

Women's History **MAGAZINE**

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Elizabeth Ewan on Alison Rough in 16th Century Edinburgh

Amanda Engineer on Female Medical Practitioners in 17th Century England

Ann Wickham on The Training of Nurses in Ireland, 1860–1900



*Clare Evans Prize:
Report on 2003
entries, and details
of the 2004
Competition*

*12th Annual
Conference:
Reports*

women's
HISTORY
NETWORK



*The 13th annual conference of the Women's History Network
Quality Hotel Royal, Hull, 3-5 September, 2004*

WOMEN, WEALTH AND POWER



The Duchess of Newcastle. From: *The World's Olio* (1655)

Proposals for papers and all queries should be sent to Dr Amanda Capern (A.L.Capern@hull.ac.uk) or
Dr Judith Spicksley (J.M.Spicksley@hull.ac.uk)

Proposals for papers of 200 words should be sent with a brief *curriculum vitae* by 19 April 2004 and
should fit into one or more of the following themes

- Women and wealth/poverty/global economies
- Women and political thought/power
- Women and knowledge
- Sexual politics

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This issue of the *Women's History Magazine* has been delayed somewhat, but the delay has allowed us to include reports from the highly successful 12th annual Women's History Network conference, 'Contested Terrains: Gendered Knowledge, Landscapes and Narratives'. Debbi Simonton and Joyce Walker, who put so much effort in to planning the conference, must be congratulated not only for the diversity, range and quality of the papers presented, and for the smooth professionalism of the weekend's activities, but also for their ability to draw such a large group of women's historians to the University of Aberdeen for the northernmost conference in the WHN's history. The conference facilities were enviable, the autumn sun warm, and the group that gathered to enjoy both was challenging yet convivial.

We are hoping to publish a number of the papers that were presented at this year's conference and once again we would like to encourage people to submit their papers for consideration and refereeing.

This is a very British issue of the *Magazine*, featuring, as it does, articles on Scotland, Ireland and England. Elizabeth Ewan's, 'Alison Rough: A Woman's Life and Death in Sixteenth-Century Edinburgh', serves not only to introduce us to a sixteenth-century businesswoman and the events which ensured her story was preserved for posterity, but it also provides a valuable insight into the possibilities and limitations of sources when attempting to reconstruct women's lives, especially in the early modern period. Amanda Engineer's 'Female Medical Practitioners in Seventeenth-Century England: Sources in the Wellcome Library' provides an excellent sequel, revealing both what can be learned about early modern women and medicine by focusing on the sources available on seventeenth-century women in the Wellcome Library, and the challenges these sources pose. Ann Wickham's article, 'Another sphere for Educated Ladies': The Early Development of Nurse Training in Ireland, 1860–1900', stays with the medical theme as she explores the intersection of professionalization and sectarianism as it was played out in the training of nurses in nineteenth-century Dublin.

As many of you will already know from the WHN website (<http://www.womenshistorynetwork.org>), or from having heard it announced in Aberdeen, plans for the 2004 conference are already well under way. 'Women, Wealth and Power', will take place on 3–5 September 2004 at the University of Hull. Anyone interested in contributing a paper should submit a proposal (200 words) and a brief CV by 19 April 2004 to Dr Amanda Capern or Dr Judith Spicksley, Department of History, University of Hull, HU6 7RX. Email:

conference2004@womenshistorynetwork.org.

The editorial team for this year has changed somewhat. Heloise Brown, who has been a mainstay of the team from the days of the Newsletter, and whose cheerful competence and unquestioned ability will be much missed, has left the team. In her place, Niki Pullin and Claire Jones will join the other members of the editorial team: Debbi Simonton, Elaine Chalus and Jane Potter.

The *Women's History Magazine* is a fully refereed publication and we encourage all of our members to submit papers for future issues. For further information, including our 'Notes for Contributors', see the website or email magazine@womenshistorynetwork.org.

Wishing you all an enjoyable and productive autumn,

The WHN's editorial team:

Elaine Chalus, Claire Jones, Jane Potter, Niki Pullin, Debbi Simonton

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Alison Rough: A Woman's Life and Death in Sixteenth-Century Edinburgh*

Elizabeth Ewan

University of Guelph

On 10 September 1513, disturbing rumours began to circulate in Edinburgh. A few days previously the town's women and children had gathered to watch their fathers, husbands and sons march off to war with England under the command of the king, James IV. Now there were whispers of a calamitous defeat at the Field of Flodden, with hundreds or even thousands dead. As the whispers became louder, the town council, in an attempt to prevent panic, ordered women to stop 'clamouring and crying' in the street and go into their homes or the church to pray for the king and his army.¹

For the Edinburgh authorities, the most sensible reaction to disaster was to get potentially disorderly women off the streets and into their houses, while the remaining men were to rally to the defence of the town. But what really happened in the days and years following the Battle of Flodden on 9 September 1513? With many of the town's leading men dead, it was the women of Edinburgh who would ensure that life carried on for those left behind. At the highest level of society, the provost's widow, Janet Paterson, took over the role of town customs collector, along with Margaret Crichton, the king's cousin and widow of another Edinburgh burghess.² But women of all social groups ensured that their families survived and even flourished. One such woman was Alison Rough.

Women's History in Scotland

Until recently, little has been written about women in medieval and early modern Scotland, especially those women who were not of royal or aristocratic birth.³ One reason has been the apparent lack of records. There are no diaries, letters, government reports, photographs, census materials, novels, or memoirs, and few surviving artefacts. For most women, there is no concrete evidence about their age, their parents, their siblings, where they lived, or sometimes even their forenames. Historians have to piece together whatever scattered references they can find. Most women appear

in only one type of record and often only once.

What sorts of records do exist? There are more records for urban than rural women, partly because the towns were the sites of institutions such as the church and justice courts, as well as municipal governments, all of which kept written records. For Edinburgh, there are records from various church courts, from the town council and its court, and from the other legal courts which became permanently established there in this period. The lawyers and notaries who worked in the town kept records of the actions undertaken on behalf of their clients, especially property transactions, in protocol books, several of which survive for late fifteenth and sixteenth-century Edinburgh. Royal records, such as the treasurers' accounts, the customs records, and the register of royal land grants, include many Edinburgh people who did business with the king. There are also travellers' accounts and chronicles about events in Edinburgh. And finally, there is archaeological evidence, which is beginning to provide a picture of how people lived, although less survives for Edinburgh than for many other Scottish towns.

What is unusual about Alison Rough is that she appears in almost every type of record that exists for early sixteenth-century Scotland. She appears in property transactions in protocol books, in the church courts defending her inheritance rights and countering defamation, before the Lords of Council, the highest court in the land, and in the king's Register of the Secret Seal. Because her husband was a notary, responsible for recording property transactions and other deeds of local people, she moved in a world where written records were increasingly common, although she herself was apparently unable to write. In the one document where she signed her name, her hand was led by the notary.⁴ Part of the reason for her visibility, though, was her character — she was determined to fight for her rights and those of her children, and doing this meant that she made frequent appearances in court.

In order to understand Alison's life and choices, it is necessary to look at what Edinburgh was like during her lifetime, roughly 1480–1535. The town itself has not been studied in great depth for this period, although a recent book has examined it as a symbol and backdrop for the arts of royal rule in late medieval Scotland.⁵ Michael Lynch's study of Edinburgh and the Reformation briefly describes the pre-Reformation town, although his main concern is the context for the religious changes brought by the Reformation in 1559–60.⁶ Recent studies of the Stewart court have also shed light on Edinburgh as a royal centre.⁷ One of the main reasons for

beginning to piece together Alison's life is to see if such a study will be able to provide a new perspective, a female perspective, on the history of the town in this period. This essay is a first step in that project.

Late-Medieval Edinburgh

The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries were crucial in Edinburgh's development as the capital of Scotland. From the time of James III (1460–88), the town increasingly became the permanent home of the central institutions of government and law, the Parliament, and the Court of the Lords of Council, which was the predecessor of the Court of Session, the central legal court established in 1532. Lawyers and other legal professionals, including Alison's notary husband established their practices in Edinburgh,⁸ and the town became the seat of justice, both praised and criticized by those forced to bring their legal cases to the distant capital from their own towns and country areas. For Edinburgh women, the presence of the courts meant that they had more opportunity than most women to fight for their legal rights, and many, such as Alison, took full advantage of this.

With the increasingly common presence of the sovereign, the royal courts at Edinburgh Castle and Holyrood flourished.⁹ Among the men employed in royal service, there were a number bearing the surname of Rough,¹⁰ although their exact relationship to Alison is not clear. Under James IV (1488–1513) and James V (1513–42), the royal quarters at Holyrood Abbey were expanded and refurbished to become one of the major seats of the Scottish sovereigns, its architecture reflecting the latest Renaissance fashions of the day. Edinburgh became a cultural centre, the site of ceremonial royal entrances, extravagant royal weddings, such as that of James IV and Margaret Tudor of England in 1503, and elaborate tournaments to mark important events or welcome important visitors, including the Tournament of the Black Lady in 1507.¹¹ Foreign queens such as Mary of Gueldres, wife of James III, stamped their own mark on the town's architecture, bringing European influences, architects, and masons to erect new buildings and to expand old ones, including the town church of St Giles. These improvements benefited the whole community of Edinburgh and enlivened the social lives of its men and women.

Edinburgh was also strongly affected by the political events of the day. Ongoing conflict with England ensured that preparations for war were frequent and often festive, as royal armies mustered and gathered their arms and artillery on the Burgh Muir to the south of the town on their way to invade England. Large guns, such as the

cannon Mons Meg, were wheeled down the High Street from Edinburgh Castle; in 1497 the town minstrels played her 'Adoun the gait' although their music was not of much help, as her gun carriage broke down on the outskirts of the town.¹² Townspeople found employment in providing supplies for the armies or working on the new fleet, which James IV assembled at Leith and along the coast at his new port of Newhaven in the first decade of the sixteenth century.¹³ Among the people so employed was the skipper of his pride and joy, the largest ship in contemporary Europe, the 'Great Michael', launched in 1511. The skipper's name was Alexander Rough.¹⁴

War also had more punishing effects, as enemy fleets gathered in the Firth of Forth off Leith, or civil war and discord within Scotland itself resulted in sieges of Edinburgh Castle. The years after Flodden — until 1528 — witnessed a prolonged period of instability, as factions struggled for control of the young James V, who was only one year old when he came to the throne. Battles were fought in the High Street and down the closes and wynds, the lanes between townspeople's houses. The guns of Edinburgh Castle itself pointed down the High Street, sometimes causing fatalities among the townspeople when they were fired.¹⁵ And of course, there were the losses to the adult male population suffered at Flodden. Moreover, the town also faced another enemy — plague struck the community six times between 1497 and 1530, disrupting normal trade and decimating families.¹⁶ Alison's life was lived against a backdrop of warfare and political and economic instability.

Trade disruptions hit Edinburgh particularly hard, as it was the commercial centre of the country, dominating Scotland's export trade from the later fifteenth century.¹⁷ It was the place to buy luxury imports and goods, as well as to ship products abroad. It was the home of merchants, such as Alison's husband, son, and son-in-law — and Alison herself. Here were the luxury craftsmen, the gold and silversmiths, the jewellers, the makers of fine furniture and clothes, the foreign masons. Here also were the great townhouses of leading nobles and churchmen, where hundreds of servants, the majority of them women, found employment. As few people kept much of their capital in cash, investing it rather in land, there was a buoyant property market, providing investment opportunities and income for widows such as Alison Rough.

Edinburgh was also the site of a lively public world. As well as the occasional tournaments and royal ceremonies, there were other more frequent events. Fifteen separate marketplaces crowded along the High Street and other

streets, selling everything from fish and meat to second-hand clothes. Merchant booths proliferated on either side of the High Street, encroaching on public space. Proclamations affecting the whole country were made at the market cross which lay to the east of the parish church of St Giles.¹⁸ There were also grimmer spectacles, among them public executions. In 1512 a man who had murdered another man in Edinburgh Castle was beheaded and quartered; his head fixed to the West Port, while his hands and feet were sent to the gates of the four nearest towns. Edinburgh's citizens were not immune. The most common forms of execution were hangings for men and drownings for women.¹⁹

Alison's life was affected by many of these factors. War led to her widowhood, but the commercial opportunities of the town helped her create a new life for herself, both through trade and property investment. The preponderance of wealthy families in the town helped her make advantageous marriages for her children, while the local, royal, and church courts enabled her to defend her rights. And defend her rights assertively she did, almost until the end of her life. Ironically, it was the courts that would bring an end to her career — the result of a final assertive action which went too far.

Who was Alison Rough?

Alison first appears in 1508 with her husband, one of Edinburgh's legal professionals, the notary Jasper Mayne.²⁰ She and her husband had several children, at least two sons and two daughters, before Jasper was killed at Flodden in 1513. Alison was left to support herself and her children. This she did over the next twenty years: fighting for her rights as Jasper's widow in the courts; establishing one son in the priesthood; securing a marriage to a wealthy widow for her second son; and providing for a rich marriage, as the third wife of a much older but high-status Edinburgh merchant, for her daughter Katherine. Along the way, she invested in property, lent money, and traded. In the early years of her widowhood, she found herself in conflict with those who challenged her in business affairs; later in life, she found herself increasingly in conflict with her family, including her son and her son-in-law. Eventually, these family conflicts would result in tragedy.

Despite the relative richness of evidence, there is still much about Alison that is hidden from view. Her place of birth, her family background, and the names of her parents are all unknown. During her lifetime, there were Roughs in both Edinburgh and its port of Leith,

including the above-mentioned Alexander Rough, skipper of the 'Great Michael'.²¹ It has been suggested that Alison was related to the noted reformer John Rough, who was a Blackfriar in Edinburgh in the 1520s and 1530s, and who became a major influence in the growth of Protestantism in Scotland from the 1540s.²²

It is not clear how old Alison was when she married, although most women of her social group married in their early twenties, or how old she was when she died. There is also a mysterious second marriage that ended in divorce and a whiff of scandal about the birth of one of her children, who was later rumoured to be illegitimate. It is not even clear what led to her final tragedy, although, as will be seen, there are some hints.

Alison's first appearance in the records was typical of a woman of her time: it was connected with her status as a wife. On 6 September 1508, Jasper Mayne resigned some property he had recently acquired in order that it could be regranted to be held jointly by him and his wife. It is not clear exactly when they married, however, their son John witnessed a land transaction in 1523,²³ and if he needed to be twenty-one, the age of majority, in order to do this, then his parents' marriage probably took place around 1500. As a wife, Alison was under the authority of her husband, with no separate legal identity of her own.²⁴ All but one of her recorded appearances during her marriage are in Jasper's company; even the exception was probably related to his business dealings.

As was common for late-medieval women, the skills Alison acquired during her married life were those on which she would draw during her widowhood. Medieval marriage was an economic partnership, with the wife playing a crucial role in supporting her husband's occupation. In some respects, Alison may have been less involved in her husband's main occupation than many wives, as his profession was a specialized one. Jasper had been in practice as a notary in Edinburgh from at least 1498.²⁵ There were Maynes in the service of James IV, including the keeper of Holyrood Palace.²⁶ Jasper may have been related to these men and through them have had contacts with the royal court. Such contacts would establish a good clientele for his work as a notary. Unfortunately, his protocol books do not survive, but other documents show him in steady practice as a notary throughout period 1500–13. He also represented clients in the law courts, including the king's court.²⁷

Although it would have been difficult for Alison to participate directly in her husband's notarial work, there

were other opportunities for her to work with him. Jasper built on the relationship he established with his clients through his legal expertise and entered into various lucrative property arrangements with them — perhaps instead of payment. In 1501, Agnes Whitehead and her widowed mother entrusted Jasper with the custody of their personal seals in order to seal charters and dispose of lands on their behalf. This transaction had profitable ramifications for the notary, who later acquired possession of two separate properties from these clients. It was these he resigned in 1508 to share with his wife.²⁸ A month after this resignation, Agnes Whitehead granted Jasper her part of another property. In 1510 her sister resigned her share of that property and the rent from another property to Alison, suggesting that Alison, as well as her husband, was involved in business dealings with the sisters.²⁹

In common with many notaries, Jasper also had other interests apart from his legal practice. In 1500 he was admitted to the status of merchant burgess of Edinburgh.³⁰ Although there is no surviving evidence of his trading activities, lawsuits fought after his death suggest that he lent money and traded in cloth. He may have had his booth on the north side of the High Street not far from the market cross, a prime location, and one which Alison occupied herself after his death.

