Beyond the Reproductive Body
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NOTES

List of Abbreviations

ESRO  East Sussex Record Office
RWSH  West Sussex, East Hampshire, and Chichester Infirmary
       (the Royal West Sussex Hospital)
UCH   University College Hospital
UCLL  University College London Library
WRPLA West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum
WSRO  West Sussex Record Office
WYRO  West Yorkshire Record Office

Introduction

1. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH/MR/1/16, Elliotson, 118.


10. Trade and transport, and the professional and service sectors made up the rest of the national income. Mathias, *First Industrial Nation*, 446.


12. Mary Poovey addresses several of these themes in *Making a Social Body*.


21. Brad Mudge has pointed out to me that the sexualized body of the prostitute was a third “body” in discussions of women, health, and work. This prostitute’s body clearly informed fears about the morality of women’s work, but was less present in constructing the relationship between health and work. See Bradford Mudge, *The Whore’s Story: Women, Pornography, and the British Novel, 1684–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1988); and Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*.


32. Clark, Struggle for the Breeches.

33. Historians of Britain continue to debate the usefulness of the term class to describe nineteenth-century working people’s experiences. Class, in the Marxist sense of the word, suggests an identity built through the experience of common interests (particularly in relationship to labor) and privileges this experience as the core of sociopolitical consciousness. A classic presentation of this story is E. P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York: Vintage Books, 1966). The most powerful critique comes from historians who have adopted the “linguistic turn,” claiming that language shapes experience and that class assumes an essential experience that does not exist. Additionally, class as a universal category does not take into account the varying factors that shape experience, such as gender and race. In my analysis, I accept


37. Ibid.


42. Ibid., 85–86.

Chapter 1


2. As Maurice Thomas has noted, in 1802 with the Health and Morals of Apprentices Act, “the principle of State Intervention in industry had been established” (The Early Factory Legislation: A Study in Legislative and Administrative Evolution [Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1970], 209). From that moment on, Parliament took a special interest in the welfare of children—and, later, “young persons”—in factories, which resulted in various statutes for the protection of children in industry (with varying degrees of efficacy) in 1819, 1825, 1829, 1831, 1833, and 1834. In the context of the inquiries, children are defined as persons under thirteen years of age, while young persons are defined as persons between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. Although these formal definitions exist in the investigative reports and in the laws that resulted from them, the language in the texts themselves is sloppy; it is often difficult to distinguish whether persons discussed are officially children or young persons.


4. See Rose, “Protective Labor Legislation.”


9. For further discussion of these issues, see Ward, *Factory Movement*; and Gray, *Factory Question*.


11. Peterson, *Medical Profession*, 4. It was indeed medical men who were involved with issues of professionalism.


20. Angela John attributes this association to cultural notions that positioned women and children as those “in need of protection,” as well as to women’s and children’s shared lack of the vote (Unequal Opportunities, 15). At this time, however, the vast majority of men lacked the vote as well. John’s notion of a protective ideology seems a more viable explanation in this case. For further discussion of gendered employment legislation and laissez-faire ideology, see Rose, “Protective Labor Legislation.”


26. Chapter 4 further explores this conglomeration of medical theories.
29. William Buchan, Domestic Medicine, or A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Disease by Regimen and Simple Medicines (London: S. A. Oddy, 1813; originally published 1769), 326.
32. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, q15.
33. Reports of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, 1843 [510] XII, 133. Hereafter noted as Reports on Agriculture.
34. Ibid., 135.
35. As we will see in chapter 5, wet and cold were considered particularly damaging to women’s health.
37. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f175.
39. Reports on Agriculture, 190.
40. See Sayer, Women of the Fields, 38. A significant exception to these generally positive representations of the lives of agricultural women was found in the context of gang labor in agriculture, a system of subcontracting in which groups of workers of both sexes were hired out to do agricultural jobs across large distances, for poor wages, under
an overseer. Investigators universally condemned the supposed moral degeneracy and physical hardship of the gang system. By the 1860s, when the second investigation into the labor of women and children in agriculture was undertaken, the positive image of agricultural labor had faded and been replaced by images of abusive gang labor. Thus, the strict rhetorical dichotomy between health/country and disease/town began to break down, at least for women, by the latter part of the nineteenth century. On changing ideas of rural women’s work, see Pinchbeck, Women Workers; Sayer, Women of the Fields; and Nicola Verdon, Rural Women Workers in Nineteenth-Century England: Gender, Work, and Wages (Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell Press, 2002).

