Female Occupations … which ought to be remedied by a restrictive law'.[8] In the 1780s it became a more popular topic for debating societies. In 1781 *La Belle Assemblée* proposed taxing all men-milliners and men-mantua-makers, as well as 'French Dancers, French Frizeurs, French Cooks, French Milliners and French Fashion Mongers'.[9] In 1786, another group, the New Westminster Forum, discussed taxes on man-milliners and debated, 'Which is the most ridiculous Character, A Man Milliner or a Military Fop?'[10] By the 1780s, then, the feminization of the trade was so complete that men working in it were seen as effeminate and contaminated by French mannerisms. In 1787 *The Times* linked the issue of female underemployment with the issue of 'unmanly delicacy' and suggested that the solution to both was military recruitment. The paper declared that it would have been 'a most acceptable service to the public' if 'the press gangs had swept away all the men-milliners, men-mantua-makers, and men-stay-makers, (not forgetting a considerable number of nominal hair-dressers) and put them on board his Majesty's ships'.[11] Male milliners continued to work in the trade, despite these attacks, but the making of female clothes, which had previously belonged within the male preserve of tailoring, had been reconstructed as ideally feminine.

Constructing certain trades as newly feminine also necessitated redefining acceptable forms of masculinity. Michèle Cohen argues that effeminacy became a dominant metaphor for signifying 'problematic gender boundaries for men' in the eighteenth century, and that it was either 'conflated with luxury or viewed as its inevitable consequence'.[12] 'Luxury' was a protean term used to critique many perceived social ills,[13] but luxury and effeminacy commonly denoted an individual and national moral degeneracy which sapped masculine strength and martial valour and thus patriotic virtue. Manly virtue was undermined both by submission to female charms and by the desire for conspicuous consumption.[14] Eighteenth-century representations of female milliners commonly show them using sexual charms to sell luxury goods to the fashionable elite.[15] Seduction was both a metaphor for social mobility and the desire for luxury goods throughout the eighteenth century.

The presence of well-dressed lower middle-class women in an essentially 'public' setting with access to wealthy male customers sparked an abundance of literature that shaded from the romantic to the almost pornographic. Eliza Heywood's *History of Betsy Thoughtless* (1751) and Fanny Burney's *The Wanderer* (1814) both featured lower-class milliners dreaming of marrying wealthy customers. Satirical prints, such as Collett's *The Rival Milliners* (1770), often portray milliners selling the accoutrements of 'love' while flirting with male customers. Plays and poems, such as Peter Pindar's *Ode to a Pretty Milliner* (1792), also highlighted the sexuality of milliners, playing with the idea of confusion between the pretty milliner tripping along the street with her bandbox and the prostitute performing the same action to attract customers.[16] Even trade manuals such as Robert Campbell's *The London Tradesman* (1747) warned parents that nine out of ten milliners' apprentices ended up as prostitutes.[17]

Nevertheless, as Campbell admitted, milliners could make 'vast profits on every Article they deal in',[18] and it was French styles that attracted their most lucrative customers. London milliners often advertised their return from Paris with the latest goods. For example, in 1755 Ann Perrin advised her customers in Bath and London that she had just returned from Paris with the latest fashions.[19] French-speaking shop assistants were additionally desirable.[20] The larger establishments kept agents in Paris and many milliners changed their names to sound more French. The famous dressmaker, Madam Lanchester,[21] had been plain Mrs John Lancaster from Salford until her return from Paris in 1807. *The Complete Book of Trades* lampooned her wholesale adoption of a French identity to promote her business but it also celebrated her success:

> Certainly she well understood her business, was tolerably handsome, unlike a French Woman, and possessed *em bon point* — also unlike the French; but … all conspired to pronounce her *Madame Lanshestre*; and so she lived, and published and dictated several years; and so she died, commer-

> cially. She was the Bonaparte of her day in dress, as he in dressing his ranks: none stood before her undismayed for years.[22]

Selling fashionable merchandise in the French style thus raised profits for milliners but it caused great anxiety about the effects of foreign luxury goods. There was also concern about the economic effects of importing French millinery. In 1757 (during the Seven Years War) a satirical print, 'The Imports of Great Britain from France', pictured ships disgorging French goods, including millinery wares, and landing 'swarms of Milliners, Taylors, Mantuamakers, Frisers, Tutors for Boarding Schools …&c'.[23] The print was addressed to the patriotic societies who promoted 'British' men and women's manufactures. In 1786 debate was sharpened by negotiations over the Anglo-French commercial treaty. A *Times* editorial complained that millinery goods were to be admitted at just 12% duty, which would 'undoubtedly deprive a number of unfortunate females of the means of existence'.[24] French millinery goods or 'modes' were one of the most hotly contested areas of negotiation because of their popularity in London.[25] The British feared that a general admission of silk modes would provoke popular protests and annihilate British production, but the French threat to exclude British silk gauze and to raise the duty on cotton and wool led to an eventual compromise.[26]

The Times suggested that the best way to preserve the millinery trade for 'English' women would be to exclude men from the trade or to allow them to practise only under a heavy licence. In a prefiguring of nineteenth-century anxieties, the paper argued that failure to do this would result in increased prostitution and suggested that one answer would be for aristocratic women to refuse to be served by men.[27] Aristocratic women were also attacked for patronising 'French' milliners and dressmakers and thus depriving honest 'English' women of an income. For example, in *The English Lady's Catechism*, Lady Vanity was asked: 'Why will you give a French woman three guineas, when an English woman will do it full as well if not better?' To which she replied: 'Only for the name of having it made by another Lady of Quality, who made my Mantua? I say in the French tone, Mademoiselle the French Mantuamaker'.[28]

There was thus a degree of ambiguity within debates about milliners. On the one hand, it was acknowledged to be a lucrative trade and, if carried out by proper 'English' women, it could also be seen as a source of national pride: the French had been beaten at their own game. However, since successful 'English' milliners often spoke French, adopted French names and sold French fashions to effeminate aristocrats, milliners and their customers were equally guilty of propagating the French disease of luxury. French women were constructed as the antithesis of the proper English lady and were seen as dangerously eloquent and seductive, with an appetite for admiration that remained unchecked in their native country. Hence, as Cohen argues, 'the construction of French women as other can be said to have served the same purpose and have been as much of a fiction as French politeness and effeminate French men: it forged and emphasized national difference'[29]. In graphic satire the British antithesis to French effeminacy was often a Billingsgate fishwoman,[30] a female trader to whom no connotations of luxury were attached. To highlight French male weakness, the fishwoman was depicted displaying masculine aggression, but the sign above the ale-house suggested she was a 'Good Woman'. For satirical images of the fishwoman and the milliner to succeed, their presence must have been ubiquitous. Hostility towards the latter's adoption of French manners to sell their goods is also evidence of the success of such efforts.

Manufacturing Nationalism

Following the Jacobite rebellions in the 1740s, newspaper advertisements give some idea of the importance women in business attached to appearing patriotic. In 1745 an advertisement in the *London Daily Advertiser* accused a milliner of displaying an effigy of a Lady Abbess in her shop window, which 'gravely offended 'his Majesty's loyal Protestant Subjects'. The milliner took the charge seriously enough to publish a lengthy refutation, claiming the image was merely a Flanders lacemaker.[31] One shopkeeper, advertised her patriotism (and her business) by announcing that she was closing her shop in order to visit her mantua-maker to get a dress in honour of the King's birthday. She did this, the advert explained 'to shew Her Self (according to her capacity) as loyal a subject as any his Majesty has'.[32] To show oneself a loyal and patriotic citizen had become an important part of maintaining a good image in trade.

In a number of European countries, but particularly in France and Britain, the decades that followed Culloden witnessed extensive discussions about national identities and the launching of initiatives to glorify national culture.[33] One of these initiatives was the founding of patriotic societies, such as the Laudable Association of Anti-Gallicans in 1745 in London, which aimed 'to discourage

by precept and example, the importation and consumption of French produce and manufactures, and to encourage … the produce and manufactures of Great Britain'.[34] Not all these societies were so xenophobic, but most had overtly mercantilist and patriotic aims, and all welcomed contributions from people irrespective of class or gender. Hence, as Linda Colley argues, they also effectively encouraged a much broader definition of what it was to be a patriot.[35]

Among the bodies established at about this time was the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, founded in London in 1754. The Society aimed not just to encourage British manufacture and commerce but to regenerate British culture by raising its arts above those of the French. It gave prizes in six different categories including Agriculture, Mechanics, Chemistry, Manufactures, Colonies and Trade, and the 'Polite Arts', which was the category in which women most frequently won awards.[36] The Society had female members from its earliest days, but not in any great numbers.[37] It had a female registrar from 1802–44. Ann Cocking took over the post from her father and on her death the Society erected a monument to her in memory of the 'zealous diligence with which she performed the duties of her office'.[38] More importantly, women also applied for the medals and financial rewards given for work and discoveries that seemed likely to benefit the national economy.

The number and value of awards in each category varied from year to year according to the financial position of the Society. Between 1754 and 1776 twenty-eight premiums were awarded to women for manufactures, the prize money for which amounted to just under 10% of the total sum awarded in that category.[39] The majority of awards to women were in the field of textiles, such as making lace, cambric, wool and yarn, but also for making artificial flowers, catgut and chip hats, and the production of raw silk. The society's awards resulted in many textiles — such as brocades, tapestries, ribbons, embroideries, milled caps and crepe bands for hats — all potentially 'feminine' trades, being produced in England for the first time. The manufacture of straw hats was a particular success story,[40] and awards for artificial flower-making stimulated that industry. In 1837 one trade directory still feared that 'Parisian gentlemen' infinitely excelled 'our native work people of either sex' at making artificial flowers, but it also described how English haberdashers and milliners exported 'great quantities' to the East and West Indies, America and other colonies.[41] Even if some of these awards for 'feminine' trades seem to have been restricted in range, they were nevertheless acknowledged as making a significant contribution to the national and colonial economy.