Jasper also invested in land. At the time of his death, he had amassed several Edinburgh properties, including lands on both the north and south sides of the High Street, and another property near the Blackfriars monastery. There was also annual income from a number of other properties. These lands and rents were used not only for his business, but also to provide for the members of his family, both his wife and children. Indeed, Alison's first appearance in 1508 comes when Jasper resigned two properties and an annual rent of 20s. from a third in order to have them granted back to both him and his wife in conjunct fee, or joint possession. This was a common way for men to provide for their wives. Holding land in conjunct fee ensured that the surviving spouse would keep possession of it after the first spouse's death. A Scottish widow was legally entitled to terce, a third of her husband's property, but this often entailed going to court to enforce her right. Conjunct infestment was a more secure way of providing for widows; it also allowed a man to give more than the terce, which was legally restricted to a third.³¹

Parents also provided for their children through grants of property. In 1510 Jasper and Alison resigned a land to their eldest son, John, reserving the right to use it for their

lifetimes; in 1513, just a few days before Flodden, perhaps due to a premonition, they granted some other properties to their son, Adam.³² At the same time, Jasper resigned his property near the Blackfriars so that Alison and he could hold it jointly, perhaps in compensation for one of the lands granted to Adam.

Jasper counted several prominent Edinburgh families among his clientele. These connections may have helped his widow after his death. Although the family did not move in the top ranks of Edinburgh society, their acquaintances included many of the more prosperous and wealthy families of the town. As property-holders, they were among the upper-middling rank of Edinburgh society. Shortly before his death, Jasper had come to the king's notice, possibly through his work as a lawyer before the king's court. In April 1512, James IV granted him an Edinburgh property for some unspecified service.³³

Jasper's career was a relatively prosperous one. Later documents detailing some of his possessions, as well as archaeological and architectural evidence, provide a glimpse of the living standards enjoyed by the couple as they brought up their young family. Two excavations have uncovered the substantial stone foundations of properties belonging to near-contemporary families. One of these excavations, the remains of which can still be seen in the interior of the Tron Kirk on the south side of the High Street, was next to the wynd in which one of the Mayne properties lay.³⁴ A building in Advocate's Close, now occupied by the Dom Art Gallery, was probably contemporary with Alison's properties.³⁵ This was a stone building of several stories, with cellars underneath, spacious rooms on the ground floor which were used as a place of business or as workshops, and living quarters with carved stone fireplaces above. The building now known as John Knox House gives a good idea of the type of house lived in by a family of Alison's status.³⁶

Late medieval houses tended to be sparsely furnished. The furnishings of Jasper and Alison's house were relatively luxurious by the standards of most Edinburgh families. Their bed was hung with red curtains with fringes, while a Flemish tapestry provided colour and ornament as well as protection from cold stone walls. There was a good supply of wooden furniture, including a trestle board and benches, two beds, a small round table, a stool, a settle, a chair, and a great counting table, probably used by Jasper and later Alison in their merchant business. Light came from both fireplaces and candles. Their kitchen furnishings and tableware included cooking vessels, plates and cutlery of pewter, brass, and

silver, and a large silver mazer or drinking cup. There were cupboards to store meat and dishes, and an iron spit for meat. There were chests for clothes and documents. Alison held onto these goods for twenty years after her husband's death; it took her son John until 1534, and a successful court case, to take them from her.³⁷

Widowhood and Independence

In facing his mother in court, John found himself up against an experienced litigant. Alison's husband had done business in many different legal milieus in the course of his career — the church courts, the king's court held by the Lords of Council, and with other burgh notaries involved in various property transactions. His widow found herself in all the same places, sometimes pursuing the same concerns. Alison's career provides an excellent illustration of the widow left to carry on the business of the departed husband, building on relationships established during his lifetime and dealing with the fall-out of unresolved disputes left from the time of his death. During their marriage, husband and wife had been involved jointly in many such cases and this probably gave her the familiarity with the courts and their proceedings to enable her to continue to defend her interests. Indeed, as the widow of a notary, she might have been better-prepared than most women for dealing with the legal world.

It was just as well that she was ready, for less than three weeks after Jasper's death, Alison found herself facing her first court challenge. Her possession of the land near the Blackfriars, which Jasper had granted to her in recompense for the property granted to their son Adam, was challenged by David Leith.³⁸ In a sense, Alison was continuing her husband's business in this, as there had been earlier challenges over this land, ironically due to provisions which an earlier owner had made for *his* marriage partner.³⁹ She managed to keep the land, but the struggle to maintain her rights to it would be a recurring problem for much of the rest of her life. It would later pitch her against Leith's widow, Jonet Rowat, and Jonet's second husband, and take her before the highest civil court of the land.⁴⁰

As Jonet Rowat's example shows, one strategy which widows often employed was remarriage. Alison tried this route. At some point she married a man called Thomas Louranstoun, about whom nothing more is known. The marriage was not successful; indeed, it was only recorded because at some point between 1516 and 1520, Alison and Thomas were granted a divorce. Unfortunately, the entry in the church court register is

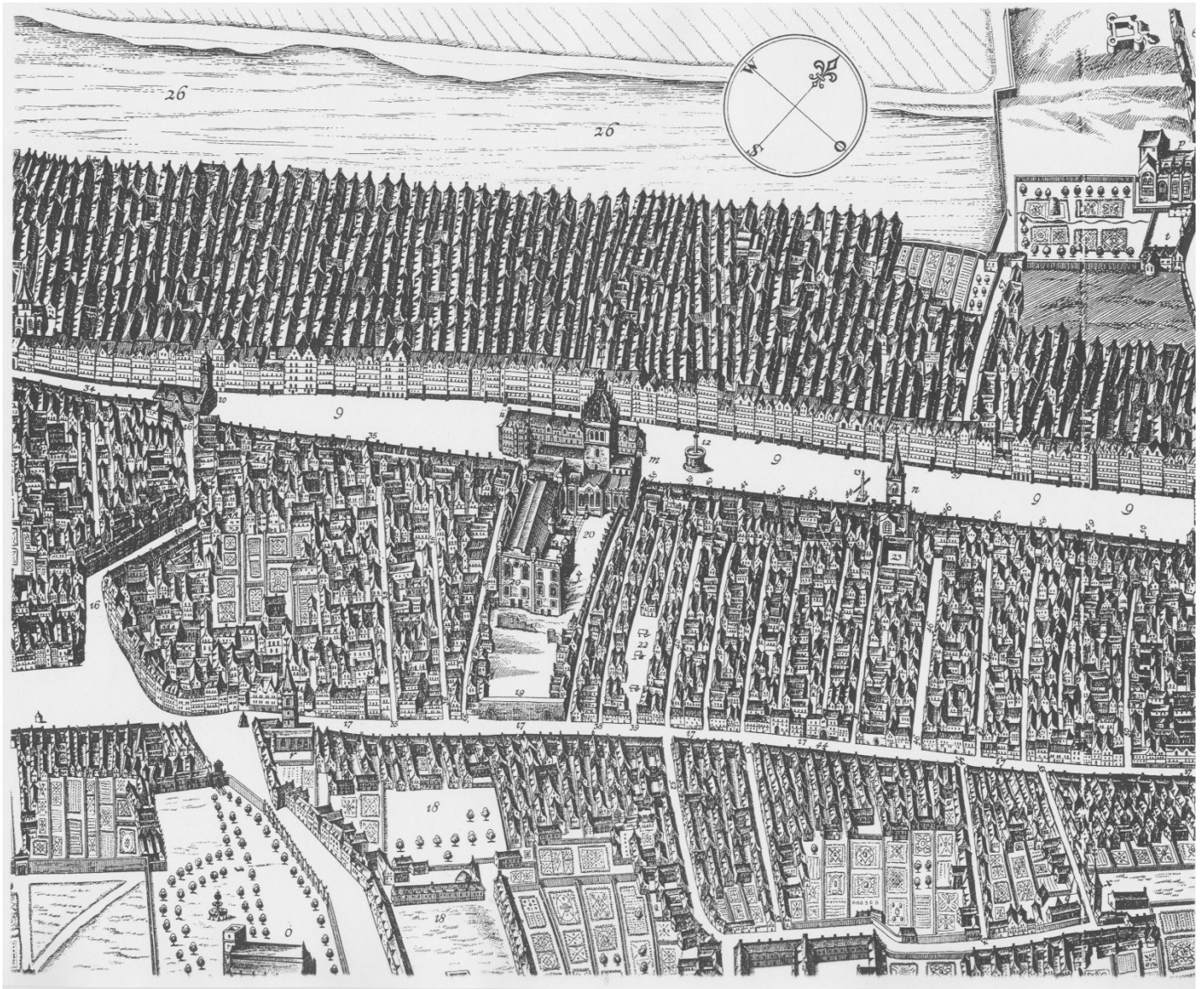
frustratingly brief. Unlike most similar entries, it gives no reason for the separation. Nor does it make clear whether the marriage had been annulled, in which case both parties were free to remarry, or if it was a divorce *a mensa et thoro* (from bed and board), in which case it was a legal separation but neither party could marry again.⁴¹ Whichever the case, Alison made no attempt to repeat the experience, remaining a widow for the rest of her life and concentrating on her children's marriages instead of her own.

Alison also appeared in the church court around 1517 to sue another woman, Margaret Cairns, for defaming her.⁴² Margaret's late husband, Matthew Auchinleck, probably died with Jasper at Flodden, but shared misfortune did not lead to friendship. Unfortunately, the scribe did not record the words which Margaret had thrown at Alison. A recent study of Scottish defamation and insult cases from the sixteenth century suggests some of the terms which might have been used:⁴³ 'Whore' was almost certainly one of them. Since this case came before the courts close to the time of Alison's divorce, it may have involved rumours about her marriage or her sexual behaviour. Charges of unchastity were one of the most effective ways to damage a woman's reputation; it was not the last time that Alison would face such slurs.

Alison became very familiar with the church court over the next few years. As well as fighting divorce and defamation cases, she appeared before the court to recover debts owed to her husband and to squabble with her family over inheritance goods. The church court could hear cases involving debts of those who had died. In 1516, Alison fought a case over a debt of £23 owed by George Langmuir to Jasper. Six years later, the two litigants were still at it, as George queried every penny Alison claimed.⁴⁴

Alison also pursued her husband's debts in the secular courts. In July 1514 she went to court to recover a debt owed to Jasper by the late Thomas Mclellan of Bomby, possibly for some legal services which Jasper had performed for him. Jasper had obtained a decret ordering repayment, but the debt was unpaid at his death. Alison pursued Mclellan's son for the debt, but it was Mclellan's widow who appeared on behalf of her son to face Alison.⁴⁵

As Jasper's widow and executor, Alison was also pursued in both courts for her late husband's debts. In 1521, a creditor of Jasper from the town of Jedburgh successfully sued her for repayment of £30. As late as 1528, William



The world of Alison Rough — places mentioned in the text. (Detail from James Gordon of Rothiemay, view of Edinburgh in 1647, frontispiece to David Wilson, *Memorials of Edinburgh in the Olden Time*. Edinburgh:, 1875) High Street 9; St Giles m; market cross 12; Tron Kirk n; Craig's Close and Anchor Close north side of High Street between 12 and 9; Advocates Close lies north of the steeple of St Giles; Peebles Wynd 44; Blackfriars x. Edinburgh Castle lies to the west of the map, Holyrood Palace lies to the east.

Rynd sought to recover payment of £10 which Jasper owed him for a gold ring. Rynd had begun this case a few months before Jasper's death.⁴⁶ A man's debts could leave a long-lasting legacy to his widow.

In 1524, Alison successfully sued for repayment the executors of a man who had bought cloth, hats, bonnets, and other clothing from her. Since she was suing in her own name, rather than as Jasper's executor, it appears that by this time Alison had become a successful merchant in her own right, carrying out her business from

the merchant booth which she occupied in Anchor's Close on the north side of the High Street from at least 1517.⁴⁷ After her death, her goods were stated to be worth £330, putting her among the middle rank of Edinburgh inhabitants in terms of wealth.⁴⁸

Much of Alison's income came from rents on Edinburgh properties. By using the lands which she had held jointly with her husband, Alison continued the practice of making grants of land to her sons after his death. In January 1528, at the time of her son John's betrothal to

the recently widowed Margaret Martin, she resigned a property she held on the south side of the High Street to him. He then resigned it so that he and Margaret would be able to hold it jointly.⁴⁹ This was an advantageous match, both financially and socially. As well as the lands she held as widow of her late husband, Margaret owned several properties and rents in her own right as heir to her father, and was also in line to inherit properties from her kinswoman, Elizabeth Scot, Lady Manerston.⁵⁰ Jasper had acted as legal representative for the young Margaret after her father died in 1507⁵¹ and Alison was able to build on this earlier relationship to benefit her son twenty years later.

Alison spent a good part of the next two years defending her rights to a property which she held jointly with John.⁵² The concerns of her children and their property seemed to be becoming paramount. In these disputes, Alison was named as the leading litigant; her experience of the legal system made her a formidable ally for her son.⁵³

John's marriage to Margaret Martin brought him five stepchildren from Margaret's first marriage. Other children would soon follow. If Margaret's family moved in with John, his mother, and siblings, the house would have become rather crowded. Alison was soon able to make some alternate arrangements, however. It was common to give daughters cash or goods as a dowry, but in October 1528 Alison was given the opportunity to do more for her daughter Katherine. Another daughter, Isabel, seems to have already been married by this time. Then, in October, Adam Mayne decided to enter the priesthood and resigned to his mother all the lands granted to him by his parents in 1513, in return for the promise of an annual payment of clothing and other necessities for the rest of his life. Four months later, in February 1529, Alison granted all of these lands, which included a bakehouse in Peebles Wynd, and her merchant booth, to Katherine.⁵⁴ By this date, Alison had ceased to occupy her merchant booth and was renting it out to another merchant. She may have been hoping that her daughter would take over her business or that Adam's decision meant that she could now arrange another profitable marriage. Katherine was in business as a brewster by 1531, a common occupation for urban women, although more common among married than single women. She and Alison may have moved from John Mayne's house to live in the Peebles Wynd property, as Katherine is described as living in this quarter of the town in 1531.⁵⁵

Katherine's new lands, as well as a substantial cash

dowry, had the desired effect and attracted a wealthy husband, the twice-widowed Alexander Cant. He was a prominent merchant burgess of the town who owned several properties and lived in a substantial townhouse in Craig's Close.⁵⁶ He was probably related to the gentry family of Cant of Liberton. As Alexander had married his first wife before Katherine was born and had become a burgess of the town in 1508,⁵⁷ the age difference between them was probably considerable. He had at least one son by his first marriage (he predeceased his father),⁵⁸ as well as two daughters, one of whom was old enough to marry shortly after he married Katherine in late 1531 or early 1532. Although Alexander had a considerable amount of property, he seems to have been cash poor. When his daughter Elizabeth was betrothed in April 1532, he gave the couple a piece of property; the grant specifically stated that it was to replace the more usual form of dowry in movable goods and chattels.⁵⁹