42. See for example, Clark, Struggle for the Breeches; and Rose, Limited Livelihoods.
44. RC Mines, part II, 8.
45. Ibid., 188.
46. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, A5.
47. Ibid., A11.
48. Anna Clark discusses changes in middle-class views about poor women’s employment in Struggle for the Breeches. She argues that until the middle of the nineteenth century, political economists saw poor women’s work as virtuous. Similarly, in The First Industrial Woman, Deborah Valenze examines the ways women’s work was devalued with industrialization.
49. SC Children’s Employment, 589.
54. SC Children’s Employment, 498.
55. Ibid., 519.
56. On the positions of medical men testifying before the Select Committee, see Gray, “Medical Men.”
58. Ibid., 278.
59. Ibid., 279.
60. John Forbes, Alexander Tweedie, and John Conolly, eds., The Cyclopaedia of Practical Medicine Comprising Treatises on the Nature and Treatment of Diseases, Materia Medica and Therapeutics, Medical Jurisprudence, etc. etc., vol. 2, revised with additions by
Robley Dunglison (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1854), 308. Likewise, after menopause, women were thought to be more like men with regard to their health.

61. SC Children's Employment, 566.
62. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, C28.
63. Ibid., A11.
65. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f233.
66. Ibid., A11.
67. Ibid., A11.
71. I want to thank Susan Lawrence for initially drawing my attention to these contradictions.
73. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f58.
74. Ibid., e52.
75. Ibid.
76. See, for example, Mort, *Dangerous Sexualities*.
77. SC Children's Employment, 544–45.
78. Ibid., 503–4.
79. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f57.
80. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, Q13.
82. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, Q65.
83. This association between behavior, physical appearance, and gender recalls early modern theories that held that women could become more masculine by following masculine pursuits or spending a lot of time with men. See Gail Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993).
84. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, e52.
85. SC Children's Employment, 505.
86. Ibid., 563.
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88. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f232.
89. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, Q13.
90. See, for example, SC Children’s Employment, 503–4; Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in Factories, Minutes of Evidence, Reports of Medical Commissioners, 1833 (519), XXI, A3, 72.

Chapter 2

2. The conclusions that came out of the 1838 investigations generally have been examined solely in light of Chadwick’s work of synthesis. I set the 1838 sanitary inquiry within the context of the other public health inquiries undertaken in the 1830s and 1840s. I am interested in the document as a parliamentary investigation and for the medical evidence contained within it. See Mary Poovey, “Domesticity and Class Formation: Chadwick’s 1842 Sanitary Report,” in Making a Social Body: British Cultural Formation, 1830–1864 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 115–31, for an analysis of Chadwick’s motivations and interpretations of gender and class with regard to public health.
5. Ibid., q77.

15. Reports of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, 1843 [510] XII, 150. Hereafter noted as Reports on Agriculture.


17. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, q2.

18. Ibid., 07.

19. "Medical Queries Issued by His Majesty’s Commissioners for Inquiring into the Employment of Children in Factories," Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in Factories, Supplementary Reports (Dr. Bisset Hawkins), 1834 (167) XX, D3, 229.


21. Ibid., D3, 14.

22. Ibid., D3, 3–5.

23. Select Committee on the Health of Large Towns and Populous Districts, 1840 (384) XI, 73.


25. Reports on Agriculture, 244.


27. Ibid., 376.

28. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f178; LR Sanitary Condition, 208.

29. LR Sanitary Condition, 211.

30. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, B17.


32. Ibid., 68.

33. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, C16.

34. Reports on Agriculture, 26.

35. RC Mines, part I, 806.

36. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f180.

37. Reports on Agriculture, 27.

38. Ibid., 244.


40. Ibid., emphasis in original.


44. Clark also makes this point with reference to Chartists’ use of a “rhetoric of domesticity” to bolster their political and economic claims. See *Struggle for the Breeches*, 197–219.

45. Jane Humphries, “‘The Most Free from Objection’: The Sexual Division of

46. Valverde, “‘Giving the Female a Domestic Turn.’”


50. Ibid., 320.


53. Wally Seccombe has argued that before the late nineteenth century, neither male nor female workers supported a male breadwinner wage, but rather favored women’s employment. Seccombe writes that “with the spread of the factory system, working men complained that it took remunerative work away from women at home.” *Weathering the Storm: Working-Class Families from the Industrial Revolution to the Fertility Decline* (New York: Verso, 1993), 33. My research shows that working men during this period did adhere to a model of a male breadwinner wage that accepted women’s hidden contributions from home. As I will discuss in chapter 8, women were expected to shift their employment patterns around the female lifecycle and family needs.