Premiums were decided by committees, each dealing with one of the six different categories. Occasionally women also won trade-related awards in categories other than manufactures. In 1793 the Colonies and Trade committee rewarded Mrs Anstey for planting cinnamon trees in Madras.[42] In 1797 the Chemistry committee awarded Mrs Jane Gibbs a gold medal for inventing a starch made from non-edible materials as part of the society's drive to find an alternative to costly wheat flour.[43] The society had overtly mercantilist and paternalistic aims[44] and manufactures that not only boosted British industry but also provided work for the poor were warmly welcomed. The production of silk was intended to rival the French and Italian output, but it was also declared to be a 'most capital object' because it offered employment for women and children.[45]

A form of social engineering was also evident in the offering of awards for textile products, many of which benefited women. Women in workhouses were rewarded for spinning linen and making worsted hose, but the awards for the more genteel cambrick and lace were intended to help impecunious women of middling rank. Well-off gentlewomen were also keen to receive awards for their 'work', although they conceived of it in terms of a public service and were often at pains to distance themselves from any commercial overtones. In 1789 one Ann Ives was awarded a silver medal for 'bringing the art of spinning to such a degree of perfection'; and numerous attempts were subsequently made to get her thread commercially produced. Letters printed in the Society's *Transactions*, describing her efforts, insisted that she spun 'only for her amusement', but nevertheless extolled her great skill in producing something 'to the advantage of British manufactures'.[47]

It has been argued that the society's role in encouraging industry *per se* was a good deal more modest than its assistance in promoting the development of natural resources.[48] This was because, as a small voluntary association, it had limited means. Yet its aims remained wholly patriotic. It was these aims that determined what awards were offered and therefore the categories in which women competed. Women's attempts to rear and to spin raw silk, although doomed to failure for largely climatic reasons, were earnestly believed to be of 'much national importance'.[49] Raw

silk production was certainly no more hopeless than the society's attempts to promote the growth of opium, and both were intended to reduce foreign imports. The women who engaged in these 'manufactures' certainly believed they were helping their country.

The production of silk had first been attempted by James I and a large plantation had been tried at Chelsea in 1718, but the Society did not offer a prize for it until 1768.[50] In 1778 two women were presented with awards by the Manufactures committee; one was for cambric made with homespun thread and the other was to Mrs Ann Williams of Gravesend for breeding and feeding silkworms. Mrs Williams's seven letters on the subject were all printed in the Society's *Transactions* in 1784 and were avidly read by later producers attempting to improve on her methods.[51] She related how several gentlemen who had seen Italian silk farms pronounced her worms and silk the 'finest they ever saw'. On receiving the 20 guineas reward, she expressed the hope that her efforts 'may be of service to thousands after [my] death' and, in a spirit of patriotism, added, 'Exulting thought! That my poor endeavours may one day prove beneficial to my country'.[52]
To put personal ingenuity to the service of one's country was, as Henrietta Rhodes put it, a 'laudable ambition', apparently irrespective of gender. Miss Rhodes, who was another aspiring silk producer, hoped that if she was found 'to have succeeded better than anyone else … I flatter myself that I shall not remain undistinguished'. Rhodes received a silver medal for producing silk in 1778, but others wished for more concrete assistance as well. Miss Jane Niven had raised a 'large family of silkworms' but her father had refused further help and sent her to be a French teacher. She wrote to the Society, asking for the loan of some reels to complete her project.[53] In an overlapping of domestic and commercial languages, several women referred to their silk worms as 'family' but described their 'business' as being in an 'office' or 'manufactory'. Mary Jones, a doctor's wife, was also fired by the challenge of producing silk. At first she described this task as a 'useful and elegant amusement',[54] but it soon became the answer to far more pressing financial concerns.

Mrs Jones wrote several letters to the society between March 1788 and December 1791. None of her letters were published in *Transactions* but she intended to write a treatise addressed 'to the Ladies of this Country'. In a memorial to the Society, endorsed by the Lord Mayor of London, she claimed to know 'how to construct manufactories' for silk production. However, 'family matters' forced her to sell her estate and left her with an income 'now barely sufficient to support your memorialist as a Gentlewoman'.[55] She combined the need for financial support with a plea for the national good:

> [she] thought fit to represent to your honourable Society her situation hoping through your kind assistance to have some means given her of establishing in this Country on a permanent Basis this invaluable Branch of Foreign Commerce which cannot fail of being of the greatest utility and Consequence to this Nation.[56]

Although the nature of applications to the Society encouraged such displays of patriotism, not all women pursued this course. Mrs Jones explained that she was inspired by her late father, who had been an engineer, and in November 1791 she wrote to the Society asking to join: 'that I might by Emulation be proved, and approve myself useful to the general good of this my native Country in whatever my genius as a woman may tend to promote'.[57]

Female applicants to the Society were thus aware of pursuing activities deemed suitable to their sex, but they were also self-confident and competitive. Mrs Jones declared that although she doubted her skills as a mechanic she begged to differ with another gentleman on the subject of producing silk and 'could vie with any woman experienced in the art' of spinning silk.[58] Frances Crofts, who, like Mrs Jones, appears not to have been given an award, was constantly requesting the latest editions of *Transactions* and complained bitterly when she felt she had been unfairly judged. She not only produced and spun silk but designed a silk-worm container, sending the society a detailed description and technical drawing. The Society had rewarded the Revd Mr Swayne, a man Mrs Crofts had earlier assisted, and had published his communications. She wrote indignantly that she had 'invented the exact stand that Mr Swayne did extremely well' and for less cost.[59] She also felt she was being discriminated against as a Yorkshirewoman. She demanded to know who sat on the committee and declared that, 'we in the North think it hard Ladies in the South are favour'd with rewards, who have *not* produced the quantity & us left out, as our being about 2 degrees further removed from the Sun, rates against us'.[60]

Letters to the Society give the impression that although women's enterprises were believed to contribute to national production, their immediate commercial viability was extremely limited. However, some women were engaged in more public and obviously commercial battles. Ann Leslie and her three sisters were 'gentlewomen' who were engaged in setting up a factory in Scotland to make thread from flax grown locally near Hamilton. In 1763 they applied to the Commissioners for Fisheries and Manufactures in Scotland for assistance and were promised a premium of £56 and a 'throw-miln'.[61] The Leslie

sisters sent their thread to local lace-workers in Hamilton and to 'the most eminent manufacturers' in London. But the sisters ran into opposition amongst the Board of Commissioners, apparently because of insidious allegations and rumours put about by unknown competitors.

Ann Leslie went to London seeking support and obtained a certificate from the Society for the Encouragement of the Arts stating that the Leslie sisters made the best thread in the country and that 'if a manufacture of this fine thread could be established to the profit of the undertakers it would be of great advantage to the kingdom'.[62] She also sought support from numerous merchants and magistrates in Scotland, as well as testimonies from local lace-workers in Hamilton. Margaret Watson declared that she had:

> wrought of Miss Leslie's thread, for some years, and am daily taking good quantities of it, and find it better and stronger than foreign; all made of Scots flax and yarn, made into thread by Miss Leslie, superior to any ever came from abroad.[63]

All the local lace-workers' testimonials employed the comparison with 'foreign' thread but the main pamphlet raised the matter to one of national importance 'because the people of a great state [Britain] will purchase from foreigners, perhaps their natural enemies, those luxuries which they cannot manufacture at home'.[64] The pamphlet was aimed specifically at the patriotic societies but it was hinted that the legislature should become involved because British production would not only save the country money, but also would 'employ numbers of hands which are now idle'.[65] This patriotic discourse fostered both national commercial and paternalistic aims in support of the Leslie sisters who were praised for their 'noble public spirit'. Moreover, they also enjoyed support across class and gender boundaries —

from aristocratic subscribers to merchants and local lace-workers. Yet the spectre of gender prejudice had obviously

L. P. Boitard, *The Imports of Great Britain From France* (London, 1757). Reproduced by kind permission of Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.

been raised, prompting the question:

> Whether it is for the credit, interest, or reputation of Great Britain, that a cabal of persons, either interested or prejudiced against women, whose industry and good intentions alone procured them friends, ought to defeat the laudable, and national purposes of a British Legislature?[66]

Conclusion

For the patriotic societies at least, it seems that 'laudable and national purposes' were quite enough to qualify women for an active public role in British 'manufacturing'. On the surface, patriotism could subsume differences of class and gender and provide women with a discourse within which they could claim support for commercial enterprises. However, issues of class and gender also played a part. Women of the lower orders were rewarded for spinning in workhouses, but their wealthier sisters experimented with silk production. These genteel women stressed their public service but remained ambivalent as to whether that service could be regarded as commercial. There was no clear line between private enterprise and commercial 'amusements' for the benefit of the national economy.

Issues of race, class and gender were constantly changing partners in the service of different interests during debates over trading practices. Businesswomen advertising in newspapers, including milliners, made use of patriotic discourses, but fears of French competition meant that milliners who chose to capitalise on French style to attract customers were effectively found guilty of cultural treason. The trade itself was constructed as proper only for virtuous 'English' gentlewomen in order to thwart foreign competition and avoid mass prostitution and the emasculation of British men. The dictum, defining the prosperous but dictatorial milliner, Mrs Lanchester, as the 'Bonaparte of her day', shows that condemnation in one context could become praise in another. Indeed, the practice of describing successful businesswomen in 'Napoleonic' terms continued well into the nineteenth century and beyond.