Katherine's marriage to Alexander Cant may have been the high point of Alison's life. She may have hoped that, with her children settled, she could retire and live on the liferents she received from her properties — possibly meaning to make her home with her daughter and her new husband, as, just before the marriage, Alexander had built a new chamber on to his house. However, this cozy scenario was not to be. Judging by some of the evidence, Alison was not an easy person to live with. Despite her attempts to provide for her children, disputes broke out. One of the most bitter was with her son John in late 1533 and early 1534. John himself may have inherited his mother's combativeness, as he had been summoned before the church courts for defaming a priest during the same period. As John may have been the man of this name identified as one of the town's closet Protestants in the 1530s, it is possible the dispute involved religious matters. However, since the two men were before the court again in 1535 for a disputed debt, the contention may have been as much a matter of money as a matter of faith.⁶⁰

In September 1533 Alison resigned to her son John and Margaret Martin, his wife, her rights to the property for which she had fought for possession for so long. She kept her life rights to it. Since Alison was probably living with her son-in-law by this point, John also expected his mother to pass over to him at the same time the share of his father's household goods to which he was entitled. Legally, these goods, known as the 'bairns' part', were shared between all siblings. John, however, seems to have become greedy. He declared in front of the witnesses gathered for the land grant that Alison's daughter Isabel was illegitimate and no daughter of Jasper's, thus implying that she had been born as a result

of an adulterous affair of his mother's and should have no share in the inheritance. Alison indignantly repudiated such a claim and no further was heard of the matter,⁶¹ but the whole affair cannot have endeared her to her son. Curiously, nothing more is heard of Isabel either. Was there some truth in John's allegation? The bitterness apparently continued for, in February the following year, John accused his mother of not delivering all the inheritance goods to which he was entitled.⁶²

Worse was to follow, however, as Alison's greatest triumph, the marriage of her daughter Katherine to Alexander Cant also turned sour. As suggested by the arrangements for his daughter's marriage, Alexander seems to have been cash poor. Indeed, part of the inducement for his marriage to Katherine had been the dowry of 400 merks (about £250) which Alison had promised to pay him. Perhaps as a result of her troubles with her son, Alison was slow to pay the promised sum, and, although such delays in making dowry payments were not at all uncommon, in March 1535 Alexander sued Katherine and her mother in the church court for the money.⁶³ There was also trouble over the Peebles Wynd property, which Katherine had brought to the marriage; it seems likely that this was the property where Katherine and Alison had lived before Katherine's marriage. Having left it, they had apparently agreed with Alexander to sell it to Nicholas Carncross. However, there was trouble with the transaction and Carncross sued them all before the central court. Arbiters were brought in to hear the case. An agreement was reached before the court on 30 August,⁶⁴ granting the land to Carncross, but it seems to have only exacerbated tensions between Alexander and his wife and his mother-in-law. That night a heated argument took place in the Cant home, tempers flared, and Alison and Katherine, with the assistance of a servant woman, murdered Alexander.⁶⁵

Life after Death

Alison and Katherine fled, but were apprehended by 2 September and condemned to death the next day. Because Katherine was pregnant, her execution was ordered put off until her baby was born. She was put under house arrest in the custody of her brother.⁶⁶ Probably with her brother's collusion, she escaped in early 1536, leaving her baby daughter behind. She made her way to England where she married a Protestant refugee from Scotland, the Edinburgh-born Alexander Allan. The two of them later made a new life for themselves in Germany and in 1566, Katherine granted the property, which had been the cause of the final fatal dispute, to the child she had left behind thirty years earlier.⁶⁷ Alison was not so fortunate. Her career came to an untimely end when she was put to death by drowning.⁶⁸



The murder of Alexander Cant. Alison Rough is in the centre, her daughter Katherine is on the left. The murder scene has been recreated for the exhibition 'The Real Mary King's Close', which opened in Edinburgh in April 2003

[Author's photo. Thanks to Past Forward for permission to produce this image]

But this was not quite the end of Alison Rough. Even after her death, she could cause friction, in this case between Edinburgh and the king. After the murder, James V ordered that all Alison's goods be confiscated and claimed them for himself. The town council of Edinburgh, however, claimed that since her crime had been committed in its jurisdiction, her goods should come to the town. The conflict dragged on for six years until finally a compromise was reached. It was agreed that the town had the right to the goods of anyone who committed murder and was then convicted in the town; however, if someone committed murder and fled, and was then outlawed and forfeited for fleeing justice, his goods should go to the crown. Since Alison had fled and been outlawed before she was convicted, her goods belonged to the king.⁶⁹ It seems fitting that Alison, who had made so much use of the law in her life, should leave to her town a final legacy of legal conflict.

NOTES

* I would like to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada for funding for this research.

1 *Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, AD 1403-1528* (Edinburgh, 1869), 143.

2 E. Ewan, 'Mons Meg and Merchant Meg: Women in Late Medieval Edinburgh', in T. Brotherstone and D. Ditchburn (eds.), *Freedom and Authority: Scotland, c.1050-1650* (East Linton, 1999), 131-42.

3 For a survey of work done, see E. Ewan, 'A Realm of their Own? The Place of Medieval and Early Modern Women in Scottish History', in T. Brotherstone *et al* (eds.), *Gendering Scottish History: An International Approach* (Glasgow, 1999), 19-36.

4 National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh [NAS], CS5/41, fol. 9^v.

5 Louise Olga Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament* (Madison, 1992).

6 Michael Lynch, *Edinburgh and the Reformation* (Edinburgh, 1981).

7 Carol Edington, *Court and Culture in Renaissance Scotland* (East Linton, 1995); Janet Hadley Williams (ed.), *Stewart Style, 1513-1542* (East Linton, 1996).

8 John Finlay traces the growth of the legal profession in this period in *Men of Law in Pre-Reformation Scotland* (East Linton, 2000).

9 J. Dunbar, *Scottish Royal Palaces* (East Linton, 1999), 55-83.

10 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1877-1970), ii, 312; iii, 292, 332, 478, 487.

11 Ian Campbell, 'James IV and Edinburgh's First Triumphant Arches', in D. Mays (ed.), *The Architecture of Scottish Cities* (East Linton, 1997), 26-33; Fradenburg, *City, Marriage, Tournament*, 153-264.

12 Norman MacDougall, *James IV* (East Linton, 1989), 138.

13 *Ibid.*, 235-7.

14 *Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer*, iii, 487, 502.

15 Parliament was concerned about fatalities from the Castle guns in 1525: *Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson and C. Innes (Edinburgh, 1814-75), ii, 290. For the instability during James V's minority (1513-28), see J. Cameron, *James V: The Personal Rule, 1528-1542* (East Linton, 1998), 9-28.

16 *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 1403-1515*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1869), *passim*; *Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, 1528-1557*, ed. J. D. Marwick (Edinburgh, 1871), 10, 16-18, 20, 28-30, 35-45.

17 M. Lynch, 'The Social and Economic Structure of the Larger Towns, 1450-1600', in M. Lynch, *et al* (eds.), *The Scottish Medieval Town* (Edinburgh, 1988), 261-86.

18 Finlay, *Men of Law*, 94-5; A. Simpson and S. Stevenson, *Historic Edinburgh, Canongate and Leith* (Glasgow, 1981), 16, 29, 43.

19 MacDougall, *James IV*, 304. For other executions, see *Edinburgh Extracts, 1528-1557*, 36, 42, 43.

20 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503-13*, ed. W. Macleod and M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1940-1), no. 482. Scottish women kept their own surnames on marriage, so

Alison always appears as Alison Rough (or Rouch/Rouche/Ruch).

21 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses, 1406-1700*, ed. C. B. Boog Watson (Edinburgh, 1926), 433; 'Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-1518', in *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-1528*, ed. W. Macleod and M. Wood (Edinburgh, 1944-53), no. 101. See also notes 10, 14 above.

22 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528-1534*, ed. John Durkan (Edinburgh, 1985), xvi. To date, I have not been able to establish this relationship conclusively, although there is great deal of circumstantial evidence to support it.

23 'Protocol Book of John Foular, 1519-28', in *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514-1528*, no. 401.

24 The Scottish wife's legal position is discussed in A. D. M. Forte, 'Some Aspects of the Law of Marriage in Scotland: 1500-1700', in E. Craik (ed.), *Marriage and Property* (Aberdeen, 1984), 104-18.

25 NAS, RH6, Inventory of Charters, iv, no. 614A.

26 *Register of the Privy Seal of Scotland*, ed. M. Livingstone *et al* (1908-) i, no. 855. For another William Mayne in king's service see, *Protocol Book of James Young, 1485-1515*, ed. G. Donaldson (Edinburgh, 1952), no. 1354.

27 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1500-1503*, ed. W. Macleod (Edinburgh, 1930), no. 98; *Protocol Book of James Young*, nos 1442, 1892; *Protocol Book of John Foular 1503-13*, no. 359, 656; NAS, CS5/24 fol. 104.

28 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1500-03*, no. 98; *Ibid.*, 1503-13, no. 482.

29 *Ibid.*, 1503-13, nos 495, 673.

30 *Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses*, 335. It was not uncommon for men of law to supplement their income through trading activities: Finlay, *Men of Law*, 41-2.

31 W. Coutts, 'Wife and Widow: The Evidence of Testaments and Marriage Contracts c.1600', in E. Ewan and Maureen Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland, c.1100-c.1750* (East Linton, 1999), 179-80.

32 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503-13*, no. 656; Edinburgh City Archives, abstracts of the Protocol Book of Vincent Strathauchin, no. 153.

33 *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum: Register of the Great Seal of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1882-1914) ii, no. 3726.

34 J. Schofield, 'Excavations South of Edinburgh High Street, 1973-4' *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 107 (1975-6), 155-83; Nicholas Holmes, 'Archaeology in Edinburgh: A Review and a Reassessment', *Edinburgh Hist. Magazine*, 1 (1989), 9.

35 It has been claimed that this house belonged to Alison's son-in-law, Alexander Cant, but this attribution is a result of a misidentification of the name of the close beside it. My thanks to Robin Tait who is researching the history of Advocate's Close for his help with this point.

36 Donald Smith, *John Knox House* (Edinburgh, 1996).

37 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol. 217^r.

38 Protocol Book Strathauchin, no. 160.

39 The earlier owner had granted it to his fiancée and himself in conjunct fee in 1501 but had then died before their marriage took place: *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1500-03*, no. 40. However, his fiancée claimed rights to the property: NAS, CS5/24 fols. 146^r, 147^v-148^r.

40 NAS, CS5/39, fol. 128^v; CS5/40 fol. 45^v; CS5/41 fol. 9^{r-v}; CS5/42 fols. 3^v, 4^r, 31^v-32^r. Finally in 1533, Alison granted the property to her son John: *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528-*

34, no. 511.

41 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol.72. The brevity is intriguing, leading one to wonder if something more lies behind the action.

42 NAS, CH5/3/1, fol. 62^v.

43 E. Ewan, 'Many Injurious Words: Defamation and Gender in Late Medieval Scotland', in R. A. McDonald (ed.), *History, Literature and Music in Scotland, 900–1560* (Toronto, 2002), 163–86.

44 NAS, CH5/3/1 fols. 37^v–38^r, 93^v.

45 NAS, CS5/25 fols. 80^v–81^r; CS5/26 fol. 138^v.

46 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol. 93^v; CS5/24 fol. 182^r; CS5/38, fol. 44^r; CS5/39 fols. 50^{r-v}.

47 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol. 119^v; *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1514–18*, no. 101. This booth was at the head of Anchor Close. It is rather fitting that a later occupant was Jonet Fockart, the one other woman from sixteenth-century Edinburgh who has been the subject of a short biographical sketch: M. Sanderson, *Mary Stewart's People* (Tuscaloosa, 1987), 91–102.

48 M. H. B. Sanderson, 'The Edinburgh Merchants in Society, 1570–1603: The Evidence of Their Testaments', in I. B. Cowan and D. Shaw (eds.), *The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983), 184, 194–5.

49 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1519–28*, no. 906.

50 *Ibid.*, 1528–34, nos 330, 331.

51 *Ibid.*, 1503–13, no. 338.

52 NAS, CS5/40 fol. 45^r; CS5/41, fols. 9^{r-v}; NAS, NP1/2A, *Protocol Book of John Kene*, fols. 23^{r-v} (my thanks to John Finlay for this reference); CS5/42 fols. 3^v, 4^r, 31^v.

53 For women appearing as principal litigants in Scottish courts, see John Finlay, 'Women and the Courts in the Early Sixteenth Century', in Ewan and Meikle (eds.), *Women in Scotland*, 165–75.

54 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528–34*, nos 64, 92.

55 Edinburgh City Archives, Dean of Guild Court Records, 1529–1557, fol. 75^v.

56 Craig's Close was known in the early sixteenth century as Alexander Cant's Close.

57 *Edinburgh Burgess Roll*, 96. Alexander was married to Elizabeth Stanlie by 1504 and until at least 1514: *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503–13*, no. 66; *Protocol Book Strathauchin*, no.189. He married Elizabeth Dundas by 1520; she died after 1526: *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1519–28* nos 115, 745.

58 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1503–13*, no. 289. This son, John, is not mentioned again after 1506; his death is implied by the fact that his two sisters were joint-heirs to Alexander after their father's death, NAS, B22/1/7, *Protocol Book of Vincent Strathauchin*, iii, fols. 76^v–77^v, 141^{r-v}.

59 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528–34*, no. 386.

60 NAS, CH5/3/1, fols. 215^v, 230^v. A John Mayne was identified by later writers as one of the town's earliest Protestants: Lynch, *Edinburgh*, 279. It is not clear whether this John Mayne was Alison's son or another John Mayne who appears in later Edinburgh records. Further research on the Protestant connections of Alison and her family may help to answer this question.

61 *Protocol Book of John Foular, 1528–34*, no. 511.

62 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol. 217^r.

63 NAS, CH5/3/1 fol. 228^r; Coutts, 'Wife and Widow', 181.

64 NAS, CS6/6 fols. 224^{r-v}.

65 *A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the Country of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson (Edinburgh,

1833), 9.

66 *Edinburgh Extracts, 1528–57*, 70; Edinburgh City Archives, letter from James V to Edinburgh, 19 Sept. 1535.

67 NAS, B22/1/23, *Protocol Book of Alexander Guthrie, Senior*, fols. 3^v–4^r. The marriage of Katherine to Alexander Allan is discussed in John Durkan, 'The Scottish Reformers: The Less than Golden Legend', *Innes Rev.*, 45/1 (Spring, 1994), 19.

68 *Diurnal*, 9. Although no judicial sentence or other official record of the execution survives, she is described as having been justified, i.e., condemned to death, in *Treasurer's Accounts*, v, 243. By February 1536, she was dead: *Treasurer's Accounts*, v, 267.

69 *Edinburgh Extracts, 1528–57*, 110. Edinburgh City Archives, letters from James V to Edinburgh council, September 1535.

Female Medical Practitioners in Seventeenth-Century England: Sources in the Wellcome Library*

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Understanding of Medicine*

In the last twenty years, historians have published a great deal uncovering the history of women as healers.¹ And primary evidence of female practice exists *in abundance*, notably in recipe books, correspondence, diaries, common-place books, and ecclesiastical, parish and hospital records. This article will focus mainly on sources of female aristocratic practice as preserved in the Archives and Manuscripts and Early Printed Books collections of the Wellcome Library.

The Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine forms part of the Wellcome Trust, the world's largest medical research charity. The Wellcome Trust was established by the will of Sir Henry Wellcome, co-founder in 1880 of the pharmaceutical company Burroughs Wellcome. As well as a business entrepreneur,

Henry Wellcome was an avid and obsessive collector of anthropological and medical artefacts. In 1913 he opened a Historical Medical Museum in London which included a Library. The Museum has long since been dispersed to other institutions, mainly the Science Museum in South Kensington, London. The Library is still part of the Wellcome Trust with an on-going collecting policy, although much of the material discussed here was obtained prior to Henry Wellcome's death in 1936.