58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., 31.

60. Ibid.

61. With regard to women interviewed for the 1833 Commission into Children’s Employment, Carol Morgan concluded that “women seemed to accept their working
conditions and particularly the hours of labour,” although she argues that this evidence
needs to be treated with caution as a result of intimidation by factory owners. After the
passage of the Factory Act of 1844, however, Morgan locates a shift in which women
increasingly supported shorter hours. “Women, Work, and Consciousness in the Mid-
Nineteenth-Century Cotton Industry,” Social History 17, no. 1 (January 1992), 28,
34–35.
62. BDA, DB27, vol. 1/17, 1, “Petition to the Honourable the Commons of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament Assembled,” n.d.
63. BDA, DB27, vol. 2/37, 2, “The Ten Hours’ Act Defeated!” February 1850.
64. Rose, Limited Livelihoods, 145.
the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science (1859), compiled in J. T.
67. For an excellent discussion of gendered protective legislation, see, for example,
Sally J. Kenney, For Whose Protection? Reproductive Hazards and Exclusionary Policies in

Chapter 3

1. This chapter is based on my article “Engendering Relief: Women, Ablebodied-
ness, and the New Poor Law in Early Victorian England,” Journal of Women’s History 11,
2. Jane Long, Conversations in Cold Rooms: Women, Work, and Poverty in Nine-
3. The Poor Law has occupied historians for many years. For overviews of the
debates, see Anthony Brundage, The English Poor Laws, 1700–1930 (New York: Palgrave,
2002); Anne Digby, The Poor Law in Nineteenth-Century England and Wales (London:
Historical Association, 1982); and Michael Rose, The Relief of Poverty, 1834–1914, 2nd
ed. (London: Macmillan, 1986). Some important work of the last twenty years on the
New Poor Law and its effect on the poor includes Lynn Hollen Lees, The Solidarities of
Strangers: The English Poor Laws and the People, 1700–1948 (New York: Cambridge Uni-
versity Press, 1998); Anne Digby, Pauper Palaces (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul,
1978); Derek Fraser, ed., The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century (New York: St.
Martin’s Press, 1976); Michael Rose, ed., The Poor and the City: The English Poor Law in
Its Urban Context, 1834–1914 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1985); Anthony
Brundage, The Making of the New Poor Law: The Politics of Inquiry, Enactment, and
Implementation, 1832–1839 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1978);
Peter Wood, Poverty and the Workhouse in Victorian Britain (Wolfeboro Falls, N.H.: Sut-
ton Publishing, 1991); and Felix Driver, Power and Pauperism: The Workhouse System,
4. Digby, Poor Law, 32–33.
5. Pat Thane, “Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England,”


8. WSRO, MP3706, Michael A. H. Gowler, “Poor Relief in Bognor, 1790–1840” (Bognor Regis Local History Society, n.d.), 19.

9. Green, *From Artisans to Paupers*, 215. See also Digby, *Poor Law; Rose, Relief of Poverty;* and Fraser, *New Poor Law,* among others.


15. Ablebodiedness, as Paul Deslandes pointed out to me, was also a racialized category that positioned various colonial peoples differently with regard to the ability of the body to work. See, for example, Thomas Carlyle, “Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question,” *Fraser’s Magazine* 40 (December 1849): 670–79.