NOTES

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2 Amanda Vickery, 'Golden Age to Separate Spheres? A Review of the Categories and Chronology of English Women's History', *Hist. Jl*, xxxvi (1993), 401.
3 John Bonell, *The Birth of Pandora and the Division of Knowledge* (London, 1992), xvi.
4 Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (London, 1992); Gerald Newman, *The Rise of English Nationalism, 1740–1830* (London, 1987).
5 *Ibid.*, 67–73; Colley, *Britons*, 88.
6 Madelaine Ginsburg, 'The Tailoring and Dressmaking Trades, 1700–1850', *Costume*, 6 (1972), 64; Mary Prior, 'Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford, 1500-1800', in Mary Prior (ed.) *Women in English Society, 1500–1800* (London, 1985), 111; John Styles, 'Clothing the North: The Supply of Non-Elite Clothing in the Eighteenth-Century North of England', *Textile Hist.*, xxv (1994), 152–3.
7 *Ibid.*, 152; Prior, 'Women and the Urban Economy', 111–13.
8 *London Courant*, 28 April 1760, cited in Donna T. Andrew, *London Debating Societies, 1776–99* (London, 1994), with thanks to Hannah Grieg for drawing my attention to these references.
9 *Morning Herald*, 9 March 1781, cited *ibid.*, 133.
10 *Morning Herald*, 10 April and 6 March 1786, cited *ibid.*, 179, 182.
11 *The Times*, 25 October 1787, 2, col. D.
12 Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996), 5.
13 John Sekora, *Luxury: The Concept in Western Thought, Eden to Smollett* (London, 1977), 2–9, 74.
14 Bonell, *The Birth of Pandora*, 65.
15 See, e.g. Ned Ward, *The London Spy*, 4th edn (London, 1709), pt 9, 213.
16 See also Dorothy George, *Hogarth to Cruikshank: Social Change in Graphic Satire* (1967), 82, a verse about a prostitute who 'with empty bandbox she delights to range / And feigns a distant errand from the "Change" '.
17 Robert Campbell, *The London Tradesman* (London, 1747; 1969), 209.
18 *Ibid.*, 208.
19 Ann Perrin advertised regularly in the *London Daily Advertiser* in April and May 1755 and in the *Bath Advertiser* on at least one occasion on 18 October 1755. For Perrin's Bath connection, see Peter Borsay, 'The London Connection: Cultural Diffusion and the Eighteenth-Century Provincial Town', *London Jl*, xix (1994), 28–9.
20 *London Daily Advertiser*, 3 July 1755: a millinery business sought 'a Woman that can speak French well'.
21 Whittock, *Complete Book of Trades,* 310.
22 *Ibid.*
23 L. P. Boitard, *The Imports of Great Britain from France* (London, 1757), reproduced by kind permission of the Guildhall Library, Corporation of London.
24 *The Times*, 2 November 1786, 2, col. A. With thanks to John Styles for these references.
25 Marie Donaghay, 'Textiles and the Anglo French Commercial Treaty of 1786', *Textile Hist.*, xiii (1982), 205–24.
26 *Ibid.*, 210–14
27 *The Times*, 2 November 1786, 2, col. A; 15 November 1788, 2, col. C.
28 Anon, *The English Lady's Catechism: Shewing The Pride and Vanity of the English Nobility As Are Notorious for Relieving Foreigners, Before their own Country Folks* (n.d.).
29 Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 77.

30 See, *Sal Dab Giving Monsieur a Receipt in Full* (1776) and *Billingsgate Triumphant: Or, Poll Dab No Match for the Frenchman* [17??].
31 *London Daily Advertiser*, 6 September, 1745.
32 *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1745.
33 Colley, *Britons*, 85.
34 Cited *ibid.*, 89.
35 *Ibid.*, 93.
36 Alicia C. Percival, 'Women and the Society of Arts in its Early Days: Part 2', *Jl Royal Society of Arts*, cxxv (1977), 330–3.
37 *Ibid.*, 'Part 1', 266–9. The majority of members were merchants, tradesmen and craftsmen.
38 Derek Hudson and Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Royal Society of Arts, 1754–1954* (London, 1954), 175.
39 N = £2026–1–0d. (excluding medals), extracted from The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufacture and Commerce (hereafter RSA), *Register of Premium Awards, 1754–76*.
40 Hudson and Luckhurst, *Royal Society of Arts*, 133–4.
41 RSA, *Register of Premium Awards*, 'Flowers'; Whittock, *Complete Book of Trades*, 248–51.
42 *Trans. Society of Arts*, xi (1795), 295.
43 *Ibid.*, xv (1797), 237–40.
44 D. G. C. Allen, 'The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce: Organization, Membership and Objectives in the First Three Decades (1755–84), An Example of Voluntary Economic and Social Policy in the Eighteenth Century' (University of London, PhD Thesis, 1979).
45 Daines Baring in *Trans. Society of Arts*, ii (1784), 172; see also the letter from the Revd. Swaines, *ibid.*, vi (1789), 134.
46 RSA, *Register of Premium Awards*, Manufactures, setiontion 'Yarn'; Hudson and Luckhurst, *Royal Society*, 130.
47 *Trans. Society of Arts*, vii (1789), 151, 154.
48 Hudson and Luckhurst, *Royal Society of Arts*, 101.
49 *Trans. Society of Arts*, ii (1784), 153.
50 H.T. Wood, *A History of the Royal Society of Arts* (1913), 265–6.
51 *Trans. Society of Arts*, ii (1784), 153–80. In *Trans. Society of Arts*, iv (1786), 161, Henrietta Rhodes, a silver medal winner in 1785, described how she had drawn upon the account of Mrs Williams.
52 *Trans. Society of Arts*, ii (1784), 154, 169, 171.
53 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/294.
54 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/192.
55 RSA, PR/MC/101/10/1843.
56 *Ibid.*
57 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/31.
58 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/26.
59 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/12.
60 RSA, PR/MC/102/10/127.
61 Anon., *The Case of Miss Leslie and her Three Sisters, the Manufacturers of Thread for Lace, Equal to Any Foreign* (1767), 6.
62 *Ibid.*, 5–6.
63 *Ibid.*, 12.
64 *Ibid.*, 1.
65 *Ibid.*, 1–2.
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French Education for British Girls in the Nineteenth Century*

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Introduction

In 1819 an Anglican gentleman, Douglas Charles Loveday, placed his two daughters and his niece in a Parisian boarding school to finish their education, stipulating that they should not participate in the school's Catholic religious activities. Rather, he desired they be instructed in music, sewing and etiquette.[1] Two years later he created a scandal in France, protesting at the conversion of his eldest daughter, Emily, and her flight to a convent. A little less than thirty years later, the family of Dorothea Beale sent her across the Channel at the age of sixteen to continue the studies she had pursued mainly under the guidance of her brothers. Her intellectual family destined her to become a teacher, thus they judged it useful for her to spend a year in a finishing school acquiring the elements of a 'French education'.[2] Years later she would deplore the mechanical character of the education she received; unlike Emily Loveday, she was not seduced by this contact with another culture.

These two very different examples of English families who chose to educate their girls for a period of time within French schools pose a number of interesting questions. Why would a Protestant élite, with strong cultural preference for home education, send their daughters to *institutions* in France, particularly those where Catholic rituals were likely to be dominant? (Douglas Loveday seems indeed to have been asking for trouble.) To what extent are these cases representative of a broader cultural demand for French education for girls among well-heeled English families? The rise of domestic ideology in England is generally associated with a refusal of the polish and manners associated with French education and yet, if anything, it would appear that the demand for such an education increased in the early nineteenth century. Given the declining prestige of the French language in the education of middle-class English boys, what does this demand tell us about gendered visions of nationality in the first half of the nineteenth century?[3]

This essay offers a preliminary exploration of a phenome-

non which has yet to be studied in any detail.[4] While historians of education have long chronicled the European tradition of the Grand Tour for boys, no similar rite of passage existed for girls, given the rarity of available institutional education. As a result, the presence of foreign girls studying on French soil has received little attention, despite evidence that such a practice was not uncommon.[5] By first considering the extent of this phenomenon and what exactly it entailed, and then analysing what motivated families to place their anglophone daughters in French institutions and to what end this education was used, this essay will examine the cultural significance of this experience, reading this through the lens of gender and national identity. What were the national stereotypes associated with French education for girls that made it popular among Anglophone élites? Indeed, this popularity illustrates that the dictates of domesticity left room open for individual choice and that, despite messages to the contrary, the lure of 'French veneer' remained strong in certain circles.[6]

Anglophones in French Schools

Hard quantitative evidence revealing the presence of anglophone girls in French schools is difficult to come by, particularly since statistics concerning 'secondary' institutions for girls are non-existent for most of the nineteenth century. In Paris, however, figures concerning foreign students are available for the years 1852–9. During these years, British students far outnumbered those of other nationalities; they represented 49.6% of all foreign students. American girls constituted another 14.6%, while Polish students were a distant third at 8.8% (see Table). The number of British students peaked in 1853–4 when inspectresses counted 359 out of a total of some 13,500 girls within boarding schools. The American presence peaked some five years later in 1858–9 with 143 students.[7] While these figures hardly reveal an English invasion of Parisian schools, they do suggest that France's capital exerted an enduring attraction for families, presumably of the middle and upper middle classes given the cost such schooling entailed.[8]

Families sent their daughters to a range of institutions, some of which catered explicitly to a British population and were run by British headmistresses. These institutions clearly attracted students because families felt more comfortable leaving their daughters in the hands of a fellow national, but they also provided a more suitable religious environment for Protestant young women.[9] The most illustrious of these institutions, according to contemporary accounts, was that run by Mrs Bray in the fashionable rue Chaillot.[10] But Bray and her sister were not alone in offering a 'French education' for their compatriots. Prior to Bray, a Miss Rowden in the same wealthy neighborhood had attracted many English girls to her school, including the future actress Fanny Kemble.[11] Between 1837 and 1848, the Misses Martin had also ran a school for British girls. According to one English visitor, 'these two ladies blend the strictest regard to religious education, based on Evangelical principles, with the highest order of secular instruction'.[12] And during the same period the Irishwoman, Miss Shanahan, had been authorized to open a school despite the fact she did not have the required diploma. The Minister of Education argued in this case that 'at a moment when contacts between different people are multiplying, it appears useful to encourage an institution that offers English families the opportunity to give their children in Paris a complete and distinguished education'.[13] In 1838 Mlle de Bussy had only English students within her school and offered 'food such as that found in England'.[14] Certainly, these schools had a distinctly foreign cast within the Parisian educational landscape, but the Ministry sought to render them more French by encouraging the presence of a few French schoolgirls and requiring the presence of a French teaching aide with the requisite diploma. The point, of course, was to offer an educational experience that brought the two cultures in contact.