To Set the Scene

A wide range of healers and medical practitioners flourished in the seventeenth century. Neither accurate human anatomical knowledge nor even a passable understanding of sickness and disease existed. There was no established medical 'profession' or any single 'orthodox' avenue for remedies, but a veritable mish-mash of so-called physicians, surgeons, barber-surgeons, leechmen, blood-letters, bone-setters, quacks, apothecaries, midwives, religious do-gooders and wise-women. Officially, no one could practice without a licence from a bishop, but in reality there were hundreds of unlicensed medical practitioners, of both sexes. University-trained doctors were few and costly and in no way monopolized the medical market place. Women played an important, perhaps even a predominant role in health care, mentoring and doctoring the local community, delivering babies, preparing cures and nursing the sick, poor and wounded. And, since illness was so common in this period, few girls reached maturity without being involved in some form of health care. Partly out of necessity, domestic medicine was an art commonly practised by all classes. In the seventeenth century it became particularly fashionable and specialised among female members of upper-class households.

Upper-Class Women Practising Medicine

Seventeenth-century England was a patriarchal society in which women were naturally considered as morally, intellectually and physically weaker than men. Although depicting another time and place, Jung Chang in *Wild Swans* puts it nicely: women had long hair and short intelligence.² Not systematically or extensively educated in science, law and theology, aristocratic young ladies were, however, taught to be domesticated and knowledgeable about household medicine. According to the popular late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century writer, Gervase Markham, a knowledge of physick and surgery was 'one of the most principal vertues which doth belong to our English Hous-wife'.³

Women were expected to recognize and treat common ailments and prepare their own medicaments. In the more learned elite families, girls were taught a mixture of herbalism, basic alchemy, chemistry and pharmacy. As good wives, mothers and daughters, women were duty-bound to practice efficient household management and preserve the health of the family unit. In accordance with religious and charitable values, and the underlying principle of *noblesse oblige*, they, or their housekeepers under their guidance, often extended their services to their estates and the local community, treating not only their peers but also the lower ranks. Roger Timothy wrote in 1697, in his book *The Character of a Good Woman*, she is someone who 'distributes among the indigent poor money, books and clothes and Physick, as their several circumstances may require [relieves] her poorer neighbours in sudden distress, when a doctor is not, or when they have no money to buy what is necessary for them'.⁴ In a largely rural society, the Lady of the Manor or her housekeeper was often the unofficial doctress of the village — a 'Lady Bountiful', the nearest and affordable source of health care for inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhoods.

Recipes for treatments and cures were traditionally passed down through female family members or occasionally from outside instructors. They were learnt, discussed, endorsed, written down and exchanged, as is illustrated by the manuscript recipe books in the Wellcome Library. As well as having practical value, this activity was also a means of passing time among intelligent and interested friends. Many fashionable aristocratic women practised 'kitchen-physick' in the seventeenth century. They had the facility of a well-equipped kitchen and the freedom and time to experiment and study. After all, it was a time of 'Scientific Revolution', when natural science became the favourite hobby of educated gentlemen and ladies.

For many women, it became more than a hobby or social duty. There are many well-known examples. Lady Mainard, a contemporary of Charles II, was said to have been 'the common physician of her sick neighbours ... she would dress their loathsome sores, give them diet and lodging until they were cured, and bury them if they died'.⁵ The indomitable Lady Anne Halkett (1622–99), who served as a surgeon in the Royal Army at the Battle of Dunfermline and was personally thanked by the king after the battle of Dunbar in 1650, made all her own preparations and was consulted by rich and poor alike. Lady Margaret Hoby (1571–1633) was a devout woman who managed a large estate and whose diary records that she regularly treated people around her. Her entry for 27 April 1601 states: 'After privat praier, I was busie about

the house, and dressed my sarvants foot and another poore mans hand, and talked with others that came to aske my Counsell'.⁶ And Lady Grace Mildmay, whose papers show that she prepared her own medicines and produced them on a large scale for use outside her household. The Wellcome Library holds well over a hundred domestic medicine recipe books of female authorship, covering the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Nearly all the seventeenth-century books — more than fifty of them — belonged to and were compiled by female members of upper-class families.⁷ Volumes were frequently passed from hand-to-hand and down generations, acquiring contributions from a number of sources. In many cases, assigning authorship and ownership is problematic and the name supplied in the Wellcome Library manuscripts catalogues is that of the woman considered to be the *principle* contributor or compiler, rather than the only one. In addition, information about the lives of these women is often sparse. The four examples that follow are taken from volumes in the Wellcome Library Archives and Manuscripts collection which have been identified as belonging to particular women about whom further details are known.

1. Recipe book of Elizabeth Okeover (1629–71), Wellcome Library Ms. 7391

This manuscript recipe book, purchased in 1997, was compiled by one Elizabeth Okeover, born 1629, younger sister of Sir Rowland Okeover. The Okeovers were a long-established aristocratic family based at Okeover Hall, Staffordshire. They had a strong interest in household medicine and an apparent tradition of independent-minded women who were allowed to prosper. During her life, Elizabeth Okeover seems to have turned herself into a medical authority who practised various cures and treatments within her household, her wider family and the locality in which she lived. The priority given to her recipe books in her will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1671, show that they *were* important; however, like most other aristocratic women of her time who compiled recipe books, Elizabeth Okeover's reputation was localized and memories of her practice had probably vanished within a generation or so of her death. She published nothing and her name cannot be found in printed recipe collections of the later seventeenth century. Although female practice was accepted, it was generally regarded as inappropriate to publish.

Elizabeth Okeover, somewhat unusually, turned her back on the conventional role of a Stuart gentlewoman as wife and mother, never marrying or having children, and

operated in effect as a lay medical practitioner.⁸ Elizabeth Okeover's book is a fairly typical example of a seventeenth-century manuscript recipe collection. It includes a large number of treatments for women's conditions, particularly pregnancy, child-birth, post-natal illnesses and breast problems. The addition of 'probatum' (proved) can often be found in the page margins and was a common indicator of the author's first-hand experience or a reliable report of the efficacy of certain recipes. Names of other sources, normally members of the local gentry, doctors and other medical authorities, were also added in the margins or underneath recipes. Occasionally the name of the owner of the recipe book is written beside a particular recipe to show that it is her own personal formula, tried and trusted.⁹

2. Recipe Book of Margaret Paston, Wellcome Library Ms. 3777

Margaret Paston was the eldest daughter of Sir Robert Paston, first Earl of Yarmouth (1631–83), and married a nobleman from Venice. Her book is a collection of medical remedies in Italian, although many are of English provenance. Some are attributed to members of the 'Collegio de Virtuosi', which doubtless refers to the Royal Society, with some of whose illustrious members she seems to have been in personal contact during the first ten years after the accession of Charles II. In many cases, she speaks of having compounded the medicines herself and shows considerable knowledge of practical pharmaceutical processes; she also apparently had a private laboratory. She was in fact one of the last surviving members of the family which produced the famous 'Paston Letters' — letters written between 1441 and 1447 by Margaret Paston in Norfolk to her husband in London, giving recipes for herbal remedies and cures in easy-to-use ointments and plasters.

3. Recipe Book of Lady Ann Fanshawe (1625–80), Wellcome Library Ms. 7113

Lady Ann Fanshawe was another well-travelled élite woman. She was wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe (1608–66), English ambassador to Spain, and accompanied her husband during his active support of King Charles I in the Civil War. Her manuscript, purchased by the Wellcome Library in 1995, contains medical, culinary and other recipes compiled in the mid-to-late-seventeenth century. The earliest entries are in the hand of one Joseph Averie, presumably a clerk acting as Ann Fanshawe's personal scribe, although most are signed by her. It was common for recipe books to be digests of knowledge written by professional scribes or secretaries. Some

recipes however appear to be in Ann Fanshawe's own hand and a few are in Spanish. Many are ascribed to her mother, Margaret Fanshawe, and other members of the extended Fanshawe family, Sir Kenelm Digby, and others. Lady Ann Fanshawe's memoirs, which have been published, relate the charitable medical work of her mother, who 'drest many wounds of miserable people when she had health, and when that fall'd, as it did often, she caused her servant to supply that place'.¹⁰

4. *Recipe Book of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh (1614-91), Wellcome Library Ms. 1340*

Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh, is an important figure in the world of female experimental medical science.¹¹ Only two manuscript recipe books owned by Katherine Jones survive: one is in the British Library¹² and the other, a collection of 712 medical, household and cookery recipes, dated c.1675–1710, was purchased by the Wellcome Library in 1922. Katherine Jones was from Ireland and came to England in 1642. She was the daughter one of the richest men in England, the colonialist, Richard Boyle, 1st earl of Cork (1566–1629), and sister of famous chemical scientist, Robert Boyle (1627–91).

Katherine was a knowledgeable, educated woman, active in the intellectual, political, religious and scientific communities. Her house in London's Pall Mall, where she lived from 1668, became a centre for visiting scientists including those of the recently founded Royal Society. She practised and experimented with herbal and medicinal remedies in her 'kitchen-laboratory', just as she practised chemistry with her brother Robert. She had excellent facilities and equipment, much of which would have been found in the domestic setting of any wealthy seventeenth-century household. She was extremely well-thought-of and some of her recipes ended up in the *Pharmacopoeia Rationalis*, compiled by the renowned physician, Thomas Willis, who probably worked alongside her at some point. Others were published under Robert's name.¹³ Further evidence of her practice and exchange of recipes among the aristocracy can be seen in the late-seventeenth-century recipe book of Johanna St John, also held by the Wellcome Library,¹⁴ which attributes several remedies to Lady Ranelagh. Many of the recipes in Katherine's book are probably in her own hand, but most were likely to have been written by her secretary. Many have attached the names of members of the Boyle family and their circle.

This evidence demonstrates that medical and scientific

activity was a means by which upper-class women could legitimately extend and exercise their authority. However, they were not expected to, neither did they themselves expect to, receive payment. Physick may have kept them occupied, but it was not generally viewed as an occupation or a career, as that would have been inappropriate for gentlewomen. Generally speaking, apart from midwifery, income-generating, commercially viable doctoring was not regarded as a suitable vocation for a woman. (Although, to be fair, even the male medical 'profession' as such was still in the early stages of development. Indeed, the majority of male practitioners were amateur medics, well-meaning clergymen or entrepreneurial quacks). Women were totally excluded from formal medical training and it was not even until the latter half of the seventeenth century that they could acceptably publish their recipes and make money from them. Even then, they were making money as authors, not as doctors.

Printed Medical Literature by Women

The general trend for publishing instruction books for performing daily tasks dramatically increased in the seventeenth century. As the oral tradition gave way to the printing press, there came floods of 'how-to' manuals containing advice on cooking, household management, needlework, medical treatment, midwifery, gardening and silkworm production. From the mid-seventeenth century this included medical texts written *for* women *by* women. Within this context we can place the work of Alatheia Howard (née Talbot), Countess of Arundel (d.1654), who is credited with many of the medicinal recipes in *Natura Exenterata* or *Nature Unbowelled* (1655);¹⁵ and Elizabeth Grey (née Talbot; sister of Alatheia), Countess of Kent (1581–1651), who was famous for her obstetric and medical skills, and published *A Choice Manual of Rare and Select Secrets in Physick and Chyrurgery* (1653), a best-seller which had gone into nineteen editions by 1687.¹⁶

In addition, there was Hannah Woolley, one of the first English women to make a living by publishing books. Her books, or those attributed to her — *The Ladies Directory*, *The Cooks Guide*, *The Queen-like Closet*, *The Ladies Delight*, *The Gentlewoman's Companion* and *The Compleat Servant-Maid* — were originally published in the 1660s and 1670s. They covered diet, cookery, medicine, fashion, etiquette and beauty. Many first or later editions are held in the Wellcome Library. Not of aristocratic origin herself, Hannah Woolley claimed to have obtained her medical knowledge from her mother and elder sisters, from the noble lady for whom she worked until she was twenty-four, from the lady's physicians and chirurgeons, from medical treatises, from her time as a boarding-school-mistress and her own

practice and experience of many years. Her books were directed more towards the merchant classes and lower gentry. They told women what they ought to know and how to behave — how to be feminine and fashionable, useful and charitable — a complete Restoration Domestic Goddess! The recipes in these books resemble many of those in contemporary manuscript collections. In *The Gentlewoman's Companion*¹⁷ she lists recipes for women's breast problems, stinking breath, consumption, corns, dropsie, the bloody flux, gout, green-sickness, measles, scalds, sores, stone, toothache and swooning fits. She recommends snuffing the powder of burnt egg shell for a nose bleed, goose-dung for breast cancer, distilled frogs for diarrhoea, and goose and chicken dung for gunpowder wounds. It also contains a lengthy account of 'how to order a woman with child, before, in, and after her delivery'. Written in plain, simple language Hannah Woolley's books were accessible to all literate classes.

Sources by Non-Elite Women

The Wellcome Library collections reflect the abundance of evidence of female aristocratic practice. This is mainly because aristocratic women were more likely to be fully literate (or have secretaries and amanuenses available in their households) and therefore more likely to correspond, keep diaries, memoirs and recipe books. Also, noble families tended to amass documentary collections in their country estates as a matter of course and these collections were likely to survive for hundreds of years.

But, even here, evidence of important female activity is often 'buried' as a sub-category of the papers of a man or a family. Archivists must take the blame for such patriarchal cataloguing practices.¹⁸ The Wellcome Library is no less guilty than others. For example, the recipe book of Katherine Jones is catalogued under 'Boyle Family' and she does not have an entry in her own right, although the only thing under 'Boyle Family' is the recipe book.¹⁹ Because of such practices, many relevant records held in the Wellcome Library manuscript collections may have been overlooked. It is hoped that searchable electronic databases will help retrieve women who have for so long been lost to history.

However, concentrating solely on the upper classes could lead to a distorted picture of female medical practice. In fact, sources for medical practice by non-aristocratic women *do exist*, but certainly seem harder to find. The Wellcome Library manuscript collections can give a false impression by failing to include a wide range of evidence which exists of commercially viable female medical practice in the seventeenth century. This omission is partly down to arbitrary collecting policies of the past,

but more because in many cases it has not been appropriate for the Wellcome Library to accumulate these particular sources.

For example, there is evidence in parish accounts and hospital records of women being paid reasonable amounts of money to look after or nurse the sick poor, watch the dying, wash and wind the dead, and cleanse houses after a visitation of plague. These sources are properly placed in local record offices rather than specialist libraries. Church-court records, held by county record offices, and those of the Royal College of Physicians in London show that unlicensed female practitioners, irregulars or 'quacks' were frequently prosecuted. The number that actually came to the notice of the authorities must have been far smaller than the actual numbers practising. Many were hired privately and their services probably were not recorded at all. Many of these female medics practised out of economic necessity, to support households or supplement the household incomes. Some practised as one-half of a husband-and-wife team; many were the wives or daughters of tradesmen or craftsmen; some were widows; some had no other means of income. In the seventeenth century, a significant number of urban women practised venereology to cater to female patients who preferred not to consult with male doctors when infected with embarrassing sexual diseases. Indeed, canny men purposely advertised the services of their wives or women partners to attract wealthy female patients.²⁰ Evidence can be found in the printed handbills or advertisements, mostly of quacks, that circulated in London. One of the best collections of such material is held by the British Library. The Wellcome Library has no examples in its ephemera collections.

The wives of clergymen also treated the poor, not for money but as part of living a holy life. This is often recorded on tombstones and memorial plaques. For example, the 1689 tombstone of Prudence Potter, wife of the Rector of Newton St Petrock in Devon, records that 'her life was spent in the industrious and successful practice of physick, chirurgery and midwifery'.²¹ The memorial tablet of Margaret Colfe, wife of the Vicar of St Mary's, Lewisham, states that she was 'above 40 yeares a willing nurse, midwife, surgeon, and in part physitian to all both rich and poore; without expecting rewards'.²² Women were expected to practice midwifery and obtain licences granted by bishops, but they also could and did apply for licences to practice such things as physick, chirurgery, phlebotomy and bone-setting. With a little patience this evidence can be found in ecclesiastical records.