17. Ibid., 31.


23. For further discussion of women’s applications for Poor Law assistance, see Long, Conversations in Cold Rooms, 121–33.
25. WSRO, Par 95/12/1, West Grinstead Vestry Minutes, 20 January 1835, 17 February 1835, and 14 April 1835.
26. Emily K. Abel has illustrated these relationships in the context of her examination of the New York Charity Organization Society. She writes that “ill health was one of the few causes of poverty the COS deemed acceptable, while ‘able-bodied’ adults without work constituted a high proportion of the unworthy.” Abel, “Valuing Care: Turn-of-the-Century Conflicts between Charity Workers and Women Clients,” Journal of Women’s History 10 (Autumn 1998): 34. I would like to thank Leila Rupp for drawing my attention to this article.
29. East Sussex Record Office (ESRO), Par 237/13/1, Applications for Relief, April 1839.
30. ESRO, Par 237/13/1, Applications for Relief, September 1839.
31. ESRO, HOOK 22/10/2, Letters from the Poor.
32. WSRO, Par 95/38/1, Overseers Disbursements, Parish of West Grinstead, 1834–35.
33. London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), P90/PAN1/371, St. Pancras, Middlesex, A List of Settled Poor, 1847.
34. Westminster City Archives (WCA), B1333/40, Overseers’ and Church Wardens’ Minutes, St. Clement Danes, 1836.
36. ESRO, Par 237/13/1, Applications for Relief, June 1839.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., July 1839, my emphasis.
39. WSRO, WG3/4, Applications for Relief, November 1837.
40. Ibid., December 1837.
41. ESRO, Par 237/13/1, August 1839.
42. Ibid.
43. WCA, C1106, October 1837.
44. The Webbs point to another complication in awarding relief to a married woman with an able-bodied husband; for “in all but specially excepted cases, relief to a woman under coverture was deemed to be relief to her husband, and came within all the various regulations and conditions limiting outdoor relief to the able-bodied man.” Webb and Webb, *English Poor Law Policy*, 39.


47. Ibid., 43.

48. Ibid.

49. ESRO, G7/14/1, Newhaven Union Workhouse Admission and Discharges, 1836–46. The registers that I examined for London and the West Riding do not contain as much information as to what caused a woman to go into a workhouse.


51. WSRO, WG7/31/3, Midhurst Union Workhouse Admission and Discharge Register, 1842–44.

52. Ibid.

53. ESRO, Par 237/13/1, Applications for Relief, October 1839; G8/19/4, Ablebodied Workhouse [Brede].

54. Ibid.

55. ESRO, Par 237/13/1, Applications for Relief, July 1840.

56. WSRO, WG3/4, Applications for Relief, October 1837.

57. Ibid., January 1839.


60. Ibid., 229.

**Chapter 4**


2. Ibid., 50.


5. The UCH patient records (UCH/MR/1) that survive are sixty-two inpatient casebooks from 1834 to 1851. The casebooks are organized by the attending physician or surgeon and divided by the sex of the patients. I examined twenty of the twenty-six extant female patient volumes containing the cases of 2,439 inpatient admissions. In each institutional sample to be discussed, some of the cases I am counting as admissions are actually readmissions. As these were not differentiated in any systematic fashion, I have included as “admissions” all new entries on a particular patient. In some books, a patient’s readmission is included with her original admission. I have counted these cases only once.

6. For the West Sussex, East Hampshire, and Chichester Infirmary (RWSH) for the period 1834–50, twenty-seven inpatient casebooks and twenty-one outpatient casebooks survive. I sampled twenty-five volumes, of which six contained the records of surgical inpatients, three of surgical outpatients, eleven of medical inpatients, and five of medical outpatients, making a total of 2,810 cases. As with UCH, each physician and surgeon had his own casebooks; but each book from the Chichester Infirmary contains the cases of both male and female patients. The casebooks are often very cursory with regard to biographical information about the patients, so I supplemented them with details garnered from patient registers that survived from the same period. Although the registers fully complement the inpatient casebooks for the years 1834–50, the registers for surgical outpatients cover only the years 1840–49, and for medical outpatients, the years 1841–50. Thus my analysis is more complete with regard to inpatients.

7. The West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA) had its patient records divided among male and female casebooks, of which almost the entire run survive for the whole of the nineteenth century (C/85). Six large female casebooks, containing the records of 1,489 patient admissions, cover the early Victorian years (1834–52).

8. Although not featured in this study, my research of the case records of Dr. Latham at St. Bartholomew’s Hospital in London (MR15, 1826–41); case records of Dr. Todd and Mr. Fergusson at King’s College Hospital in London (KCH/CN/1–39, 1840–53 and KCH/CN/61–72, 1843–52); Case Notes vols. 4 and 5 at St. George’s Hospital in London; and case records of Dr. Ormerod of the Royal East Sussex Hospital (HB/62/3–4, 1853–56) held at the East Sussex Record Office in Lewes confirm my overall analysis.


11. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH, “Annual Reports,” 1833–47,


13. There is a growing literature on nineteenth-century British asylums and insanity, and particularly pauper lunacy. For the most recent, see Smith, “Cure, Comfort and Safe Custody”; and Peter Bartlett, The Poor Law of Lunacy: The Administration of Pauper Lunatics in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England (London: Leicester University Press, 1999).