More commonly, one finds British students present within institutions which had clearly established a reputation for offering 'serious' education, or at any rate something that attracted foreigners. British traveler James Grant recommended the school run by Mr and Mrs Fournier writing that it was 'celebrated for the proficiency which English young ladies make in a knowledge of the French language'.[15] In 1853, Mme Bascans had 36 boarders in her school, 17 of whom were foreigners, including 6 English girls;[16] George Sand had sent her daughter to this school in the 1830s. In the early 1850s as well, exactly half of Mlle Cornet's 30 students were British, all of them from wealthy families.[17] These institutions often deliberately sought to attract foreign families, such as the Jewish school of Mme Kahn. Finally, the large prestigious institution run by Mme Deslignières also attracted a sizeable proportion of foreign students. In 1853 inspec-

tresses noted 33 foreigners, most of whom were British, among a total number of 130 boarders.[18] These inspections also reveal that British girls were in fact often accompanied by their mothers or by governesses who were lodged within the boarding schools. By the mid-1840s, however, the presence of these older *dames en chambres* had become problematic for moral reasons. Older women lodgers often had male visitors whose presence was considered inappropriate in the boarding-school setting. As a result, Parisian inspectresses put pressure on headmistresses to stop welcoming them.[19]

Paris was not the only destination for British families seeking a French education. Many families sent their daughters across the Channel to cities on the western coast or up the Seine to Rouen where a sizeable British population existed.[20] Susan Skedd has shown, for example, that in the early nineteenth century a number of British women teachers sought to distance themselves from competition at home by setting up schools in France, where overhead costs were considered to be cheaper.[21] This was the case for Miss Shepherd who set up a school in Dieppe in the early decades of the century; other English headmistresses set up shop in Honfleur, Caen, Dinan and, of course, Boulogne, which Fanny Kemble describes in her memoirs as becoming a 'British Alsatia'.[22] At times these headmistresses arrived directly with their students from England; Mme Durden, in 1846, uprooted her small English school to bring students to Rouen to learn French.[23]

Despite the fact that many families sent their daughters to schools run by anglophones, the location of these schools on French soil was clearly significant. They were looking for something they could not find in England — a 'French' education.[24] But what did this signify in the first decades of the nineteenth century and to what end was such an education sought?

Cultural Aspirations and Practical Applications

Although some families sent very young daughters to French schools simply to learn the French language, families more commonly sent girls as adolescents to polish up their education before entering society and negotiating the marriage market.[25] English attitudes toward French women varied, but many admired, albeit at times grudgingly, their ability to converse easily about literature or politics.[26] Among middle-class English families French novels and morals were frequently deplored, yet the French language was widely deemed necessary. Moreover, 'French' education was associated with training in the accomplishments — music, drawing or painting — which were similarly valued as indicators of middle-class status. The Bryce report to the School Inquiry Commission in 1867–8 highlighted these cultural preferences, while arguing for the frivolous and unscientific way in which most English schools approached the study of these subjects. In a concern to produce well-mannered ladies, schools all too frequently treated the study of French as another accomplishment and taught it without any concern for the principles of grammar.[27] Evidence from memoirs, journals and autobiographies suggests that the situation was not very different in France. Indeed, most evidence presents periods of study in France as essentially an experience in intercultural exchange: serious study was generally not part of the programme.

Inspection reports for Parisian boarding schools reveal that foreign girls — and the British, in particular — sought out courses in the accomplishments and foreign languages rather than attending courses in history, literature or the sciences, which were probably more difficult to follow given language difficulties. In 1846 one report indicated the presence of relatively few students who studied Italian, except English girls; seven years later, the study of German was seen to be spreading because of British demand for the subject. The presence of large numbers of foreign students often influenced the nature of the education offered within a school. Since they tended to be uninterested in classical knowledge, the quality of such studies were deemed inferior by the inspectresses, while that of the various arts was praised for their excellence.[28] In this way foreign demand altered the nature of the educational programme offered in certain schools.

Contemporaries frequently noted that foreign girls attending French schools only remained for brief periods of time — from several months to a year or two. This naturally contributed to the superficial character of this 'finishing' education. Indeed in 1852, inspectresses felt compelled to note 'that the results of the study of foreign languages bear little relation to the time devote to this subject'.[29]

Spending a few months or even years in a French school was clearly seen as 'posh' in English middle-class circles, even if the domestic pedagogues deplored the frivolity of such studies.[30] Girls who were conversant in French and well-acquainted with the various female accomplishments were undoubtedly considered easier to

marry. But a sojourn in a French school could also have other more professional consequences, particularly for those 'redundant' middle-class women whose existence generated such debate after the publication of the 1851 census.[31] Many went on to work as teachers and governesses and they tended to advertise the fact they had spent time in Europe, particularly francophone Europe, acquiring the trappings of a genteel education.[32] Emily and Charlotte Brontë are probably among the most well-known Englishwomen to have 'finished' their education in a Belgian boarding school. Although they were in their twenties at the time, they went to Brussels in order to become fluent in French and learn German, music and drawing. Their goal was to acquire the appropriate qualifications to open a school of their own in England.[33] Advertisements in French professional newspapers suggest that other young women used their stay in a French school to seek employment as English teachers within France. Miss Frelen, for example, in 1840 specified that although she was a native-born Englishwoman she knew French perfectly. She added that she was serving as a teacher's aide at the moment, but was seeking a position within a home.[34] Temporary dislocations to study in France at times became more permanent thanks to the qualifications acquired while in France. Indeed, older English students often got their first taste of teaching while studying in a French boarding-school. Although Parisian inspectresses denounced this practice, arguing that these young women were far more concerned 'to acquire a knowledge of the French language than to teach English', for some this experience led to paid employment later.[35]

Studying French in France testified then to a variety of cultural aspirations. For most anglophone families in the first half of the nineteenth century, education abroad was the means for their daughters to acquire the manners, behaviour and language of well-educated middle-class women. The development of more rigorous academic education for girls would see this change in the second half of the century. But it could also reveal more practical considerations, including the concern to secure employment for one's daughter within the teaching profession.[36] This situation probably also changed as entrance into the teaching profession became more codified in the second half of the century, but the existence of such study-abroad practices raises other issues as well, among them those that speak to long-lasting national and gender stereotypes.

Experiencing 'Frenchness'

A number of women have left autobiographical writings that describe their stays within French schools. These portrayals offer at times scathing criticism of French pedagogical and cultural practices and are indicative of the weight of national stereotypes among both men and women. In the 1820s, the Browne family, which hailed from Cumberland yeomanry, spent several months in Versailles, so they placed their daughter Mary in what was recommended as the best and most select school in this prosperous Parisian suburb. She was one of between twelve and fourteen other English girls, all of whom adopted an attitude of lordly disdain toward their French classmates: 'The French girls were the dirtiest, rudest set I ever saw. They wore very coarse dark cotton frocks or black petticoats, dirty blue or red aprons with pockets, spotted with ink, black worsted stockings and listen shoes … Their skins were dirty and yellow'. The teaching was just as bad: in drawing class the girls did what they wanted; the writing master never looked at their work; and the dancing lessons were a farce. Moreover, even religion was treated with the same disdain. Not surprisingly, Mary noted that none of the French girls spoke any English.[37] This scathing portrayal of ill-mannered and poorly-dressed French girls highlights the gap between what English families expected to find in a French school and their experience. Perhaps more tellingly, Mary Browne chose to contradict the dominant stereotypes concerning Frenchwomen. By affirming that they were neither elegant nor polite, reputation to the contrary, she highlighted the superiority of her own national culture.

Two more nuanced portraits come from the pens of better-known figures, the future actress, Frances Kemble, and the future educator, Dorothea Beale, both of whom attended schools in Paris that were run by Englishwomen. As a result, their experience differed considerably from that of Mary Browne, since most of their classmates were also English and their contact with French ways was mostly limited to their interactions with French male and female teachers. Still, Frances Kemble's writing testifies to a cultural experience that was distinctly French in the 1820s, thanks not just to the language of instruction but also to the presence of mythology, the weight of daily discipline, the 'loud-reading' of generally religious texts and the lessons in dancing, drawing and singing.[38] Her praise of this school showed an appreciation of of French academic practices, but she did have criticisms that applied mainly to the moral tales they were were encouraged to read, as well as to the manners of certain French teachers: 'But I do not think that the works of imagination to which I was allowed free access were of a specially wholesome or even harmless tendency. The false morality and attitudinizing of such books as *Les contes de ma fille* and Mme de Genlis' *Veillées du château* and *Adèle et Théodore* were rubbish if not poison'. She also thought Chateaubriand was clearly unfit reading for young girls'.[39] Here she displayed a clear preference for the literature of her compatriots, Walter Scott in particular, while highlighting the potentially dangerous quality of French pedagogical literature. French masters were another source of potential trouble,

Plate: Mme Kahn's boarding-school for young Jewish Girls in Paris[49]

especially the one who taught French and Latin. She described him as a 'clever, ugly, impudent, snuffy, dirty little man, who wrote vaudevilles for the minor theatres and made love to his pupils'.[40] Despite these criticisms, however, Kemble delighted in many aspects of her educational experience, particularly her participation in the theatrics that occured within Miss Rowden's school.