Finally, the number of critical male tracts published in the seventeenth century is a good indicator of the substantial existence of female practitioners. For example, James Primrose, a licentiate of the College of Physicians, in his 1651 book *Popular Errors of the errors of the people in physick*, derided women's meddlesome attempts to treat anything more than minor ailments and only grudgingly conceded their skill in making beds and preparing broths. Even the aforementioned Gervase Markham had kindly pointed out that 'the depth and secrets of this most excellent Art of Physicke, is farre beyond the capacity of the most skilful woman'.²³ Less polite was Richard Whitlock, who in his book on the manners of the English published in 1654,²⁴ expressed an extensive hatred for all classes of 'shee physicians'. This was elaborated in the chapter, 'The quacking hermaphrodite, or Petticoat practitioner, Stript and Whipt'. He not only criticised their ignorance, but also claimed their motives were vainglorious.

The Decline in Female Practice

It does appear that women's learning, practising and earning from medicine was actually in decline by the end of the seventeenth century. The increasing criticism of female practitioners came from a growing number of university-trained male physicians who derided both the lower orders and the Lady Bountifuls as well. It is significant that the expression 'Lady Bountiful' itself comes from the satirical figure of the aristocratic female practitioner in Farquhar's comedy, *The Beaux's Stratagem* (1702). In the universities, men studied new ideas of medicine, anatomy and surgery. Women, being banned from universities, were denied access to this knowledge, just as they were excluded from practical training with the development of professional education.

Changing fashions among the female aristocracy itself was significant in the demise of their participation in physick generally. To be blunt: idleness became trendy. It was a sign of wealth to employ a university-trained physician and the upper classes increasingly left all medical matters to them. This is represented in the reduced size of medical sections in many eighteenth-century recipe books in the Wellcome Library. By the mid-eighteenth century most towns had a resident physician. New fashions naturally filtered down to the ranks of the *nouveaux riches*. In addition, physicians, surgeons and apothecaries became more organized and began to assert their privileges, marginalizing female practitioners. Population growth, urbanization and commercialization of medicine saw more competition for a market share in remedies and employment in healthcare. Many of the so-called cures being

successfully marketed by apothecaries and quacks contained expensive imported ingredients which were not generally available to women. Women's simple domestically nurtured cures may have been squeezed out by the notion that only expensive exotic concoctions were effective. Group philanthropy became more popular and it was common to patronize the increasing numbers of local hospitals, poor houses and other institutions which took over the burden of caring for the sick.

By the eighteenth century, *class* was an important factor in the state of female medical practice. While the élite classes could afford to consult professional male doctors, among the middle and lower classes, domestic medicine continued, as did the existence of female quacks and wise women. In the Wellcome Library there *are* manuscript recipe books compiled by non-aristocratic women, which include medical as well as cookery and household recipes, well into the nineteenth century; however, they are few, and less likely to have survived for the same reasons that papers of these social groups and women in general have failed to survive.

As avenues for qualified practice by women were blocked off, the difference between the emergent 'orthodox' medicine and traditional folk remedies drastically widened. Whereas in the seventeenth century knowledge and practice was broadly similar for all social ranks, during the eighteenth century there was less informal interchange between doctors, scientists and women practising healthcare in the domestic arena (even though William Withering did pay tribute to the 'old woman in Shropshire', whose cure for dropsy had led him to the medical uses of the foxglove). Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century recipe books do include various treatments identified with famous physicians, but these were probably copied out of books or magazines, rather than exchanged through personal contacts. And the majority of remedies in such recipe books became scorned and later took on the bizarre and romanticized aspect which they generally still hold today.

Conclusion

Opportunities for female medical practice in England were considerably greater during the seventeenth century than they would be in the eighteenth. It was not until the late nineteenth century, when changing social attitudes, less rigid class barriers and increased educational provision allowed women to take a recognized part in medical practice.

NOTES

* I am grateful for the guidance and advice given to me by Dr Lesley Hall, Senior Assistant Archivist, Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine. A much-shortened variant of this article will also be published in the winter 2003 issue of the *Newsletter of the Friends of the Wellcome Centre for the History and Understanding of Medicine*.

1 Before coming to research this paper, in my ignorance, I presumed there would be limited primary and secondary sources on female practitioners in early modern England. After all, there weren't many were there? The hefty reading list handed to me by my colleague, Lesley Hall, was the signal to a very rude awakening! See particularly: Jaqueline Eales, *Women in Early Modern England, 1500–1700* (London, 1998); Lynette Hunter and Sarah Hutton (eds.), *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500–1700: Mothers and Sisters of the Royal Society* (Stroud, 1997); Alice Clarke, *Working Life of Women in the 17th Century*, intro. by Amy Louise Erikson (London, Routledge, 1992; first publ. 1919); Hannah Lord, 'Women in the Medical Market Place, c.1600–1750' (B.Sc., Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1995); Jennifer Kay Stine, 'Opening Closets: The Discovery of Household Medicine in Early Modern England' (Ph.D, Stanford, 1996); Elisabeth Brooke, *Women Healers Through History* (London, 1993); Hilary Bourdillon, *Women as Healers: The History of Women and Medicine* (Cambridge, 1988); A. L. Wyman, 'The Surgeoness: The Female Practitioner of Surgery, 1400–1800', *Medical Hist.*, 28 (1984), 22–41. See also Margaret Pelling on the history of medical practice and female physicians in early modern England.

2 Jung Chang, *Wild Swans: Three Daughters of China* (London, 1993), 41.

3 Gervase Markham, *The English house-wife: Containing the inward and outward vertues which ought to be in a compleate woman. As her skill in physicke, surgery, cookery ... etc.* (London, 1631), 4.

4 Cited in Bourdillon, *Women as Healers*, 16.

5 Cited in Brooke, *Women Healers Through History*, 105.

6 Cited in Wyman, 'The Surgeoness', 31.

7 See Wellcome Library Archives and Manuscripts sources leaflet, 'Domestic medicine and receipt books'.

8 See Richard Aspin, 'Who was Elizabeth Okeover?', *Medical Hist.*, 44 (2000), 531–40.

9 For examples of recipes for female conditions, marginal annotations and authorship, see Wellcome Library, Ms. 7391, fols. 48–9, 90–1, 108–9, 147.

10 Cited in Wyman, 'The Surgeoness', 32.

11 Very little is known about Katherine Jones and only a few of her letters survive in the Samuel Hartlib collection, held at Sheffield University Library. Samuel Hartlib (c.1600–62), the seventeenth century polymath and founding member of the Royal Society, was personally acquainted with Katherine, having probably been introduced to her by Katherine's aunt Dorothy Moore.

12 Katherine's other notebook in the British Library is a more detailed and focused account of herbal preparations and chemistry, containing technical formulae, which were derived from commonly known alchemical symbols, with a guide to chemical symbols at the back.

13 See Lynette Hunter, 'Sisters of the Royal Society: The

Circle of Katherine Jones, Lady Ranelagh', in Hunter and Hutton (eds.) *Women, Science and Medicine, 1500–1700*, 178–97

14 Wellcome Library, Ms. 4338. The compiler of this collection of medical recipes is perhaps Johanna St John, daughter of Oliver St John (1598–1673), Lord Chief Justice. She married a kinsman, Sir Walter St John, 3rd Bt, MP for Wiltshire (1621–1708), and was grandmother to Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751). Her book contains recipes by Boyle and Lady Ranelagh, and also evidence of revisions and annotations based on actual practice. She attributes many of her recipes to others — doctors, contemporaries, family members, servants and local healers — suggesting that she gathered her recipes from a variety of different sources. Elite practitioners sought and used cures that were made and tested by their social inferiors as well as their equals.

15 In addition, Alatheia Talbot's portrait appears on the frontispiece of *Nature Unbowelled*, a text which contains hundreds of medicinal recipes. Alatheia's mother-in-law was Anne Howard, Countess of Arundel, noted for her personal involvement in the preparation of remedies and recipes on the Arundel Estates. In his biography, *Anne Countess of Arundel* (1857), H. G. F. Howard, duke of Norfolk, describes how she practically turned her house into a hospital where a ready supply of salves, plasters and other remedies were available for those unwilling or unable to visit the professional, male, doctors and surgeons.

16 Elizabeth Grey was at one time a member of the intimate circle of Henrietta Maria (1600–1669), Queen Consort of Charles I, who herself published texts on medicine and household management.

17 Hannah Woolley, *The Gentlewoman's Companion: or, A Guide to the Female Sex: Hannah Woolley, the Complete Text of 1675*, intro. Caterina Albano (Totnes, 2001).

18 See Amanda L. Capern, 'Early Modern Women Lost and Found: Case Studies in the Selection and Cataloguing of Historical Sources and the (In)visibility of Women', *Women's History Notebooks*, 5:2 (1998), 2.

19 See S. A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library: II* (London, 1973), 139–40.

20 See Kevin P. Sienna, 'Poverty and the Pox: Venereal Disease in London Hospitals, 1600–1800' (Ph.D., University of Toronto, 2001).

21 Cited in Wyman, 'The Surgeoness', 32.

22 Ibid., 32.

23 Markham, *The English house-wife*, 4–5.

24 See Richard Whitlock, *Zootomia: or, observations on the present manners of the English: briefly anatomizing the living by the dead. With an usefull detection of the mountebanks of both sexes* (London, 1654).

‘Another sphere for Educated Ladies’: The Early Development of Nurse Training in Ireland, 1860–1900

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Introduction

By the end of the nineteenth century a transformation had taken place in the status afforded to nursing staff in Dublin hospitals, a transformation shaped by the development of professional, specialized training within the hospitals. By focusing upon the development of nurse training in these hospitals in the latter half of the nineteenth century, this article will argue that the provision of this training and the manner in which it was introduced was strongly shaped by denominational issues and divisions. Initially this led to the training of Protestant nurses, which then widened to include Catholic lay nurses. This development in turn led to the introduction of specialized training within religious-owned hospitals towards the end of the century in order to provide a separate denominational context for the training of Catholic nurses.

Background

By the late nineteenth century, the urban sick poor in Ireland were served mainly by two types of hospitals: voluntary hospitals and those run by religious orders. Voluntary hospitals were mainly the outcome of charitable bequests. As a result, they were always prone to financial problems, as the initial bequests no longer provided sufficient financial support. It was hospitals such as these that relied on other fundraising initiatives such as charity sermons or fund raising musical performances.¹ In addition, there were hospitals run by religious orders such as the Sisters of Mercy and Sisters of Charity who owned, ran, and provided the nursing care in their own institutions.

Dublin was well served by voluntary hospitals; indeed, in the opinion of some contemporary commentators, it had far too many hospitals for the size of its population.² However, while the three hospitals of the religious orders, where the Sisters and assistants worked on the wards, were highly regarded for their discipline and ‘moral tone’, the nursing staff of the voluntary hospitals were often seen as disreputable and

had a status lower than that of the ordinary domestic servant.³ By the end of century, the perceived status of nursing staff in both voluntary and religious-order hospitals had changed. The status of nurses and the work and behaviour expected from them had been transformed by the gradual introduction of a system of professional, systemized nurse training.⁴

First Initiatives in Nurse Training

The earliest training of lay women for nursing in Ireland is always noted as having been at the Protestant Adelaide Hospital. Following consultation with Florence Nightingale, the governors brought a Miss Bramwell, who had worked with Nightingale in the Crimea, to Ireland. However, this initiative was short lived: she arrived on 21 December 1858 but had resigned and left the hospital by July 1859.⁵ A training department ostensibly continued, but it can be questioned how extensive and effective this was.⁶

An important initiative came in 1866 with the formation of the Dublin Nurses Training Institute. This aimed at provide nurse training for Protestants and was to be conducted ‘on the principles of the Church of England and Ireland’, a formula which was to exclude members of other Protestant groups.⁷ The Institute was the direct result of the appointment of Richard Chevenix Trench as Archbishop of Dublin in 1864. Previously he had been Dean of Westminster and Professor of Divinity at Kings College London. There he was acquainted with Robert Bentley Todd, Professor of Physiology, who was active in the foundation of King’s College Hospital and also with St John’s House, a nursing sisterhood who nursed King’s College Hospital from 1856. When Trench came to Dublin, he and his wife formed a plan of starting nurse training like that used at St John’s. Mrs Trench had great enthusiasm for the scheme and may well have been the driving force behind it. Archbishop Trench wrote to his agent in relation to the institution:

July 6 1866

I hope to be in Dublin in the middle of next week, and hope that you may then be able to show us the Nursing Home. I do not think, if you cannot, that my wife’s impatience will endure longer.⁸

Under the Trench plans, an institution was to be set up to house and provide training for nurses under the direction of a Lady Superintendent. This was to be known as the Dublin Nurses Training Institution (DNTI). However there was opposition to their plans from both Catholics and Protestants: from Catholics because anything funded by Protestants was suspect, and by Protestants because

anything that seemed remotely similar to a Catholic religious order was also unacceptable.

When Trench and his wife established the DNTI the Committee of the institution approached Sir Patrick Duns Hospital to take in their nurses and probationers. This was a hospital initially established to provide clinical instruction for Trinity College Dublin students rather than solely as a hospital for the poor. However, the governors there refused, saying that they had no room for a Lady Superintendent. Mrs Trench then approached Dr Steevens' Hospital where the archbishop was a governor. Dr Steevens's Board agreed to the DNTI coming to the Hospital, but only on the understanding that there was to be no religious teaching. In August 1866 the experiment started and, after only a week with Miss Beatty as Lady Superintendent, one head nurse and two probationers, it was claimed that since the schemes commencement a 'visible and real change for the better has taken place'.⁹

One of the noticeable and unique things about the development and running of the DNTI was the fact that, in a medical world dominated by men, this institution was run by a committee of women. It was led by Mrs Trench and included a relative, Maria Trench.¹⁰ The archbishop was merely a patron. Indeed the women of the Trench family as a whole appear to have been deeply involved with nursing in Dublin.¹¹

The DNTI occupied 152 James St and furnished it as a Nurses Home. It was here that the Lady Superintendent, Miss Beatty,¹² the head nurse, and the two probationers lived. They worked and trained at the hospital, where they were given Madame Steevens' ward, the male surgical ward. They were then given Ward VII as well. However, the DNTI still considered that this did not provide sufficient experience for trainees. In December 1866 Mrs Trench asked for wards VIII, VIII.5, and IX, and, in addition, asked that trained nurses who gave instruction should be paid by the hospital. The governors refused and the DNTI withdrew from the Hospital.¹³

In 1867, the Sir Patrick Duns Hospital took on the DNTI. In this instance, the Lady Superintendent was to stay in the Hospital and receive £60 pa, £20 of which came from the Hospital and £40 from the Institute. Probationers were only to be taken on if they were not an additional expense to the Hospital. At Sir Patrick Duns, as with many other hospitals of the period, finance was always an issue.

Relationships between the governors of the hospital and the Lady Superintendents did not always run smoothly,

but, in 1883, it was the actions of one of the DNTI appointees that seems to have led to the departure of the DNTI from the hospital — and the end of this initial provision of training there. A Miss Johnston had been nominated as Lady Superintendent by the DNTI, but it is clear that she was not in awe of the DNTI Committee. The issue was one of sectarianism in a hospital which had taken a clear non-sectarian line when first approached by the DNTI. This had already been an issue between the DNTI and the Hospital in 1872, when the Board saw an DNTI newspaper advertisement looking for women members of the Church of Ireland to train as nurses but asking them to call to the Hospital. They wrote to the DNTI to remonstrate, pointing out that any such sectarianism would be very injurious to the Hospital.