18. This is especially the case in Barbara Ehrenreich and Deidre English, Complaints and Disorders: The Sexual Politics of Sickness, Glass Mountain Pamphlet no. 2 (New York: Feminist Press, 1973); and Ehrenreich and English, For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts’ Advice to Women (New York: Anchor Books, 1978). Much of the contemporary feminist literature on women and medicine also presents women as victims of a professional medicine that has stripped birth and healing power from women. See, for example, studies of reproductive technologies by Barbara Katz Rothman, In Labor: Women and Power in the Birthplace (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991);
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22. UCLL, UCH/MIN/1/1, Minutes of the Medical Committee, November 1834 to December 1848. The minutes indicate the existence of a regulation book for clerks and dressers, but this book no longer exists. Subsequently, I will use the term clerk to refer to both clerks and dressers.

23. These are my own labels. Throughout the casebooks, the clerks sometimes used labels for various sections—these included history, medical history, heredity, previous illnesses, present symptoms, and treatment. These labels were used unsystematically, however.

24. Although it does not address the formulaic language used in the cases to indicate a prescription, J. Worth Estes, *Dictionary of Protopharmacology: Therapeutic Practices, 1700–1850* (Canton, Mass.: Science History Publications, 1990), has been very helpful for understanding medications and their uses.

25. In an 1841 publication, Pliny Earle noted that the director kept a “medical journal, in which he places a history of every case admitted to the Asylum.” *A Visit to 13 Asylums for the Insane* (Philadelphia: J. Dobson, 1841), 11.

26. The asylum accepted a few nonpauper patients when there was room. These, however, were discharged when the space was needed for a pauper.

27. The records do not make clear how this process of transfer was accomplished, or what specifically made Poor Law authorities choose to transfer a woman from a workhouse to the asylum. Presumably, the more uncontrollable an inmate became, the more likely she would be a candidate for the asylum. Transfers from private asylums occurred because a patient, her family, and sometimes her friends ran out of funds to support private care. For more on the relationship between workhouses and asylums, see Bartlett, *Poor Law of Lunacy*; and Smith, “Cure, Comfort, and Safe Custody.”


29. Ibid., 211.

30. Although I am not as skeptical as Joan Scott about our ability as historians to understand past experiences outside of language, I am sensitive to the challenges of


33. The occupations I have included as servants are cook, domestic servant, charwoman, housemaid, maid of all work, housekeeper, kitchen maid, lady’s maid, servant, service, servant of all work, undermaid, and nursemaid.

34. Although there were separate hospitals specifically for prostitutes with venereal disease, and venereal disease itself was a reason for exclusion from the hospital, this number indicates that there were some exceptions.


36. The occupations of the male patients at UCH clustered in trades such as tailoring, shoemaking, brushmaking, and the like, and in service positions such as footman, stableman, and porter. There were also sailors and day laborers, as well as shopkeepers.

37. Additionally, a very small percentage (0.5 percent) of the women said that they were separated.

38. Fissell, Patients, Power and the Poor.

39. The percentages are 6.3 and 3.4, respectively.


41. Servants accounted for 178, needleworkers for 64, and laundresses for 12 of the patients.

42. There is the vague category “domestic,” which most likely means domestic service, but could also mean domestic duties. Eighteen patients’ occupations were listed as domestic; I have figured this number into neither the service nor the household categories of labor.

43. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 202.


arguments in *Charitable Knowledge*, 12–19. Lawrence’s discussion of clinical medicine in the late eighteenth century emphasizes its complexities, challenging the more traditional binary accounts of medicine at this time.

46. For a good introduction to the basics of humoral medicine, see Nancy Sirasi, “Physiological and Anatomical Knowledge,” chapter 4 in *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 78–114.

47. On this development, see, for example, Foucault, *Birth of the Clinic*; and Erwin Ackerknecht, *Medicine at the Paris Hospital, 1794–1848* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1967).


49. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson.
50. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson, 28.
51. WSRO, RWSH 125, Tyacke, 168.
52. Fissell, “Disappearance of the Patient’s Narrative,” 103. Susan Lawrence explains this increasing use of “ancient” languages in the eighteenth century as part of the development of a medical community of educated gentlemen. She explains that “for some hospital authors, such conventions [appealing to classical authors and using Latin and Greek in case writing] were merely stylistic ones, ways to embellish their writing with appropriate quotations and rhythms. Throughout the century, in fact, practitioners dropped Latin or Greek tags into their medical work as flags waving for educated readers’ appreciation.” *Charitable Knowledge*, 225–26.