Dorothea Beale's experiences at Mme Bray's fashionable boarding school some twenty years later appear to have been less enriching than Kemble's. Specifically, Beale deplored the mechanical order of the French educational system:

> Imagine our disgust at being required to read English history in Mrs Trimmer to learn by heart all Murray's Grammar, to learn even lists of prepositions by heart, in order that we might parse without the trouble of thinking. I learned them with such anger that the list was burnt into my brain, and I can say it now … I felt oppressed with the routine life; I, who had been able to moon, grub, alone for hours, to live in a world of dreams and thoughts of my own, was now put into a cage and had to walk round and round like a squirrel. I felt thought was killed.[41]

Although his reaction speaks to prior expectations, it also undoubtedly reveals the retrospective thinking of a woman who devoted her life to promoting more serious study for girls and women. She went to France in order to acquire the manners and language of the accomplished woman. Presumably she acquired these, but she also discovered pedagogical methods wildly at odds with those she subsequently promoted as headmistress at Cheltenham Ladies College. Indeed, one wonders why her family felt it necessary to send her to France, given the ambivalent reputation of French education.

Up to this point, I have considered why families sent their daughters to France for a French education, but I have not explored how this practice reveals the gendering of attitudes toward language and nationality by mid-century. Michele Cohen has argued that the study of French by the 1860s in England had become 'girls' business': 'it had become the language without which no young lady would be considered accomplished'.[42] This contrasted strongly with the situation for boys. As English public schools turned inward, focusing on cultivating the values of patriotism and masculinity, the study of Latin grammar was praised for its ability to train the faculties of the mind. French, on the other hand, could be learned empirically, by imitation, and thus lacked the rigourous manliness of Latin. As a result, the mastery of French

conversation was increasingly devalued and feminized, and became a trait of showy female education. Catherine Sinclair's model tale, *Female Accomplishments* (1836), illustrates this attitude, as Cohen has shown: 'Miss Porson [in this tale], the virtuous English governess … holds that reading French is a means of training the female mind but is contemptuous of mere training in tongues, which tells of an education meant only for display in the drawing room'.[43]

The lure of the French language and the success of French education contributed to differentiating the education of the sexes in England. In many ways reformers' efforts to encourage a more rigorous 'scientific' approach to the study of the arts and language encouraged this differentiation, by emphasizing the more 'natural' relationship between women and studies associated with the accomplished woman. As one social commentator noted 'yet music and grammar might be in a woman's education what logic and mathematics are to a man. The one would teach her to *think*, and the other to *combine* and *adapt*, thus bearing on the very weakest points in her mind'.[44] Although this writer did not assume women's natural inferiority to men, he/she did advocate specifically those subjects associated with women: music, conversation and literature.

The English stereotypes associated with French education not only contributed to reinforcing the differences between girls' and boys' education in England, but they also had an impact on French teachers and French educational offerings. For one thing, they generated a demand for French governesses in England and paved the way for the success of Catholic convent schools in England.[45] And, as mentioned earlier, the English quest for 'French' culture, affected the nature of the curriculum within schools where English students were numerous. There is some evidence as well that within France national stereotypes about English self-discipline contributed to changing how certain schools functioned. In 1868 a report for the Conseil général de la Seine indicated that schools in Neuilly (a wealthy western suburb) and in Passy (a newly-annexed wealthy *arrondissement*) were adopted the traditions of English schools. These were described in the following way: 'a greater liberty in daily disci-

TABLE
Foreign Students in Parisian Boarding Schools, 1852-60[48]

	1852–3	1853–4	1857–8	1858–9	1859–60	%	Total
Great Britain	275	359	275	320	295	49.6%	1524
United States	32	68	106	143	101	14.6%	450
Belgium	4	11	13	18	8	1.7%	54
Germany	34	46	39	47	40	6.7%	206
Italy	8	7	25	24	13	2.5%	77
Spain	21	19	31	26	25	4.0%	122
Moldavia-Valaque	10	7	17	20	16	2.3%	70
Poland	42	53	59	58	58	8.8%	270
Russia	10	8	22	29	36	3.4%	105
Sweden		5	10			0.5%	15
Denmark			1				1
Holland	4	3	5	20	3	1.1%	35
Turkey	2		9	15		8.5%	26
Algeria	1		4			0.2%	5
Mauritius Island		2	3			0.2%	5
Java		1	3			0.1%	4
Tunisia			1				1
Portugal	2						2
Other	18	39		29	12	3.2%	98

pline and an introduction of the habits of private life into communal living conditions'.[46]

Above all, perhaps, these examples highlight that the history of transnational education for girls reaches back into at least the nineteenth century. Moreover, as now, such contact between cultures could prove mutually enriching, but it often served to reinforce precisely those national stereotypes which Victorian novels did so much toward spreading. These novels are replete with negative images of women who as girls received an education in France. There they learned to speak French, to sing and to dance, but they also learned artifice and were encouraged to display their accomplishments.[47] And yet, these negative stereotypes did not prevent English families from continuing to send their daughters to France to seek the seal of a French education despite the dangers such an education might hold. They also increasingly sent their daughters to French Catholic schools in England, in search of a French ambience they would not find elsewhere. But this was not the case for boys. Interestingly, it would appear that the English harboured fears about the ways that the French language would feminize men, but for women this exposure to French culture was not considered as threatening: if anything it served to reinforce their identity as English women.

NOTES

* This essay was first presented as a paper at the Berkshire Conference on the History of Women at Storrs, Connecticut in June 2002. My thanks to the panel members and the audience for their questions and suggestions. Special thanks to Céline Grasser for providing criticism as well as references and xeroxes relating to British girls' education.

1 For an interesting analysis of the Loveday affair, see Carolyn Ford, 'Private Lives and Public Order in Restoration France: The Seduction of Emily Loveday', *American Hist. Rev.,* xcix (Feb. 1994), 21–43.

2 Josephine Kamm, *How Different from Us: A Biography of Miss Buss and Miss Beale* (London, 1958).

3 For a fascinating analysis of the gendering of the French language in England, see Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1996).

4 Historians of women and gender have begun to study the impact of schools with a foreign ethos, particularly within colonial settings. I have found the following particularly interesting: Frances Gouda, 'Teaching Indonesian Girls in Java and Bali, 1900–1942: Dutch Progressives, the Infatuation with "Oriental" Refinement, and "Western" Ideas about Proper Womanhood', *Women's Hist. Rev.*, iv (1995), 25–62; M. Labode, 'From Heathen Kraal to Christian Home: Anglican Mission Education and African Christian Girls, 1850–1900', in F. Bowie, D. Kirkwood, S. Ardener (eds), *Women and Missions: Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perspections* (Oxford,), 126–144. Although I have analyzed the significance of French schools that were set up in Algeria, Senegal and the United States, I am unaware of studies that look at this phenomenon of girls who were sent abroad in the nineteenth century, except at the level of university studies.

5 See the fascinating analysis of educational exchanges, involving both boys and girls in Switzerland, Germany and France in Pierre Caspard, 'Les changes linguistiques d'adolescents. Une pratique éducative, XVII^{e}–XIX^{e} siècles', *Revue Historique Neufchâteloise* (Jan.–June 2000), 5–85.

6 On the basis of a study of the translations of French pedagogical texts, Jacques Carré has argued that French educational models for girls were very popular in the early part of the eighteenth century in England. By the end of the century such translations had disappeared, testimony, he argues, to an increasing francophobia among the English middle classes as well as the influence of evangelical modes of behavior. The presence of large numbers of English girls in French boarding schools, suggests the refusal of French educational models was not universal. See Jacques Carré, 'Les traductions anglaises d'ouvrages français sur le comportement et l'éducation des femmes au XVIII^{e} siècle', in Alain Montandon (ed.), *Le même et l'autre: Regards européens* (Clermont Ferrand, 1997), 87–102.

7. These figures come from Conseil général de la Seine, *Résultats de l'inspection des pensionnats de demoiselles* (Paris). For the years 1852–3, see 119–26; for 1853–4, see 221–8; for 1857–8, see 189–97; for 1859–60, see 107–17. This series of administrative documents can be found at the Bibliothèque Administrative de la Ville de Paris.

8 James Grant argued in 1844 that the expense of educating a girl in a Parisian boarding school was similar to that of educating a girl in England, ranging from £50 to £75 sterling, with all extras included. James Grant, *Paris and its People* (London, 1844), 296.

9. It would be interesting to explore in more detail this question of the religious instruction received within these schools, particularly for those girls who were placed, like the Loveday girls, within Catholic boarding schools.

10. Emma Willard described this school as among the most distinguished of girls' boarding schools, see her *Journal and Letters from France and Great Britain* (Troy, 1833), 263–5. The only other non-British school devoted to foreign girls was a Polish school for the daughters of refugees created by Princess Czartoriska: *Revue de l'Enseignement des femmes*, 8 Aug. 1845.

11. Miss Rowden's mother had also run a school in England where Mary Wollstonecraft's sister had briefly been a student. See Susan Skedd, 'Women Teachers and the Expansion of Girls' Schooling in England, *c.*1760–1820' in Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (eds.), *Gender in Eighteenth –Century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities* (London, 1997), 109.

12. Françoise Martin was born in 1793 in England. She first appears in the Parisian trade books in 1837, running a boarding school in the quartier Beaujon in the northwestern sector of France. For comments on her school, see Grant, *Paris and its People*, 220.

13. Archives Nationales (hereafter AN), F^{17} 12432. Miss Shanahan was born in Dublin and educated in an Ursuline boarding school. She was given authorization to open a school for foreign girls, avenue Chateaubriand, n°21; in

1843 she had twenty-five boarders, mostly from England and Italy. The school also lodged an older woman, a governess of some of the English girls, two English teaching aides and one French aide. A prospectus for her institution indicates that she focused her teaching on languages, offering classes in English, French, Italian and German, but also literature, history and geography, some elements of sciences, drawing, dancing and music.

14. Archives Départementales, Paris (hereafter ADP), VD^6 367, n°7.
15. Grant, *Paris and its People*, 290.
16. ADP, VD^6 159.
17. ADP, VD^6 159. Rose Coulon, a Protestant headmistress, also attracted foreign students in her small school. Out of a total of 19 students, 11 were foreigners: 6 from Great Britain, 3 from the United States, 1 Russian and 1 Dutch student.
18. AD VD^6 159. This institution figures prominently in a biographical memoir, see Brada, *Souvenirs d'une petite Second Empire* (Paris, 1921).