In January 1883, Miss Johnson wrote to the Governors of the Hospital about an order she had received from Miss Trench, Secretary to the DNTI. Miss Trench had demanded that she dismiss nurses because they were not members of the Church of Ireland. Miss Johnson was very unwilling to do this:

I have great difficulty just now in securing Probationers belonging to the Irish Church, but can get sufficient numbers of highly respectable girls from the North who are Presbyterians. At the present moment three are waiting to be engaged — I may mention that two of our oldest and best staff Nurses are Presbyterians and one of the probationers ordered to be dismissed is their sister — a very superior girl who has been a School Mistress.¹⁴

Miss Johnson went on:

If you will permit me, I would beg to submit to your consideration a proposition which, if carried out, will I think, meet the difficulties. It would involve expenditure at first, but in a short time would surely bring in money to the Hospital Funds.¹⁵

It is likely that this 'proposition' of Miss Johnson's was for the hospital to take over the training of its own nurses, for, on the basis of material dated five days after Miss Johnson's letter, the DNTI received a letter from the Board of Governors informing them that:

whilst recognizing the many advantages which the hospital has gained by its connexion with the DNTI, feel it is now absolutely necessary for the welfare of

the Hospital to throw it open for the training of Nurses of all religious denominations ... They propose therefore, to engage a Lady Superintendent whose duty it shall be to train all probationers selected by the Board without reference to creed.¹⁶

They were, however, willing to continue to receive probationers from the DNTI for a payment of £10 pa.

Miss Johnson, it is clear, stayed on as the new Lady Superintendent, at the head of the hospital's own training system. However, her success and achievement were short-lived, as she died of typhus fever, caught in her work in the hospital, in June that year.¹⁷ Her replacement as Lady Superintendent, which under the rule of the DNTI would have been selected by the DNTI Committee, was now chosen by two doctors in the hospital, Drs Moore and Haughton. They selected Miss Georgie Turner in August that year, but seven months later she resigned to seek a post nearer home.¹⁸ The post was not advertised, as Miss Turner informed the Board that Miss Huxley, Lady Superintendent of the eye and ear hospital, 'was anxious to be appointed in her room'. In March Miss Huxley became Lady Superintendent at Sir Patrick Duns, a hospital she was to serve until her resignation in 1902.

Sir Patrick Duns had continued to be non-sectarian in approach. The hospital Board tried to employ all religious denominations and the same was true in the training of probationers: 'it is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the Hospital to throw it open for the training of all religious denominations'.¹⁹ The decision of the Governors of Sir Patrick Duns to provide their own training did not mean the immediate demise of the DNTI.²⁰ The institution was still in existence at the end of the nineteenth century and still under the direction of Miss Trench.²¹ Its role, influence and importance were limited in the last two decades of the century, though, as other Dublin Hospitals and other Institutions moved to provide lay nurse training.

The Transformation of Nursing

Although individuals from outside the medical system had organized the formation of the DNTI and the start of formal nurse training in Dublin, the other voluntary hospitals in Dublin gradually began to develop their own nurse-training schemes. These developments were not solely brought about by internal interests in the

hospitals or medical awareness of the importance of more developed nursing care. Although there were individuals in the medical staff of the hospitals and among the governors who were aware of training developments in England and who favoured such developments in Ireland, there were also many opponents among the members of these groups. It is apparent that it was the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund (DHSF) that played a major role in the development of nurse training throughout the voluntary sector.²²

The DHSF was established in 1874 by a mixture of the Irish social élites and the medical profession. Originally, its aim was to collect money for the hospitals on a regular date in the year and to make this a national system. Echoing the foundation of similar organizations in England, this was presented as a way of replacing the ad hoc manner of collecting additional money for the hospitals currently practiced. When the then Catholic Archbishop, Cullen, refused to join the scheme in January 1874, the situation was reassessed. The scheme was confined to Dublin and hospitals were to apply for membership. By 1876 all the major general voluntary hospitals in Dublin had joined the scheme. However the DHSF soon widened its interest from the distribution of the money it collected to the condition of nursing in the hospitals. In 1878-9 a sub-committee of the DHSF presented a report on nursing in the member hospitals and made a series of recommendations which they wished to see followed by those hospitals that applied for money from the DHSF. The report focused upon the employment of a trained Lady Superintendent in each hospital and the need for discipline and order in nursing, which it was expected that the holders of the post would bring, in part by introducing a proper training scheme.

While the DHSF had no power to enforce their recommendations they did have an effective carrot, a supply of money, which, although it never made up the majority of any hospital's income, did provide a welcome addition to the resources of hospitals that were always financially insecure. The DHSF therefore decided to introduce a scheme of bonuses for hospitals which met their recommendations. The hospitals differed in the manner in which they put the recommendations of the DHSF into practice, but by 1888 the DHSF was able to claim that it had transformed the nursing of member hospitals. The First Visiting Committee report concluded:

It is certainly gratifying to observe that there are not any reports as to defective nursing organisations. The Committee believe this is in great measure owing to the efforts of the Council (of the

DHSF) to enforce proper nursing arrangements in the Hospitals receiving aid from the Fund. Nursing by trained nurses under the inspection of trained Lady Superintendents is now carried out in every Hospital receiving aid from the Fund.²³

The training schemes that were introduced in the hospitals did not confine themselves to any one religious persuasion, except in the case of the Adelaide Hospital, an established Protestant hospital. This confirmed the non-sectarian stance of most voluntary hospitals illustrated earlier in disputes between the DNTI and Dr Steevens' Hospital.

Dr Steevens' Hospital and Catholic Lay Nurses.

Dr Steevens' Hospital was also to play an important role in relation to the development of nurse training for Catholic lay women with the opening of its own nurse-training scheme in 1879. The major instigator for this development was T. W. Grimshaw, a physician at the hospital who was also secretary to the DHSF Committee on Nursing. Grimshaw was in a position to put forward the Committee's views within the Hospital. His report to the Board acknowledged that some of the existing nurses were 'very efficient, and all appear well intentioned', but he felt that some were unable to 'do all that should be done by nurses'. He recommended that a Lady Superintendent should be recruited immediately, '[w]hose sole duty would be to supervise the nursing and ward arrangements'. The Board agreed and wrote to Sir Thomas's Hospital in London looking for a suitable candidate. A Miss Franks was appointed in 1879. She was to remain at the hospital until January 1883, by which time she had trained twenty-six nurses.²⁴ The training school which she developed included training for Roman Catholic lay nurses.²⁵

These probationers were not usually recruited by Dr Steevens' Hospital itself, but came from a Catholic institution comparable to the DNTI. This institution was formed in 1882 and, although confusingly referred to on occasion as the Dublin Nurses Training Institution, was more commonly known as Mrs Browne's Nurses. For the first time an institution was specifically established for the training of lay nurses who were Catholic. Mrs Eliza Browne, a woman of 'wealth and high social position', established it and maintained personal control over it, attending monthly business meetings and interviewing candidates. A home for its members was established at 26 Ushers Quay. Candidates had to be aged between twenty and thirty, although they could be widowed or single. Entrance fees were steep. Candidates were admitted on a

month's approval and had to pay an entrance fee of £10 and provide their own uniform, which cost over two guineas. They received board and lodging but no salary in the first year and £10 and their uniform in the second year. They had to agree to stay on a further three years after training, either as private or hospital nurses.

When Miss Franks left she was replaced by successive Lady Superintendents trained in England, Miss Lindsay and then Miss Hodgkin. Then in 1893 Bridget Kelly, a product of Mrs Brownes Institution and therefore a Catholic, became Lady Superintendent. Miss Kelly had trained at the Dr Steevens' Hospital under Miss Lindsay, then nursed at Jervis St, where she had become the first Lady Superintendent of the training school there. She was to retain her post as Lady Superintendent until 1913.

District Nursing

The establishment in 1876 of St Patrick's Home in Stephens Green provided another outlet for the further training and work of trained Protestant lay nurses and therefore was an impetus for their initial training. Non-sectarian in its nursing,²⁶ rooted in the Church of Ireland but with its nurses forbidden to evangelize,²⁷ the Home had been established by the wife of Archbishop Plunkett and two other women. It employed nurses to reach the sick poor, continuing the work of the Dublin Women's Work Association, which had engaged a district nurse from London.²⁸ The home went on to train probationers in district nursing and to employ nurses.

St Patrick's Home affiliated to the Queen Victoria's Jubilee Institute for Nurses (QVJIN) in 1890. The QVJIN scheme was established in Ireland with money from the Queen's Jubilee fund and the intention of being a national scheme. Nurses taken on as district nursing probationers



Mrs. Browne's Nurses

had to have at least two years training from a recognized general hospital and be prepared to serve for at least two years wherever the QVJIN sent them. The scheme provided funds for training institutions, but was limited in the impact it could have in Ireland by the fact that there were not sufficient finances to pay practicing nurses. Local Nursing Associations had to find the greatest percentage of the funds if they were to have a district nurse. In a country like Ireland, with large areas suffering from extreme poverty and a shortage of local gentry to provide charitable funds for such an association, this meant that the employment of district nurses was to be limited.

The implementation of the scheme, even in a small way, created a demand for an institution for Catholic nurses; otherwise, the district nursing scheme would remain purely Protestant. The City of Dublin Nursing Institution, another voluntary and non-sectarian body, agreed to train two Roman Catholic probationers a year who would then go on to become district nurses under the QVJIN — another example of Catholic nurses trained outside a purely Catholic context. The Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin was prepared to have Catholic nurses overseen by a Protestant superintendent of the QVJIN but did not want to have them living and training together. He therefore supported the establishment of St Lawrence's Home for the training of Roman Catholic district nurses within the QVJIN scheme. At the same time, he stressed the importance of ensuring that Catholic nurses, once trained, should be able to find employment. This meant that Catholics would need to establish local Nursing Associations and find the requisite funds to employ the district nurses. This development of training and employment for Catholic district nurses thus created a further demand, if small, for certificated, trained lay Catholic nurses.

Religious Orders and Nurse Training

While the voluntary hospitals were developing systematic and certificated systems of nurse training, which by the 1880s included both Protestant and Catholic lay women as probationers, the existing Catholic hospitals owned by the religious orders were not offering any comparable form of training. Two religious orders had been the leaders in Dublin in establishing hospitals for the sick poor, accepting patients of all denominations: the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy. The Sisters of Charity had been founded in 1815 by Mary Aikenhead, a privileged Protestant who converted to Catholicism in her teens. One of the vows of the Sisters was to relieve the sufferings of the poor and, as a result, unusually, they

were not an enclosed order. In 1834 they opened a hospital, St Vincent's, in pursuit of this vow. The Sisters of Mercy were established by Catherine McCauley, a woman of standing and wealth, in 1831. The Charitable Infirmary at Jervis St was placed under the control of the Sisters of Mercy in 1854. The congregation also purchased the site for a hospital in 1851; this hospital, the Mater Misericordiae, opened in September 1861.

In the period when the other voluntary hospitals were staffed by nurses, no better than domestic servants, the work of the two religious orders was highly regarded. Florence Nightingale tried several times to be accepted at St Vincent's Hospital.²⁹ The Sisters were renowned, it was said, for the 'beautifully finished technique of their nursing duties'. They obeyed Mary Aikenhead's instructions to serve the poor with 'respect, cordiality and compassion'.³⁰ The wards were nursed by the Sisters, assisted by lay ward maids. However the Sisters did not have a system of certificated training, either for themselves or for lay women, and in the later nineteenth century the high repute in which these hospitals were held began to be affected by the development of professional lay nurse training elsewhere.

When asked about the course of instruction for the nursing sisters, Dr C. Nixon, Senior Physician to the Mater, described it thus:

Before the Sisters undertake the duty of nursing have they any certificate or diploma? — what is their course of instruction? — It is based upon the aptitude of a Sister for her work. A young Sister comes to the Hospital and if she likes the work the senior Sisters train her, and as it is a labour of love they fall into the business of nursing very quickly.³¹

Although the religious-owned hospitals were generally regarded favourably, comparisons began to be made between the nursing care there and that provided by professionally trained nurses. Rosalind Paget, Inspector of Nurses for the QVJIN, touring Dublin Hospitals in 1891, commented of the Mater that the 'Sisters in charge of the Wards are most charming women, evidently much beloved, and on excellent terms with the young Doctor who took us round. I saw nothing to give me the impression much nursing was done; the Students take temperatures, etc.'. ³²

As lay nurses were not trained by the Sisters, those Catholic women who wished to become nurses had to

train in the voluntary hospital system, especially through Mrs Browne's Institution. This, together with the start of a district nursing system which also required lay Catholic nurses, meant that an increasing number of Catholic women were being trained outside institutions with an explicitly Catholic ethos. At the beginning of the 1890s, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr Walsh, requested the religious orders to organize nurse-training schools in their hospitals. This initiative cannot be seen merely as a response to medical developments, the increasing number of private nursing-homes for the middle classes requiring qualified nurses and the availability of a larger pool of educated women.³³ The fact that Catholic women were taking advantage of training in non-Catholic institutions must also be considered as a reason for the Archbishop's request.

The Sisters of Mercy began training in the Mater and in Jervis St in 1891. St Vincent's opened a training scheme in 1892. The openness of the attitudes of the Congregations can be seen in the fact that the first lay superintendent was Miss Robinson, who had trained at the Adelaide Hospital, an explicitly Protestant hospital. Lectures in medicine and surgery were given by medical staff, but ward practice and care were taught by the sisters themselves.

Conclusion

By the end of the century full training was available for nurses in all the hospitals in Dublin. The status of nurses had been transformed and it had become, for women, a profession held in esteem, a situation that continues until today. It is clear, though, that the shaping of training developments, their timing, and the manner in which they were introduced were strongly influenced by denominational interests. Protestants led the development of nurse training and non-sectarian institutions continued these developments, in the process opening training and employment opportunities to lay Catholic women. It was with these systems established that specifically Catholic hospitals finally provided nurse training and employment. Through this pattern of development of nurse training in Dublin in the latter half of the nineteenth century can be seen the influence of denominational issues and interests on a female occupation in Ireland.

NOTES

1 It was to support one such Dublin hospital, Mercers, that the first performance of Handel's Messiah was given: J. B. Lyons, *The Quality of Mercers*, (Dublin, 1991).

2 A. Wickham, 'A Better Scheme for Nursing: The Influence of the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund on Nursing and Nurse Training in Ireland in the Nineteenth Century', *International Hist. of Nursing JI*, vi, 26–34.

3 It was stated in the Report of the Dublin Hospital Sunday

Fund Committee on Nursing in 1879 that 'Interviews with the nurses at the hospitals showed that, with few exceptions, the women were below the class of ordinary domestic servants'. See National Library of Ireland, Report of the Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund Committee, 1879.

4 This change in status was reflected in their changed position within the census categories, where they moved from domestic service to inclusion with medical students and midwives.

5 *The Adelaide Hospital — One Hundred Years of Nursing* (Dublin, 1958).

6 The Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund report in 1878 found no systematic training at the hospital.

7 'Nurses' Training Institution for Dublin', *The Medical Press and Circular* (23 May 1866), 549.

8 R. C. Trench, *Letter and Memorials*, ed. C. Lowder [M. Trench] (London, 1888), ii, 47.

9 *Medical Press and Circular* (15 Aug. 1866).

10 The committee consisted of the Hon. Mrs R. C. Trench and Mrs W. C. Plunket of Harcourt St; Mrs Huband of Herbert St; Miss M. Trench of Trimleston; Mrs Staveley of 13 Adelaide Rd; and Mrs Tyner of Steevens' Hospital: *Medical Press and Circular*, (23 May 1866).

11 Apart from Mrs Trench's role in the DNTI, Maria Trench subsequently served as secretary to this institution, and another sister of Maria's, Jane Trench, became involved in running St John's House of Rest. This House was established in 1870 in a small cottage. It moved to larger premises in 1880 and was still in operation under her charge at the end of the century. Yet another sister, Frances, was its treasurer.