53. For a fascinating analysis of the language of diagnosis and patient-doctor negotiations, see Paula A. Treichler, “Escaping the Sentence: Diagnosis and Discourse in ‘The Yellow Wallpaper,’” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 3, nos. 1–2 (Spring/Fall 1984): 61–77. Treichler’s analysis is suggestive regarding how female patients’ expressions of their ailments are read by male practitioners and how female patients’ understandings of their illnesses subvert official diagnoses.


55. Ibid., 415.
56. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 45.
57. WSRO, RWSH 165, Dodd and Elliott, 108.
58. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 68.
60. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 107.
61. WSRO, RWSH 119, Forbes, 153, emphasis in original.
64. Ibid., 43.
65. West Yorkshire Record Office (WYRO), West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA), C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 400.
66. WYRO, WRPLA C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 305.
67. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 170.
68. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 176.
70. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/56, Thomson, 41.
71. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 56.
72. Ibid., 37.
73. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 12,
74. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/24, Thomson, 3.
75. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/1, Liston, 144, 145.
76. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 3.
78. For a discussion of the blurred lines between medical relief and general relief, see Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor*.
79. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 189, 179.
80. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 172.
81. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 42–43.
82. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 302.
83. Ibid., 296.
84. This tension became clear during discussions in my Fall 2001 Gender, Science, and Medicine class.

**Chapter 5**

4. Ibid.


9. Separating the medical and surgical cases, leg ulcers composed 14 percent of the surgical cases, whereas rheumatism made up only 6.4 percent of the medical cases.


12. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 46.

13. Ibid.


17. See, for example, Showalter, Female Malady; Martha Evans Noel, Fits and Starts: A Genealogy of Hysteria in Modern France (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991); Patricia O’Brien, “The Kleptomania Diagnosis: Bourgeois Women and Theft in Late Nineteenth-Century France,” Journal of Social History 17 (Fall 1983): 65–77; and Elaine Abelson, When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). There has also been a good deal of work on the figure of the madwoman in literature. See, for example, the classic by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1979); Helen Small, Love’s Madness: Medicine, the Novel, and Female Insanity (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996); and Claire Kahane, Passions of the Voice: Hysteria, Narrative, and the Speaking Woman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).


20. WYRO, West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA), C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 12–13, 15. The term catamenia was frequently used to refer to the menstrual discharge.


22. Ibid., 133.

23. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 125.

24. West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), RWSH 183, Tyacke.

25. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 115.


27. WSRO, RWSH 180, Forbes, 191.
29. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/29, Thompson, 104.
30. WSRO, RWSH 123, Tyacke, 1.
33. WSRO, RWSH 120, Forbes, 331.
34. WSRO, RWSH 123, Tyacke, 247.
35. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 41.
36. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 92.
37. Ibid., 120, 96.
38. WSRO, RWSH 183, Tyacke, 222.
39. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 105.
40. WSRO, RWSH 121, Tyacke, 109.
42. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 135.
43. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 129.
44. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/51, Williams, 123.
45. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson, 86.
46. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 54.
47. Ibid., 46.
51. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson, 28.
52. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/5, UCH/MR/1/17, UCH/MR/1/33; all male casebooks of Dr. Thomson.
56. Ibid., 7.
57. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 75.
58. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson, 15.
59. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 7.
60. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 359.
63. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 129.
64. Ibid., 152.
65. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 20.
66. The one exception to this might be Betty Harrison, an asylum patient who was attacked with bouts of insanity “after each menstrual period, and has been for the last six years.” WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 90.
68. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 30.
70. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 112.
71. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 323.
74. Barlow, Manual of the Practice of Medicine, 725.
75. Ibid.
77. In the forty-six of the ninety-one Sussex cases of chlorosis where the patients’ residence was noted, only six were women from Chichester, which would be considered a “town” in the West Sussex sample. Anemia was diagnosed for sixty cases in the UCH sample; perhaps some of these were actually cases of chlorosis. Yet this still is not a satisfactory analysis of the divergence, for anemia was diagnosed in thirty-four of the Sussex cases as well.
78. WSRO, RWSH 126, Tyacke, 104; RWSH 125, Tyacke, 308, 320.
79. WSRO, RWSH 180, Forbes, 195.
80. WSRO, RWSH 179, Forbes, 123.
81. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 93.
85. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 128.
86. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 316.
87. WSRO, RWSH 120, Forbes, 120.
88. WSRO, RWSH 144, M’Carogher, 195.
89. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 99.
90. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 50.
91. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 131.
92. WSRO, RWSH 144, M’Carogher, 155.
93. WSRO, RWSH 119, Forbes, 201.
94. WSRO, RWSH 144, M’Carogher, 247.
95. WSRO, RWSH 125, Tyacke, 89.
96. WSRO, RWSH 165, Dodd and Elliott, 224.
98. Ibid., 37.
100. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 331.
101. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/45, Thomson, 73.
102. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 51.
103. WSRO, RWSH 185, Tyacke, 300.
104. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 360.
105. WSRO, RWSH 123, Tyacke, 162.
106. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/18, Thomson, 42.
108. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 44.
110. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 161.
111. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 25.
112. WSRO, RWSH 125, Tyacke, 49.
113. WSRO, RWSH 142, M’Carogher, 40.
115. Ibid., 24.