    It would be interesting to know if this had an impact on the number of foreign students in the second half of the century. For an analysis of the reform movement in girls' secondary education that led to the prohibition of women lodgers, see Rebecca Rogers, 'Boarding Schools, Women Teachers, and Domesticity: Reforming Girls' Secondary Education in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *French Hist. Studies*, xix (Spring 1995), 153–81.
20. The English were also very present along the Riviera, on the Basque coast and in the southwestern city of Pau.
21. Skedd, 'Women Teachers', 109.
22. See Germaine Bourgade, 'Une maison d'education anglaise à Caen au temps de la Monarchie de Juillet: la pension Roberts, 1834–1843', *Annales de la Societe des Antiquaires de Normandie* (1963), 514–23. She describes the school run by Miss Charlotte Roberts in Caen. One of the students in this school, Annie Bulloch, learned the manners necessary to be presented as a debutante at the court of Queen Victoria in 1837.
23. AN, F^{17} 12432. The archives contain an advertisement for her institution, written in English, with testimonials from notable English gentlemen. Her institution cost 40 guineas per annum and she stated that Rouen 'may now be comfortably reached from London, and many other parts of England, within 24 hours'.
24. Naturally a number of these students were probably the daughters of British families residing in France.
25. Fanny Kemble, for example, was sent to Mme Faudier's school in Boulogne to learn French at the tender age of seven. See, Kemble, *Record*, 42–51.
26. See Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 64–78. For American representations of French women, see for example Edward Melville, *Sketches of Society in France and Ireland, in the Years 1805–1806–1807, By a Citizen of the United States* (Dublin, 1811), 159. A range of responses are given in G. de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La France et les Français vus par les voyageurs américains*, II (Paris, 1985), 35–47.
27. See Joyce Sanders Pedersen, *The Reform of Girls' Secondary and HigherEducation in Victorian England* (London, 1987), 102–31, especially 128. Bryce gave the following estimations for the percentage of time allotted to each subject in more expensive Lancashire schools: music 25%, miscellaneous information 15%, French 12%, history 8%, arithmetic 7.5%, drawing 6.5%, writing 6%, geography 5%, English grammar 4.5%, German 1.5%, needlework 3.5%, globes 2.5% (see n.103, 408). Ruth Watts argues, however, that among the reforming Unitarians, a concern to teach modern languages more rigorously led many families to send their daughters abroad. Ruth Watts, *Gender, Power and the Unitarians in England, 1760–1860* (Harlow, 1988), 124.
28. These reports can be found for the years 1845 until 1859 in Conseil général de la Seine, *Résultats* (see n.7). Isolated reports are also present in AN, F^{17} 12432 and ADP, VD^6 series.
29. *Résultats*, 1852, 137–43. The inspectresses noted that in 1846 that English families sent their daughters 'just for the period of time necessary in order for them to acquire a bit of the French language' : AN, F^{17}, 12431, Recueil des Actes Administratifs, 1847, *Résultats de l'inspection des pensionnats de demoiselles*, 38.
30. Michèle Cohen argues that Hannah More, *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education* (1799), was among the most vehement in condemning the way English girls used their training in the accomplishments for the purposes of display. See Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 68–71. For the influence of More's ideas in girls' education in England, see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1830* (Chicago, 1987), 158.
31. See, in particular, Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women : Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920* (Chicago, 1985), 10–45, as well as Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago, 1988), 126–63.
32. See Kathryn Hughes, *The Victorian Governess* (London, 1993), 45.
33. For a description of this experience, see Elizabeth Gaskell, *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* [1857], 149–183. After six months as a student at the school, Charlotte went on to teach English there while continuing her studies of French. The Unitarian, Miss Wreford, spent seven years in Italy, Germany and France to qualify for establishing a school: Watts, *Gender*, 124.
34. *Journal des maîtres de pension*, 28 Dec. 1840. The *Courrier des pensions et des familles* similarly passed advertisements of young English women seeking teaching positions in 1846. Inspection reports for larger boarding schools also reveal the presence of Englishwomen within such schools who offered lessons in English. See for example the inspection of Elisa Liot's school in 1848–59 where Miss Greenwood taught English: ADP, VD^6 184, n°2.
35. AN, F^{17}, 12431, Recueil des Actes Administratifs, 1847, *Résultats de l'inspection des pensionnats de demoiselles*, 38. French girls' diaries also reveal more informal language training by English students. Pauli-

ne Weil, for example, describes a fellow sixteen-year old boarder who gave her lessons in English using a newspaper. Private archives of Philippe Lejeune, Pauline Weil, *Histoire de ma vie: Journal*, 21 Jan. 1858.

36. For a stimulating recent article that challenges the vision of amateurish lady-teachers developed by Pedersen, see Christine de Bellaigue, 'The Development of Teaching as a Profession for Women before 1870', *Hist. Jl*, xliv (2001), 963–88.
37. Mary Browne, *The Diary of a Girl in France in 1821* (London, 1905), 87–101.
38. Kemble, *Record,* 78–120.
39. *Ibid*., 93.
40. *Ibid*., 99.
41. Cited in Josephine Kamm, *How Different*, 25–7, from 'Retrospect and Forecast' by D. Beale, *Longman's Magazine* (Aug. 1897). Mrs Sarah Trimmer (1741–1810) was the author of children's books and educational works. Dorothea Beale went to Mrs Bray's boarding school in 1847; this represented a step in her educational trajectory which then continued with a period of study at Queen's College before becoming a teacher in her own right. She was known in particular for her reign as headmistress at Cheltenham.
42. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity,* 99.
43. *Ibid.,* 108. Linda Colley has also argued for the increasingly virile character of élite boys' education: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven, 1992), 164–93.
44. 'An Inquiry in the State of Girls' Fashionable Schools', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* (June 1845), 707.
45. For a cogent analysis of the spread of French convent schools, see Susan O'Brien, 'French Nuns in 19th-Century England', *Past and Present,* no. 154 (Feb. 1997), 142–80.
46. Conseil général de la Seine, *Résultats,* 1868.
47. See Elizabeth Gaskell, *Wives and Daughters* (1864–6) for this negative portrayal of the effects of a French education. The flighty and inconstant Cynthia Kirkpatrick, who was educated in Boulogne, provides a counterpoint to her step-sister, the solid and faithful Molly Gibson, who received a home education.

THE CLARE EVANS PRIZE 2002

48. These figures come from Conseil Général de la Seine, *Résultats*.
49. ADP, DT supplément, n°120, Dossier Isaac

Report by Ann Hughes
University of Keele

There were eleven entries this year, mostly from post-graduate students, but also including work by an under-graduate and by women not attached to academic institutions. Most were on nineteenth and twentieth century British History, but there were essays also on eighteenth-century unmarried mothers, Weimar Berlin, social purity movements in Switzerland and Irish aristocratic families.

The winner was Jessica Meyer for her essay ' "Not Septimus now": Wives of Disabled Veterans and Cultural Memory of the First World War in Britain'. The judges found this to be a moving and well-written piece, based on a wide range of source materials, ranging from official PRO files to detective stories.

We were also particularly impressed by Natalia Gerodetti's piece, ' "Lay experts": The Women's Social Purity Movement and Sexual Politics in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth Century in Switzerland', and Tanya Evans's essay, ' "Unfortunate Objects": London's Unmarried Mothers in the Eighteenth Century'.

Many of the other essays covered important topics and presented very interesting material. The most common weakness was the lack of clearly expressed methodology or analytic focus, while some still read more like thesis chapters than free-standing essays. The judges are looking for a piece that, with revisions, can be published as a journal article. Entrants need to explain the importance of their topic, how they chose their sources and methods and how their argument relates to other relevant work.

The judges this year, as last, were Elaine Chalus (Bath Spa University College), June Hannam (University of the West of England), Liz Harvey (Liverpool University) and Ann

Hughes (Keele University). They are all willing to serve next

CONFERENCE REPORT

year. Publicity, although late, had been reasonably effective, and the later closing date had been helpful.

[The photo shows the prize being presented to Jessica by Clare's daughter, Merlin]

Women's History Network Eleventh Annual Conference

Earning and Learning

Royal Holloway College, University of London
14–15 September 2002

Report by Nicola Pullin and Stephanie Spencer

Writing of the early women's colleges, Martha Vicinus concludes that they offered 'untold opportunities for friendship, contact with some of the best minds of the times, and intellectual freedom'. The weekend of 14–15 September at Royal Holloway College, University of London (at Egham) confirmed this view. Over 130 delegates attended the two-day conference which was held in association with the Bedford Centre for the History of Women. We heard three plenary sessions, over fifty individual papers and two panels in a busy programme which also included sessions run by the Bedford Centre archivist in the impressive Victorian Gothic Founders' Building. Saturday evening began with a wine reception and book launch at sunset on the balcony overlooking the spectacular quad. It concluded with a film about the recent recognition of pre-1947 Cambridge women graduates' degrees, made by Lucy Thane, entitled 'As Is Our Due'. The hum of conversation and discussion continued right through to Sunday afternoon and the final sessions.

The conference was opened by Lyndal Roper and Amanda Vickery, directors of the Bedford Centre, and the first plenary by Carol Dyhouse set the tone by challenging Kitty Anderson's assertion that Higher Education for women had been a simple whiggish progression through the twentieth century. In the afternoon Pat Thane offered us a glimpse of the uneasy relationship between higher education and 'inadequate opportunities' of Girton graduates from the 1920s to the 1980s. Our final plenary speaker on Sunday, Deborah Simonton, took us back into the eighteenth century to explore girlhood and ado-

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lescence, which for many women often meant both earning and learning simultaneously during apprenticeship or domestic service.