12 She had trained at Netley, 'where the surgical dressing is almost wholly effected by the nurses themselves; there they learn to bandage, strap, etc., and perform many other operations which are effected by pupils in a clinical hospital. Hence under her management women could be trained to a higher class of efficiency than is to be generally met within either public or private nurses': *Medical Press and Circular* (15 Aug. 1866).

13 Possibly, T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick suggests, because of conflict between Miss Beatty and the Matron of the Hospital, who had been there 20 years: T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, *The History of Dr Steevens' Hospital Dublin, 1720–1920* (Dublin, 1924).

14 Mercers' Library, Royal College of Surgeons (Ireland), Minute of the Board of Governors, Sir Patrick Dun's Hospital, 23 Jan. 1883.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid., 13 Mar. 1883

17 Ibid., 23 June 1883

18 Ibid., 12 Feb. 1884: 'owing to family affairs it is necessary that I should seek a post nearer home, in case it becomes imperative on me to give up work altogether'.

19 Quoted in T. G. Moorhead, *A Short History of Sir Patrick Dun's* (Dublin, 1942), 156.

20 From then on most of the training the DNTI organized took place in English hospitals.

21 *Thoms Directory* (1899, 1918).

22 Wickham, 'A Better Scheme for Nursing'.

23 National Library of Ireland, Dublin Hospital Sunday Fund Report for 1888.

24 In 1884 a Miss Franks was noted as the Lady Superintendent of St Patrick's Nurses' Home, a Church of Ireland institution dedicated to the nursing of the sick poor and one of the leading

district nursing-training institutions by the end of the century. It is likely that this is the same Miss Franks who had left Dr Steevens' in 1883. See R. Barrett, (1884), 31.

25 M. A. Nutting and L. Dock, *A History of Nursing*, 3 vols. (London, 1912), iii, 92.

26 Ibid., 109.

27 8th Annual Report of St Patrick's Home for Nurses to the Sick Poor, *Dublin Journal Of Medical Science*, lxxxix (1885), 432-33.

28 Nutting and Dock, *History of Nursing*, 109.

29 F.O.C. Meenan, *St Vincent's Hospital* (Dublin, 1985) p.

30 Ibid., 134-5.

31 Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Management and Working of Hospitals in the City of Dublin, Chair: Sir Roland Blennerhassett: Parliamentary Papers, 1887, Command c .5042, xxxv.1.

32 The Wellcome Library, London, QVJNI, Private and Confidential Report. However, it must be added that the nursing in some of the voluntary hospitals with trained nurses also met with her displeasure. At the City of Dublin Hospital, for example, the nurses struck her as 'showy, untidy and un-nurselike'.

33 Sr E. Nolan, *A Hundred Years: The History of the School of Nursing at the Mater*, (Dublin, 1991).



BOOK REVIEWS

June Hannam and Karen Hunt

Socialist Women: Britain, 1880s to 1920s

London: Routledge, 2002. Paperback, £17.99, viii + 232 pp., ISBN 0 415 26639 4

Reviewed by C. A. Osborne

University College Worcester

Hannam and Hunt have produced a thoroughgoing analysis of socialist women's activity in Britain during the 1880s-1920s. The first four chapters of the book cover contextual, conceptual and methodological territory, thereby providing a foundation for the last three chapters, case studies about suffrage, consumption and internationalism. The work turns upon a critique of existing scholarship which, the authors assert, has not only left socialist women and their contributions to the socialist movement 'on the margins of history', but has rendered them a barely differentiated group. Although only comprising ten per cent of the movement's membership, the authors seek to show how socialist women brought different — woman focussed — perspectives to a range of contemporary debates, and how their interactions helped to reconfigure the nature of left-wing politics during this important period of labour history.

The motives and organisational character of the socialist movement are outlined early on, with the two largest organisations, the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party, providing the main points of comparison throughout the work. Close analysis of individual positions within, and beyond, the organisational context is, however, key to the authors' interpretive position. They focus as much upon points of difference between women's standpoints across a range of issues, as they do upon points of similarity. This is underlined in chapter two, the interesting 'Biographies and political journeys', which highlights how socialist women were compelled to negotiate, or keep defined, identities of class, gender and party within the context of their commitment to socialism. Without neglecting more prominent figures, here, as elsewhere in the book, Hannam and Hunt elevate the contributions of lesser-known activists. Personal experience, especially that mediated by class position, is acknowledged as having impacted upon women's socialism and, related to this, their suggested solutions to the Woman Question.

Indeed, the chapter about suffrage effectively highlights the tension between sex and class socialist women faced. For example, in choosing to support either women's suffrage or adult suffrage, they were potentially open to

the charge of compromising their commitment to socialism (class) or feminism (sex) respectively. The remaining two case studies focus upon responses to less typically charted issues, consumption and internationalism. It is through consumption that the authors come closest to building a convincing case for the development of a politics defined by women, and organised around women's concerns. The possibility of appealing to women beyond the movement, due to the relevance of consumption practices to their everyday lives, in this case shopping and rent, marked a shift in emphasis from the politics of production — socialism's priority — to consumption. Reaching women upon this basis also provided an opportunity to 'make' socialists, an important aspect of working for the Cause.

Yet, whatever individual circumstances and concerns brought women to socialism, as the book progresses it becomes increasingly clear that the issue of sex difference, especially the inequalities generated by a gendered division of labour at work and in the home, could not find priority within a male dominated organisational context, focussed upon relations of production and the male worker. Whilst socialism claimed to support equality of the sexes, and the intersections between issues of sex and class were debated, the resolution of class inequalities was viewed as a prerequisite of the movement towards such equality. Given this, not to mention broader economic and political conditions that could compromise the attention afforded to women's concerns, the sidelining of women's socialist vision is hardly surprising.

This does not, however, detract from a sense of the extensive contributions women were able to make to socialist politics. They are identified as taking direct action through strikes and protest, as influencing debate through public speaking and, in particular, via various published writings. They attended conferences and, sometimes controversially, organised all-women forums as a means of facilitating dialogue around women's interests. During the inter war years a few capitalised upon their knowledge and experience through involvement in party politics.

Nevertheless, Hannam and Hunt acknowledge that, for all their efforts, socialist women were not able 'to revise socialist priorities in order to recognise the importance of gender as well as class' (p. 203) which, on face value, leaves the claim that they 'reconfigured' left-wing politics open to debate. However, for the authors this reconfiguration and, indeed, history itself, should extend beyond an analysis of 'changed policies, votes cast or the numbers of women elected.' (p. 203). It is this view that underpins the substance of their account: not only are the complex relations between organisations, individuals and

issues over time teased out, but 'the dreams, questions and choices' of socialist women are kept to the fore. Consequently, this is an interpretation that precisely establishes the nature of socialist women's contributions, the conditions that mediated them, and the extent of their impact.

Kim M. Phillips

Medieval Maidens: Young Women and Gender in England, 1270–1540

Manchester University Press: Manchester and New York, 2003. £14.99 0 7190 5964 X (paperback), pp. xv + 246

*Reviewed by Margaret Connolly,
University College Cork*

Given the intense interest of feminist scholarship over the last quarter of a century in the lives and representations of medieval women, the need for another study of this topic might be questioned. Surely the traditional view of the Middle Ages which rendered women invisible and inaudible has now been adjusted in all but the most unreconstructed academic circles? Nevertheless Phillips finds a nook to explore and offers a discussion of medieval maidens. Maidenhood, or the virgin state, was lauded by poets and philosophers as the aspirational ideal of feminine perfection; it could be regarded as the 'perfect age' for women, in the same way that men were believed to reach the prime of their physical and mental powers in middle age or *iuventus*. Paradoxically though this 'perfect age' was also for women 'socially an age of incompleteness' (p. 51), and a state from which they were confidently expected to progress.

Phillips begins by considering the boundaries of maidenhood, in particular its exit point (matrimony). She points to the accumulation of evidence which has eroded the stereotype of medieval child marriage, reminding us that early marriage did not necessarily imply early consummation. It was recognised that actual physical maturity did not mean that girls' bodies were immediately ready for the arduous process of childbearing, and girls' mental maturity, whilst outpacing that of boys, required some direction. Essentially girls were trained for wifehood, learning the docile qualities valued in adult women, and this process of socialisation in gender was undertaken in earnest during maidenhood. In chapter two Phillips covers some familiar ground, such as the promotion of the example of the Virgin Mary, and the provision of courtesy texts and conduct books for women, whilst struggling to recover the oral nature of instruction which must have predominated. Surprisingly

she has little to say about medieval nunneries, portraying them as useful providers of short-term childcare for the aristocracy, but claiming that they only occasionally provided the environment for female education (p. 75). This concept is not explored further, and it's hard to believe that this is all that can be said on the topic. In chapter three Phillips focusses on a more practical aspect of training: work, extending Rosemary Horrox's statement that service was the 'dominant ethic' of the Middle Ages into a consideration of the nature of service experienced by young women. The glimpse that Phillips gives us into the structure of the medieval household, not just at courtly level, but in the lower echelons of the nobility and gentry, constitutes the most interesting aspect of the book. She reveals how well-to-do families sent their daughters into 'service', a 'boarding-out' that was as much educational as it was economic. In fact not only were the young women not salaried, but probably more often they had a status akin to that of paying guests with their parents obliged to send money to cover the costs of their board and clothing. Though this service should not be confused with the below-stairs semi-slavery perfected by the Victorians, it was not a purely decorative and leisured life of companionship either. Maidens were employed in many useful household occupations such as spinning, sewing, dealing with clothing, and tending the herb garden, and they learned skills such as the concoction of medicines, even some cooking. The fourth chapter, on sexualities, covers rather unremarkable ground such as the control of women's sexuality, taboos on breaking virginity and on marriage outwith class, social, and religious boundaries. The final chapter, entitled 'Voices', highlights some of the difficulties Phillips has faced in her research. Most investigators of women's history have to contend with a lack of direct evidence, but in this case the usual problem of women's 'silence' is compounded by the elisions typical of youth culture. This chapter is the shortest, and uses letters as its principal source before falling back on an examination of women's actions (e.g., through bequests) rather than their words.

Phillips's research deftly combines literary and historical material, and usefully synthesizes much previous work in the area. More attention could have been paid to the lives of urban women, particularly widows, who were uniquely placed to participate in business and to leave records of their lives behind them; in this respect the work of Caroline Barron and Anne Sutton could have been more widely consulted. However, Phillips is to be applauded for offering so many examples of individual women and for producing a book which is both scholarly and approachable. Despite the extensive bibliography and generous

footnotes the writing is reasonably readable and has made the transition from thesis to book successfully. In the end Phillips does not come to any startling conclusions, but she does succeed in shading in a part of the picture of women's history that was previously rather undercoloured.

REPORT ON THE CLARE EVANS PRIZE 2003.

There were thirteen very good essays entered in 2003; all of them on British or Irish history from the sixteenth -- twentieth century. We would like to encourage entries from earlier periods and a broader geographical range but were very gratified by the standard of entries. At least ten of the entries were of publishable quality. The judges -- Ann Hughes, Elaine Chalus, June Hannam and Liz Harvey -- short-listed four entries and met to finalise their decision on 16 July.

We unanimously agreed that the winner was Catriona Kennedy, a postgraduate student at York University, for an outstanding essay: "'Womanish Epistles': Martha McTier, female epistolarity and Irish radicalism in the late eighteenth century'. This combined a sophisticated use of literary approaches to women's letter writing with a telling case-study of the political importance of one woman's letters within the important context of late eighteenth century Irish radicalism.

Three essays were highly commended:

Hannah Grieg for a lively and suggestive analysis of female beauty in the eighteenth century: "'So pow'rful her charms': Female Beauty and the Eighteenth Century Beau Monde'.

Emma Jones for a moving and original analysis of men's involvement in abortion: "'On behalf of my wife" Abortion, Birth Control and Fatherhood in Britain, 1918-1939'.

Selina Todd for a well researched and sharply argued piece, 'Leisured Daughters: wage earning, the household and the creation of youth culture in inter-war England'.

The winning essay was submitted to the Editor of *The Women's History Review*, where it will be published, subject to the usual reviewing process, and the prize of £250 was presented to Catriona at the Aberdeen conference by Merlin Evans, Clare's daughter. Clare's mother Imelda and her husband, Roger Crouch, also attended.

The deadline for submission of essays for the 2004 prize will be 31 May 2004 and further details can be found on the network website or in the magazine. Intending entrants should contact Ann Hughes at hia21@keele.ac.uk.

Ann Hughes.

CLARE EVANS PRIZE

For a new essay in the field of GENDER AND HISTORY



In memory of Dr Clare Evans, a national prize worth £250 is awarded annually for an original essay in the field of women's history or gender and history. The essays will be considered by a panel of judges set up by the Women's History Network and the Trustees of the Clare Evans Memorial Fund. The closing date is 31 May 2004 and the prize will be presented by Clare's daughter at the Women's History Network Annual Conference at Hull in September.

Clare Evans was an outstanding woman who tragically died of cervical cancer on 30 November 1997, aged 37. Born in Bath, she read history at the University of Manchester, graduating in 1982. She continued her studies, registering for a PhD at the University whilst preparing and delivering seminars on feminist history, creating the first feminist historiography course in collaboration with Kersten England and Ann Hughes. By examining census material gathered by Quakers, Clare saw how the changing attitudes to women's participation in the workplace were revealed through the responses to major subsistence crises in the early to mid-nineteenth century. As part of this work, Clare showed how men were constructed as sole wage-earners yet women offered sewing schools to create a new Victorian model following mass unemployment in the cotton mills (a result of the American Civil War). Focusing on textile workers in the Nelson and Colne districts of Lancashire, she uncovered the reality of women's lives to free them from contemporary ideas as dependents within family wage ideology. Clare would have approved of an award which helped women to publish for the first time, giving them the confidence to further develop their ideas.

To be eligible for the award, the candidate must be

- a) a woman who has not yet had a publication in a major academic journal,
- b) not in a permanent academic position,
- c) normally resident in the UK.

The article should be in English, of 6,000 to 8,000 words in length including footnotes.

We welcome submissions from any area of women's history or gender and history. It is anticipated that the winning essay will be published in the Women's History Review (subject to the normal refereeing criteria).

Those wishing to apply for the prize, should first e-mail, or write for further details to Ann Hughes (hia21@keele.ac.uk; Department of History and Classics, University of Keele, Keele, Staffs, ST5 5BG).

**WHN 12th. ANNUAL CONFERENCE
Aberdeen, 12-14 September 2003:**

SOME DELEGATES' REMINISCENCES

Reflections of a WHN Novice::

Catriona Kennedy, University of York

(Winner of the Clare Evans History Prize, 2003)

Travelling up to Aberdeen on the Friday, I resisted the urge to re-read, tweak and generally fret over the paper I was presenting the following day. This was the first time I had attended a Women's History Network conference, though I had been reassured by conference veterans that it was a very supportive environment. As a first-time visitor to Aberdeen, I was impressed by the handsome historic campus and its very well-equipped conference centre. The King's College auditorium was particularly luxurious, kitted out with plush leather chairs and personal microphones. This was the venue for Saturday's opening session, the plenary paper presented by Professor Joni Seager. An analysis of the gendered discourse underpinning current debates on the global population 'crisis', Seager's paper made a fitting introduction, underlining the contemporary relevance of the conference title, as well as establishing its global scope. With speakers from seventeen nations attending, there was an impressively international range of topics. Among the panels I was able to attend, there were papers on women's civil war diaries in the American South, 'ever-single' women in British Columbia, Nigerian women cocoa farmers, women and decolonization in Cameroon, the Vietnamese women's movement, Polish women in Britain, and Indian women in South Africa. Despite the diversity of contributions, the majority of papers related very well to each other and to the conference themes, with papers both questioning the historical positioning of women in the social construction of knowledge and suggesting the possibility of alternative female narratives.