**Chapter 6**

1. Appendix to the First Report of the Commissioners Inquiring into the Employment of Children in Mines and Manufactories (Mines), 1842 [382] XV, part II, H10,
emphasis in original.


3. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 177 and 181. There are many references in this case volume and others to the climate of the patients’ residences.

4. Ibid., 240.


8. Burnett, Social History of Housing, 56.

9. Ibid., 57.


12. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 258.

13. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 10.


15. West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), RWSH 119, Forbes, 81, 97. See also RWSH 180, Forbes, 320.

16. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 413.

17. WSRO, RWSH 121, Tyacke, 48.

18. Mary Poovey has argued that the public health reformer Edwin Chadwick’s entire plan for sanitary improvement was built upon “representing the working-class life as primarily domestic,” which simultaneously served to depoliticize working-class


22. Ibid.

23. Ibid., Lancashire, 273–74.

24. Ibid., Sussex and Kent, 46.

25. Ibid., 49.


29. RC Metropolis, 4.

30. Select Committee on the Health of Towns, Minutes of Evidence (384) XI, 1840, 28. Hereafter noted as SC Health of Towns.


32. RC Metropolis, 12.

33. Mary Poovey has shown that in the case of Edwin Chadwick, sanitary reformers relied on the condition of women to judge the condition of residences, and judged the home to be the seat of disease. Poovey, “Domesticity and Class Formation,” 118.

34. RC Large Towns, 1844, 71.


37. See UCLL, UCH/MR/1/36, Williams; UCH/1/MR/1/41, Taylor; and UCH/1/MR/45, Thomson.

38. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/36, Williams, 26; UCH/MR/1/45, Thomson, 245, 249.

39. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 56.

40. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 12.

41. West Yorkshire Record Office (WYRO), West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA), C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 436.


44. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 108.
45. WSRO, RWSH 119, Forbes, 18.
47. WSRO, RWSH 141, M‘Carogher, 170.
48. WSRO, RWSH 107, Duke, 335.
52. Ibid., 64.
53. Included in this number is insanity attributed to poverty, business failure, scarcity of work, distressed circumstances, and misfortune.
55. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/47, Taylor, 222.
57. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/13, Thomson, 105.
58. WSRO, RWSH 104, Duke, 272.
59. WSRO, RWSH 106, Duke, 112.
60. WSRO, RWSH 180, Forbes, 221.
61. SC Health of Towns, 34.
62. Ibid., 35.
66. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 258.
67. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/36, Williams, 36.
68. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/13, Thomson, 138.
69. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 136.
70. WSRO, RWSH 119, Forbes, 225.
71. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 426.
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3. West Yorkshire Record Office (WYRO), West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA), C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 380, 392.
4. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 82.
5. West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), RWSH 178, Forbes, 224.
7. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/29, Thomson, 43.
8. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/51, Williams, 30.
9. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 119.
11. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 170.
12. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 140.
13. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 57.
14. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 258.
16. In the Sussex cases there are rare mentions of relatives, and no cases in which the cause of illness was attributed to emotional attachments. Perhaps the clerks did not ask questions about familial relationships to the extent that the medical attendants in London and the West Riding did.
17. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/36, Williams, 128.
18. Ibid., 154.
19. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 150.
20. As with familial relationships, the Sussex cases give little insight into the spousal or love relationships of the patients.
21. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 300; C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 228.
22. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/46, Liston, 163.
23. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 248.
24. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 43.
25. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 142.
26. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 35.
27. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 519.
29. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 160.
31. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 444.
32. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 100.
33. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 329.
35. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 400.
36. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 40.