The seminar papers illustrated the rich diversity of methodology and content there is in women's history. The theme of 'Earning and Learning' was interpreted in a multitude of ways and it swiftly became apparent that informal learning and unpaid work undermine established notions of education and employment for women.
As well as delegates from Scotland, Ireland, Wales and England, we heard papers from the USA, Switzerland, Tajikistan, Australia and Russia. We were especially pleased that there were a number of new faces at the conference and it was good to welcome had not attended recently.

The organisers would like to thank everyone who attended and helped at the conference for making it a weekend to remember. And of course we look forward to 2003 in Aberdeen!

June Purvis, *Emmeline Pankhurst: A Biography* (London: Routledge, 2002). ISBN 0 415 23978 8. £25.00 (hardback)

Review by Jad Adams

Emmeline Pankhurst's Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) had more than a passing resemblance to the Salvation Army with its insignia, bands, banners, rousing songs, unflinching public witness, eagerness for sacrifice, belief in ultimate redemption (when the franchise is won); and domination by a single family. It was the showmanship which ensured that now, almost a complete century since its foundation, Pankhurst's organisation is popularly assumed to have won the vote for women, not the more moderate groups which had been putting out the message and winning the moral argu-

ment for decades longer than the WSPU's eleven years of activity.

Pankhurst has experienced the usual fate of charismatic leaders: idolised and reviled in her lifetime; exposed as having big faults to match her big image; then restored to grudging respect by such sympathetic scholars as June Purvis. Always a campaigner, Emmeline was born into a radical family and married a radical man, Richard Pankhurst. After his death she was incensed that the Independent Labour Party branch which was to use the hall built in his memory would not admit women. In reaction she founded the all-female WSPU.

Emmeline's argument to remove 'the political disability of sex' is seen by June Purvis in the context of 1970s 'Second Wave Feminism', of 'consciousness-raising', a mistrust of male authority whether or not it called itself socialist and 'the primacy of putting women … first' rather than class or political affiliation.

In demanding a strictly gendered approach to politics, Pankhurst was seeking a franchise on the same basis as men — via property qualification. Even the Liberals who generally supported women's suffrage were lukewarm about this as it would enfranchise more Conservative than Liberal women voters. The Labour Party was simply against gender-based suffrage as it would enfranchise only middle-class women and argued for complete adult suffrage. However much Emmeline Pankhurst wanted it to be about women, the suffrage campaign in the early twentieth century was always about politics.

The WSPU was a curious protagonist in the battle for democracy anyway: its leaders were self-appointed and the central committee and paid organisers appointed by the leaders. When there were murmurs of protest about these arrangements, Pankhurst had the constitution annulled and the annual conference cancelled.

In the spirit of 'deeds not words' suffragettes began to commit acts which would court imprisonment to bring attention to their cause. Favourite daughter Christabel Pankhurst's act of protest was spitting at a policeman, after which she was arrested for common assault, refused to pay the fine and was imprisoned for a week. Emmeline had doubted the wisdom of this form of militancy but quickly realised its potential. She summoned a meeting to protest at the imprisonment and another to commemorate Christabel's release. The WSPU had hit upon a brilliant strategy: to goad the authorities into making martyrs of them. They charged police lines and condemned the retaliation as brutality. When two women acting independently smashed the prime minister's windows, instead of the anticipated condemnation, Emmeline congratulated them and later launched 'the argument of the stone', which was followed by further imprisonments, hunger strikes and force-feeding. Greater official brutality was the trigger for escalating violence: destroying mail, slashing paintings in galleries, cutting telegraph lines, arson and bombing buildings and water mains. The justification for all this was tied up with Pankhurst's belief that giving women the vote would lead to an end to child sexual abuse and prostitution. With assailable logic she told her audiences, 'A broken window is a small thing when one considers the broken lives of women, and it is better to burn a house than to injure little children'.

The decline of the movement started in 1912 with the desertion or expulsion of erstwhile loyal suffragettes who were questioning the wisdom of destroying private property. Notwithstanding the willingness of existing members to make greater sacrifices of money and even of life, by 1913 suffragette violence had alienated public support and lost members without gaining any concessions. Where suffragettes had been cheered by the public, now they had to be protected by the police from angry crowds.

With no doubt whatsoever Pankhurst attracted attention, but did she further the cause of women's suffrage? Contemporary criticism from the non-militant suffrage societies said violence set the cause back, a charge Purvis faces head-on. The First World War saved Pankhurst from the ignominy of a movement in decline, as she set aside the franchise struggle in favour of patriotic work. With money from the formerly hated Lloyd George (whose half-built house militants had bombed) Pankhurst mobilised her suffragettes to fight male and specifically trade-union objections to women doing war work. Women workers poured into the formerly male trades of munitions, banking, transport and public administration. The end of the war saw the Representation of the People Act with all men over 21 given the vote on a simple residency qualification and women over 30 on what was almost entirely a property franchise. It was close to an adult suffrage measure, certainly not the gender basis for women's franchise for which Pankhurst had argued, and she did not send representatives to the committee of suffrage societies which was consulted about it. Emmeline Pankhurst had nothing to do with the enfranchisement of women in 1918 as a technical measure.

Purvis maintains that the challenge to gender roles posed by women being both violent protesters and

workers was Pankhurst's defining achievement. This is the significant contribution of her well-argued biography. She writes: 'Emmeline and her militants changed the way in which women were *perceived* by people generally, including politicians, a process that was further advanced by her strident advocacy of women's war work'. To deny women the vote became as unthinkable as denying the vote to soldiers home from the war. No better separatist feminist interpretation of the suffrage movement is likely to be written, and, as the separatist feminist interpretation is the only one that Pankhurst herself would tolerate, she deserves this detailed work.

Purvis is a much more impressive scholar, however, when she is working with her own meticulously gathered material than when she is attacking Martin Pugh, author of a perceptive composite biography *The Pankhursts* (London: Allen Lane, 2001), now published as a Penguin paperback. For Pugh, the most attractive figure is the consistent socialist feminist Sylvia Pankhurst who was expelled from the WSPU by her mother for allying herself with movements which included men and for advocating mass rather than individual protest.

Emmeline, having been a socialist and a Liberal, ended

her days as a Conservative. Both positive and negative accounts of her show her failure was not as a leader, but as a politician. She was more a spiritual mother to Mary Whitehouse than Margaret Thatcher: a great performer, but no thinker, and half-right on everything.

Pauline Stafford and Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker(eds.) *Gendering the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). ISBN 0631226516. £15.99 (pbk)

Review by Sam Riches

This collection is a republication of a special issue of the journal *Gender and History* (xii, 3, 2000), which aimed to bring medieval material, and the possibilities for gendered approaches that it offers, into the purview of the wider historical community. The extent to which this aim has been achieved is as yet unclear: as the editors observe in their introduction, *Gender and History* has tended to attract few contributions based on medieval material and it is likely that it will take some time for this imbalance to be corrected. However, the simple fact that this collection has been published in book form will surely mean that it will become available to a wider range of potential readers. If it is catalogued under 'Gender Studies' it is bound to come to the attention of those with interests outside the medieval period — and this in itself is a positive move.

However, I fear that the illustration on the bookjacket is a less than wise choice. It is pretty enough — a sculpted woman from a late twelfth-century carved capital at Vézelay (due to a production error, the attribution of the image has been omitted from the book, although it did appear in the journal issue) — but it seems to have no connection with any of the papers. Even more worryingly, it surely reinforces the common assumption that 'gender' automatically equates with 'women'. It is almost ten years since Allen J. Frantzen's seminal article, 'When Women Aren't Enough', appeared in the medieval journal *Speculum*'s special issue on gender (lxviii, 1993, 445–71), but his vital message has clearly not been received in all quarters: men have, and have had, gender too.

In the light of my own experience with the production of an edited collection I do not hold the editors responsible for the design of the cover, but I am concerned that the selection of articles tends to follow the same trajectory. The introduction expressly regrets the relative lack of emphasis on masculinity, but it is sad that this problem was not addressed in the process of turning the journal into a book, perhaps by commissioning an additional, or even an alternate, article. Meanwhile, Katherine J. Lewis' cogent review of two books on gender and medieval sainthood highlights the fact that 'men' and 'women' are by no
means simply antithetical or dichotomous categories: it is unfortunate that this problematizing approach did not permeate further into the other papers. That said, this collection provides (to non-medievalists especially) a

CALLS FOR PAPERS

Sixth Southern Conference on Women's History
Location: Georgia, United States
Conference Begins: 2003-06-05

The Sixth Southern Conference on Women's History, sponsored by the Southern Association for Women Historians, will be held June 5-7, 2003, in Athens, Georgia. Held every three years, this conference provides a stimulating and congenial forum for the discussion of all aspects of women's history. Its program seeks to reflect the diversity of women's experiences in the United States and elsewhere and to feature the history of women from a wide range of racial, class, and ethnic backgrounds.