When it came to presenting my paper, I found the response as friendly as I'd been promised and the feedback very useful. The informal atmosphere encouraged the continuation of discussions into the coffee break, and this conviviality extended through into the conference dinner, where coffee and tea were replaced by wine and whisky. As the evening progressed, a few daring delegates ventured onto the dance floor, revealing a hidden talent for Scottish country dancing. They were soon joined by others (myself included) who tried to make up in enthusiasm

what we lacked in proficiency, as we twirled and stumbled our way through 'Strip the Willow' and the 'Dashing White Sergeant'.

On the Sunday, feeling a little the worse for wear after the previous evening's exertions, I enjoyed another stimulating morning session. Unfortunately, like many other delegates who wanted to be home before midnight, I had to leave before the final plenary and panel, though not before I'd exchanged e-mail addresses with several new colleagues. As a WHN conference novice, what struck me most was the refreshingly informal and egalitarian atmosphere of the weekend, and the lack of distinction between established academics, post-graduates, undergraduates and independent researchers. Together with the hard work and enthusiasm of the conference organizers, I think this helped ensure that the weekend was both socially and intellectually engaging.

The picture below shows Catriona (centre) with Clare's daughter, Merlin, and Ann Hughes, having just been awarded the prize in Aberdeen.



WHN Conference: Alice Asonganyi,
Douala, Cameroon

It was a great conference: stimulating, revealing, enlightening and enjoyable. From the reception at the town centre through the wine reception and until I left Aberdeen, I enjoyed every bit of action. I would like to thank the Women's History Network and the devotedness and patience of Dr Walker. Personally I got her on her feet for some days emailing, faxing and mailing documents for my visa. Many thanks to others like her who did in their power to make the conference such a success. I would also thank especially the Women's History Network for the financial support towards my participation at the conference. Without such support, my participation would almost have been impossible.

I arrived King's College, Aberdeen on Friday the 12th September — at the end of an eleven-hour train journey

from Reading — a journey that permitted me to enjoy the beauty of the English Countryside and the beautiful beaches. The opening ceremony at the city council hall awakened in me the true spirit of a conference that was by women and about women in history. The question ‘Do women really make history?’ that was implicitly raised during the drinks reception at the Town and County Hall was thought-provoking and the whole meeting to me was a search for a response to this question. Undoubtedly I found this response .

I appreciate the fact that the conference dealt with a variety of aspects of women’s history as demonstrated by the number of strands it was divided into. This reveals the enormous female contribution to the human history and development. As I participated in the different strands, my knowledge of the contribution of women in history ,art and science deepened .

I would never forget the company of university women, researchers, students, librarians, teachers etc that this conference afforded me. As the only black woman among 140 participants I was proud and I am encouraging other women to join the Women’s History Network so they could share their knowledge and experiences with others.

I like the Scottish cuisine: the breakfast, the coffee breaks, the lunches as well as the accommodation and the dinner party where we danced to the tunes of ‘Banish Misfortune’ It maybe there were hitches but I was certainly too excited to notice any. Excuse me for that.



Alice Asonganyi, resplendent in national dress, at the King’s College Conference Centre, Aberdeen.

WHN Conference: Wu Na,
Guangdong University, People's Republic of China

It was my greatest honor and pleasure to be invited to attend the 12th Women’s History Network Annual Conference, held 13–14 September 2003, at the University of Aberdeen. Although my indebtedness towards Women’s History Network and the National Steering Committee is beyond what any language can describe, I would still like to take this opportunity to express my sincere gratitude for their professional

hospitality and financial generosity. My profound gratitude also extends to Drs Debbi Simonton, Joyce Walker, Tessa Stone and Carmen Mangion for their various kinds of help and support, which made my presence at the conference possible. The conference, *Contested Terrains*, was itself an outstanding success. I found it a heady and unforgettable experience: as the weekend unfolded many scholars present displayed an extraordinary depth and range of knowledge of women’s history. Their comments, both on and off the lecture platform, provided a promising perspective on women’s future.

Reflecting on that exciting and inspiring conference, I found my English to be insufficient to re-live and re-capture everything that happened during that wonderful weekend. Some of my impressions of the conference are, nevertheless, ever-lasting.

In the first place, the conference was professionally organized and highly efficient, with clear instructions. Divided into six strands, it provided every participant a chance to attend each strand. This not only offered us a general view of the whole landscape of the conference, but also enabled us to have a better understanding of what was being discussed in each strand, where we enjoyed thought-provoking presentations and interesting discussions. The plenaries, given at the beginning of each morning and at midday, were exceptionally impressive, in that they brought all the participants together (140 participants from 17 countries) and made the whole scale of the discussion and negotiation accessible and enjoyable. Much of the success of the conference would also be attributed to the quality of the keynote speakers at the conference. Those from the UK — including several outstanding academics — were joined by a dazzling line-up of some of the most important experts in the field from other countries. Bringing them together was, in effect, only one of the many achievements of our hostesses at the University of Aberdeen, whose imagination, organizational skill and sheer panache made the conference a memorable occasion.

Secondly, the conference covered a wide range of themes and topics. As the title of each conference strand indicated, the themes ranged from Nation, Politics and Identity to Institutions, from Intellectual and Cultural Critique to Home, Body and Sexuality, and from Travel to Empire Studies. Women’s stories in various genres were questioned, challenged, rediscovered and reconstructed. We heard women’s stories from the privileged upper class, the middle class, as well as the working class. We were told about women’s suffering and oppression, as well as their struggles and challenges. We were informed about their historical losses as well as their gains. Conventional issues relating to women were foregrounded for debate and interrogation, while new ideas were presented for deliberation and discussion. The condensed presentations proved not only the wide scope

but also the outstanding quality of women's studies by scholars, whether European, American, Australian, African or Asian. Every panel discussion gave us another taste of the lively debate, stimulated by the excellent presentations. I found my horizons on women's studies have suddenly lifted and broadened and I am greatly inspired to consider more Chinese women's stories in new perspectives.

Thirdly, I enjoyed and appreciated the whole atmosphere of the conference, replete with inspiration, openness, trust, friendliness and delight. It was a world of women's voices, a world of women's wisdom and a world of women's vision. It is also a multi-faceted conference, where people of different colors from five continents sat under one roof, sharing their sparkling thoughts, precious stories and sweet smiles. However, what impressed me most deeply was that some speakers were so daring as to declare proudly their academic positions as feminists. Such declarations in my view boasts more a proper human environment than purely personal courage, and has commanded both my admiration and respect. To my best knowledge, any female professional doing women's studies in mainland China would feel reluctant to admit that she is a feminist. And, in most cases, she would feel uneasy or embarrassed, or even try to deny it, when being recognized or regarded as a feminist. In such a humanitarian milieu as that of the conference, I had the opportunity to enjoy quite a few open, delightful and rewarding talks with speakers whose readiness to share their personal stories made me feel so intimate.

Fourthly, the service and accommodation were of the highest standard. The welcome ceremony in the city hall made us immediately drop our tiredness from the exhausting trip with its hospitality and introduction to the attractions of this granite town. The variety of breakfasts offered me first-hand knowledge of the richness the British enjoy every morning, something which I have only read so much about before in the books. The Scottish dinner, accompanied by beautiful traditional Scottish music, has challenged my bias that only Chinese can make delicious dishes and soup.

Indeed, the joy of refreshing my mind and sharing and exchanging ideas with all those wonderful colleagues made me very reluctant to leave the conference. Indulging myself in the achievements from the conference, gendered knowledge has been gracefully challenged, gendered landscape handsomely remapped, gendered narrative powerfully reconstructed. As one of the few participants from the third world countries I do find my own voice not only slightly different from that of the majority, but also fairly weak. The sense of belonging is occasionally disturbed and even questioned by some sort of marginalization and isolation. I do consciously question myself: is it because of my humble knowledge and low English

proficiency, or is it because of my over sensitivity to certain distance, or my keen awareness of my national, ethnic and geographical background, or is it just because of my own psychological boundaries - or a combination of them all? I also constantly question myself: what is my position in this contested terrain? What, how and with whom should I contest?

To put it in a nut, this conference was enjoyable and fruitful. My expression of indebtedness to the conference is in my encouragement and inspiration to do more studies relating to Chinese women's stories in the future. If 'C' is for 'Conference', it also stands for 'Contribution', 'Co-operation' and 'Continuity'. I sincerely hope and confidently believe that the Women's History Network has an even brighter future of more in-depth and in-width research in Women's history.



Wu Na at the Conference Dinner—having discovered the delights of Scottish cuisine!

Colour images of these, and other conference pictures, can be viewed on the WHN website:
www.womenshistorynetwork.org/conference_2003.htm

PLEASE NOTE

THE CALL FOR PAPERS FOR THE 13th
ANNUAL CONFERENCE, TO BE HELD IN
KINGSTON-UPON-HULL IN SEPTEMBER
2004, IS INSIDE THE FRONT COVER OF
THIS MAGAZINE

CALLS FOR PAPERS

The West of England and South Wales Women's History Network — 10th Anniversary Conference

Women, Health, and Welfare

The regional Women's History Network is celebrating its tenth annual conference at the University of the West of England, Bristol, on Saturday, June 26th 2004.

Individual papers or panels are invited from academics, postgraduate students and independent scholars. We encourage submissions on a wide range of topics related to women, health, and welfare in any place or period.

Abstracts of no more than 300 words should be sent to Katherine Holden or Fiona Reid or at :
Faculty of Humanities, Languages and Social Science
University of the West of England, Bristol
St Matthias Campus, Fishponds, Bristol BS16 2JP

Please E-mail abstracts to Katherine.Holden@uwe.ac.uk or Fiona.Reid@uwe.ac.uk

The deadline for abstracts is **Friday, 12th March 2004**. When submitting your abstract, please provide your name, preferred mailing address, E-mail address and phone number.

Courtauld History of Dress Association (CHODA) Annual Conference

Call for Papers: DRESS AND GENDER

Friday 2nd and Saturday 3rd July 2004, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London

From the cod-piece to the corset, dress has been key to the construction of gender in specific historical contexts. This conference seeks to re-visit the relationship between dress and gender in history, a line of scholarly inquiry that benefits from increasingly sophisticated and nuanced research.

The conference is open in terms of historical and geographical focus and papers are solicited that draw on a wide variety of approaches and address a range of issues. Topics may include: the sartorial performance and display of masculinity and femininity; the place of gender in consumerism and the feminization of fashion; the gendered framework of the clothing trades, including the participation of women as makers and suppliers.

Please send a one-page abstract plus CV by Friday 19th December 2003 to: Dr. Sophie White, Gender Studies Program, University of Notre Dame, 325 O'Shaughnessy Hall, Notre Dame, IN 46556, U.S.A.
Fax: (+1) 574 631 4268; Email: white.131@nd.edu

Women and Education in Britain, 1800-1920: Extending the Boundaries

University College and Merton College Oxford, 9th September 2004

Recent scholarship has considerably expanded our knowledge and understanding of the history of women's education in Britain in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, shedding light on movements to 'reform' and develop girls' schooling and higher education and uncovering the ambiguous legacies of pioneering teachers and lecturers. This conference seeks to build on such work by approaching the theme from a variety of historical perspectives. It hopes to investigate the broader cultural, economic and political dimensions to educational reform. Proposals for papers are particularly invited on the following themes:

Politics and religion: Whilst attention has, to date, been focused upon the work of liberalism and dissent, what part did other traditions - such as conservatism, Anglicanism and Judaism play in both female pedagogy and the development of female education?

Women's education and cultural capital: How has the educated woman been perceived, constructed and represented? How has the extension of women's education affected the formation of elites?

The economics of women's education: How have financial issues shaped the demand or lack of demand for women's education? How has investment in women's education been perceived and managed? How have financial questions affected the development of female educational institutions?

Abstracts (up to 500 words) should be sent by 26 March 2004 to: Christina de Bellaigue, Merton College, Oxford, OX1 4JD Christina.debellaigue@merton.ox.ac.uk or to: Kathryn Gleadle, University College, Oxford, OX1 4BH Kathryn.gleadle@univ.ox.ac.uk

The editors regret that, due to lack of space in a very full issue, some conference reports and notices have had to be omitted. These will appear, where appropriate, in the next issue of the *Women's History Magazine*.

STEERING COMMITTEE NEWS

The Steering Committee said goodbye to five members whose 4-year term of office ended at the Conference: Megan Doolittle, Ann Hughes, Jane Potter, Stephanie Spencer, and Tessa Stone. Debbi Simonton, who joined the Steering Committee in 1998 and who was co-opted to organize Contested Terrains, also stepped down.

Five current members were re-elected for a further two years service: Yvonne Brown, Krista Cowman, Sue Johnson, Carmen Mangion, and Fiona Reid.

The Committee also welcomed five new members:

Sarah Aiston, who graduated from the University of Liverpool in 2000, became a member of a Spencer Foundation funded research team, concerned with exploring the history of governing ladies from 1870 to 1997. In 2001 Sarah took a full time research position at the National Foundation of Educational Research in the Department of Policy and Evaluation Studies, where she conducted research for numerous sponsors, such as the Department for Education and Skills, and on all areas of educational policy. Very recently, Sarah has taken a lectureship in the School of Education at the University of Durham. Her research area is the history of women in higher education post -1945.

Mary Joannou grew up in a Greek Cypriot family in London and completed her postgraduate qualifications as a mature student, embarking on her Ph.D. at the age of 38, having taught women's history classes for the WEA. She attended the very first meeting of the WHN and has been active in many women's community projects. A Senior Lecturer in English and Women's Studies at Anglia Polytechnic University, Mary is interested in literature, history and working-class writing. She has just completed an essay on Nancy Cunard and the black communities in Liverpool in the 1940s and 1950s and a new critical edition of Ellen Wilkinson's novel *Clash*.

Sue Innes is a researcher and writer and vice-convenor of the Scottish Women's History Network. Between 1975 and 1995 she worked in journalism, returning to university in 1993 and completing her Ph.D. at the University of Edinburgh in 1998 on women's political history 1900– 1939. She is development officer with *Engender*, the Scottish women's information and campaigning group and a part-time lecturer in feminist theory, Department of Politics, University of Glasgow. She is co-editor of the *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* (Edinburgh University Press, forthcoming 2005). She has also published *Making it Work: Women, Change and Challenge* (Chatto & Windus, 1995), an examination of changes in women's lives in Britain since 1975.

Charlotte Sands is doing a Ph.D. at London Metropolitan University on the Ford Sewing Machinists' strike in 1968 for Equal Pay and the extent to which it affected the introduction of Equal Pay legislation, the trade union movement and the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement in Britain. Her more general interest is in the relationship between gender, race and class in 19th through 21st century women's history, especially women involved in movements for social change.

Siohban Tolland is a part-time Assistant Disability Adviser at the University of Aberdeen, and is equally part of the Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen, writing up her doctoral thesis on Mary Brooksbank and the feminization of Socialism in early to mid twentieth century Dundee. Her research methods are inter-disciplinary, but her academic interests are mainly working-class women in the 1930s, women in the British communist movement, as well as children and politics in early twentieth century Dundee.

Please note the ballot paper enclosed with this magazine. It is important that you, the membership, vote to enable the Steering Committee to continue to represent your best interests. The form should be completed and returned (as per instructions on the form) as soon as possible. We thank you for taking the time to do this.

SUBMISSION DEADLINES FOR ARTICLES FOR INCLUSION IN WHN MAGAZINE

Deadlines as follows:

Summer 2004: 1 April

Autumn 2004: 1 August

Spring 2005: 1 November

**Submissions by e-mail 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 current and back numbers of this magazine (plus WHN T-shirts!) to sell at conferences on a sale or return basis. Please contact Joyce Walker by e-mail: 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

Nicola Pullin, Email: Nicola.Pullin@rhul.ac.uk

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	£10	Overseas minimum	£30
Low income (*under £16,000 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 : History Department, University of Hull, Hull, HU6 7RX, UK.**