The conference will be hosted by the University of Georgia and held on UGA's main campus, conveniently located near downtown Athens. Conference participants will be encouraged to take full advantage of the rich historical and cultural resources offered by the University and Athens, including local art, music, and historical sites. For more information, please visit the conference website. You may also direct questions to Kathleen Clark, conference coordinator, via e-mail.
Contact information: Kathleen Clark, Department of History, University of Georgia, LeConte Hall, Athens, GA 30602 USA. Ph: 706-542-6394
Email: katclark@arches.uga.edu
Conference website: http://www.uga.edu/swch

Fifth Annual Women's History Month Conference
Sarah Lawrence College, Bronxville, NY
Friday-Saturday March 7-March 8, 2003
Sisters in Struggle:
Honoring Women Veterans of the Modern Civil Rights Movement
Keynote Speaker: Gloria Richardson Dandridge

Little Rock Nine and The Cambridge Movement are only a sample of movements in the Civil Rights Movement orchestrated and led by women. The 5th Annual Women's History Conference at Sarah Lawrence College will celebrate Women's History month by honoring the unsung heroes of the modern Civil Rights Movement. Our keynote speaker will be Gloria Richardson, leader of the Cambridge movement.
We welcome papers, panels, workshops, and performances with themes that explore the issue of women in the Civil Rights Movement. Civil Rights Veterans are especially invited to participate.
Contact: Tara James, Associate Director
Women's History Graduate Program
Sarah Lawrence College
Bronxville, NY 10708
Phone: 914-395-2405 Fax: 914-395-2663
Email: tjames@mail.slc.edu
Deadline: 8 November 2002

Hystorical Fictions: Women, History and Authorship
5th – 7th August 2003
Gregynog Hall, University of Wales

This three-day conference seeks to address the nature of the past and history as it is and has been written by women authors. Recent years have witnessed a renaissance in women writers using the past in their fiction. Authors such as Margaret Atwood, A.S. Byatt, Angela Carter, Stevie Davies, Patricia Duncker, Phillipa Gregory, Jackie Kay, Fatima Mernissi, Toni Morrison, Michele Roberts, Rose Tremain, Alice Walker, and Sarah Waters actively engage with the past – not only the past as distant from the present, but also specific pasts, specific periods / cultures and actual historical figures. If the past is by definition the origin of the present, what kind of theorised view of history do women authors offer us? Can history, or the use of history in fiction, be theorised? What is it about history and the possibilities of (re-)writing it that so appeals to (contemporary) women writers? Why the use of a particular historical period? What kind of connections are authors trying to create between the period in which they write and the period they write about? Does the past merely offer a framing discourse for these fictions or is there also a deliberate attempt to reclaim the past? Do various genres deal differently with concepts of the past and its relationship to the present / future? This conference seeks to explore these issues and the multiple treatments of the past offered by both historical and contemporary female authors.

Keynote speakers: Stevie Davies, Patricia Duncker.

Possible themes might include:
History and gender in the 18th-century Gothic novel; Women and 19th/early 20th-century utopia; The future imperfect: contemporary feminist utopia and dystopia; Re-writing earlier narratives; Revisiting the Victorians/ Edwardians; Sexing the past; Intertextualities: history into fiction, fiction as history; Herstorywomen, historians and women's history; Fictional representations of historical characters; Re/Inventing selves: women and auto/biography

Please email a 250-word abstract by **Friday 29 November 2002** to: a.b.heilmann@swansea.ac.uk, m.e.llewellyn@ntlworld.com, or rachel_sarsfield@hotmail.com or send to one of the organisers: Ann Heilmann, Mark Llewellyn, Rachel Sarsfield, at: Hystorical Fictions Conference, Department of English, Keir Hardie Building, University of Wales, Swansea, Singleton Park, Swansea, United Kingdom SA2 8PP

WOMEN, FAMILY, PRIVATE LIFE

AND SEXUALITY

CALL FOR PAPERS

The next conference of the International Federation for Research in Women's History will take place from 11-14 August 2003 in Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland.

The conference organisers invite proposals for papers on any aspect of the history of women's relationship and engagement with the family, private life and sexuality.

Among themes which will be discussed are the impact on women's lives of changing definitions of the family and private life; the history of women's relationship with the family in different cultures, religious groups and countries; public and state policies on women and sexuality, private life and the family; the economic function of the family and women's contribution to it; perceptions of women's sexuality and family role in legal and religious codes and practices; and the historiographies of sexuality, private life , the family and women.

The conference organisers welcome proposals for panels and individual papers. In order to assist the research schedules of contributors, there will be two deadlines for submissions: 1 June 2002 and **1 November 2002**. The selection committee will decide on proposals submitted by 1 June 2002 by 1 July 2002 and on those submitted from 1 June to 1 November by 1 December 2002. Proposals should include a short summary and a brief curriculum vitae for each contributor.

Address for Proposals:
IFRWH Conference 2003, School of Modern History, Queen's University Belfast, Belfast BT7 1NN, Northern Ireland, United Kingdom. Phone: 028 90 245133; Fax: 028 90 314611 Email: history@qub.ac.uk Web page: http://historians.ie/women

72nd ANGLO-AMERICAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS
CALL FOR SUGGESTIONS ~ CALL FOR PAPERS

THE BODY
2-4 JULY 2003

From Aristotle to Foucault, the body has been widely regarded (and no less widely denied) as the essential crossroads between self and society. Next year's Anglo-American Conference will be devoted to the history of the body in all its multifarious aspects and multiple meanings: as corporeal and disembodied, mind-body-soul, the body politic; as diet, eating, nutrition and malnutrition; as skin and bones, head and heart, flesh and blood, sanity and madness; as childhood, youth, maturity and old age; as men and women, black and white, civilised and barbarian, saved and damned; as regulation, discipline, coercion, punishment, defilement and torture; as health, hygiene, medicine, anatomy, treatment and cleanliness; as dress, undress, dance, theatre, sport, performance and recreation; as morals and manners, behaviour and politeness, beauty and purity; as fasting, piercing,tattooing and self-mutilation; as photographs, portraits, effigies, death masks and other forms of representation; as birth (and birth control), copulation, incest, death, funerary rituals and commemoration.

The deadline is **1st November 2002** and both suggestions and proposals should be sent to Dr Debra Birch, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, Senate House, Malet Street, London WC1E 7HU.
Fax: 020-7862-8745.
Email: d.birch@sas.ac.uk

CONFERENCE

Women's History Network (Midland Region)

Regional Women

University College, Worcester
Saturday, **16th November 2002**

Plenary speaker: Prof Catherine Hall.
The Midland Women's History Network invites you to its forthcoming conference to be held at University College, Worcester. Further information and booking forms are available from either Sue Johnson at
s.johnson@worc.ac.uk or Paula Bartley at
P.Bartley@wlv.ac.uk

NOTICE

Newsletter of the International Federation for Research in Women's History
The latest issue of the can be read online at www.historians.ie/women. The newsletter is edited by Eileen Boris and includes reports from the federation's national committees on conferences, publications and other developments in women's historyaround the world. The latest issue also includes abibliography in recent women's history by Karen Offen and a report on writings in Mexican women's history compiled by Maria Teresa Fernandez Aceves. Backissues of the newsletter are also available online. The 2nd call for papers for the Federation's 2003 conference in Belfast on Women, Family,Private Lifeand Sexuality can also be accessed on the Federation's website.
(notified by) Mary O'Dowd. President of the IFRWH

SUBMISSION DEADLINES FOR ARTICLES FOR INCLUSION IN WHN MAGAZINE

Deadlines as follows:

Spring 2003: 1 November
Summer 2003: 1 April
Autumn 2003: 1 August

Submissions by email please to the addresses below.

Our Publicity Officers

The following people should be contacted on matters relating to publicity:

Claire Jones, who concentrates on academic groups and peer reviewed material. She can be contacted by email: claire@jones5.com or at 16 Manor Farm Close, Mickle Trafford, Chester CH2 4EZ. Tel: 01244 300550; Fax: 08700 524592.

Lissy Klaar, who concentrates on the amateur and local historical groups and journals. Her contact is elisabethklaar@yahoo.co.uk

WHN Regional Organisers can request copies of this magazine to sell at conferences on a sale or return basis. Please contact Joyce Walker by email (j.a.walker@abdn.ac.uk) or c/o History Dept., University of Aberdeen, Meston Walk, Old Aberdeen AB24 3FX.

WHN CONTACTS

To submit articles or news for the WHN magazine, please contact any of the editors at the addresses below:

Elaine Chalus, School of Historical and Cultural Studies, Bath Spa University College, Newton Park, Bath BA2 9BN. Email: e.chalus@bathspa.ac.uk

Deborah Simonton, KEY Learning Opportunities, University of Aberdeen, King's College, Aberdeen AB24 3FX. Email: d.l.simonton@abdn.ac.uk

Heloise Brown, c/o Department of Politics and Modern History, London Guildhall University, Calcutta House, Old Castle Street, London E1 7NT. Email: heloise.brown@btopenworld.com

For book reviews, please contact **Dr Jane Potter,** Wolfson College, Oxford, OX2 6UD. Email: jpotter@oup.co.uk

To update contact details, or for any membership inquiries including subscriptions, please contact Amanda Capern, at the following address: History Department, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX, Email A.L.Capern@hull.ac.uk

What is the Women's History Network?

The WHN was founded in July 1991. It is a national association concerned with promoting women's history and encouraging women interested in history. WHN business is carried out by the National Steering Committee, which is elected by the membership and meets regularly several times each year. It organises the annual conference, manages the finance and membership, and co-ordinates activities in pursuit of the aims of the WHN.

Aims of the WHN

1. To encourage contact between all people interested in women's history—in education, the media or in private research
2. To collect and publish information relating to women's history
3. To identify and comment upon all issues relating to women's history
4. To promote research into all areas of women's history
5. To establish a database of the research, teaching and study-interests of the members and other related organisations and individuals

What does the WHN do?

Annual Conference
Each year the WHN holds a national conference for WHN members and other. The conference provides everyone interested in women's history with a chance to meet and an exciting forum where new research can be aired and recent developments in the field can be shared. The Annual General Meeting of the Network takes place at the conference. The AGM discusses issues of policy and elects the National Steering Committee.

WHN Publications
WHN members receive three copies per year of the *Magazine*, which contains: articles discussing research, sources and applications of women's history; reviews of books, conferences, meetings and exhibitions; and information on calls for papers, prizes and competitions, and publication opportunities.

Joining the WHN

Annual Membership Rates			
Student/unwaged	£5	Overseas minimum	£30
Low income (under £10,000 pa)	£15	UK Institutions	£35
High income	£30	Institutions overseas	£40

Membership Application

I would like to join / renew* my subscription to the Women's History Network. I enclose a cheque payable to Women's History Network for £ _____. (* delete as applicable)

Name: _____

Address: _____

_____ Postcode: _____

Email: _____ Tel (work): _____

Tick this box if you DO NOT want your name available to publishers/conference organisers for publicity: ☐

Detach and return this form with your cheque to **Amanda Capern, at the following address: History Department, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK.**