39. I want to thank Myra Rich for bringing these absences to my attention.
40. According to F. B. Smith, “In 1847, the first year for which we have reasonably firm figures [of maternal mortality], over 3,200 childbirth deaths in England and Wales were reported to the Registrar-General.” This translates into six maternal deaths per thousand live births. Smith argues, however, that these statistics underrepresent the actual numbers, for deaths during childbirth were underreported. *The People’s Health, 1830–1910* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 13.
41. According to F. B. Smith, “In 1847, the first year for which we have reasonably firm figures [of maternal mortality], over 3,200 childbirth deaths in England and Wales were reported to the Registrar-General.” This translates into six maternal deaths per thousand live births. Smith argues, however, that these statistics underrepresent the actual numbers, for deaths during childbirth were underreported. *The People’s Health, 1830–1910* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1979), 13.
42. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 288.
43. WSRO, RWSH 144, M’Carogher, 169.
44. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 120.
45. Ibid., 188.
46. According to Barbara Thompson, “The Annual Reports of the Registrar General revealed that . . . in the 1850s the national average of infant mortality was 150 births per 1,000 births.” This number was significantly higher in some of the new industrial centers, and particularly in the “seven principal town registration districts of Yorkshire” [where] 187 in every 1,000 babies died within a year of birth. In the Bradford registration district 200 out of every 1,000 babies born failed to survive their first year—33 per cent above the national average.” “Infant Mortality in Nineteenth-Century Bradford,” in *Urban Disease and Mortality in Nineteenth-Century England*, ed. Robert Woods and John Woodward (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1984), 125.
47. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 148. Presumably, the eighth child died of a different illness.
48. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, 32.
49. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 166.
50. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 154.
51. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 314.
52. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 158. See also 174.
53. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 206.
54. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 44.
55. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/56, Thomson, 90.
56. WSRO, RWSH 165, Dodd and Elliott, 374.
57. Twenty-one women in the UCH cases and two women in the Sussex cases attributed their venereal disease to their husbands.
59. See below, 145–46.
62. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 416.
63. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/36, Williams, 229.
64. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/29, Thomson, 25.
65. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 32.
66. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/1, Liston, 109.
67. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 290; WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 515.
68. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 98.
69. Anna Clark, “Domesticity and the Problem of Wifebeating in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Working-Class Culture, Law, and Politics,” in Everyday Violence in Britain,
Notes


70. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 10.
71. The Annual Report for 1848, for example, shows eighteen male cases of insanity attributed to intemperance, compared with only three female cases. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/108, “Annual Report,” 1849.
72. UCML, UCH/MR/1/56, Thomson, 100.
73. UCML, UCH/MR/1/58, Taylor, n.p.
74. UCML, UCH/MR/1/46, Liston, 72.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 72–73.
77. Clark, Struggle for the Breeches, 262. Similarly, women were blamed for rape. There is only one case of sexual violence noted explicitly in the casebooks. Mary Knowles, a seventeen-year-old spindle maker from Nether Hallam in the West Riding, had tried to commit suicide—“the cause assigned is an attempted rape upon her,” WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 498.
78. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 394.
79. UCML, UCH/MR/1/51, Williams, 15.
80. UCML, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 40.
81. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 355.
82. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 529.
83. UCML, UCH/MR/1/45, Thomson, 41.
84. Only one of the Sussex cases that noted diagnosis attributed an injury or illness to attempted suicide. Attempted suicide, however, was a regular feature in the asylum cases, and was linked to the causes for insanity.
85. UCML, UCH/MR/1/8, Thomson, 12.
87. UCML, UCH/MR/1/13, Thomson, 195.
88. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 378–79.
89. Ibid., 440.
90. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 542.
91. Ellen Ross’s Love and Toil, an excellent study of working-class motherhood, shows this interdependence clearly. See also August, Poor Women’s Lives.
92. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 302.
93. Ibid., 304.
94. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 354.
95. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 80.
97. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/846, Female Casebook F6, 230.
98. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 388.
100. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 160.
101. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 448.
102. UCML, UCH/MR/1/27, Williams, 204.
103. WSRO, RWSH 90, Dodd, 245.
104. WSRO, RW SH 93, Elliott, 27.
105. WSRO, RW SH 145, M’Carogher, 243.
106. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 89.
107. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/847, Female Casebook F7, 398.
109. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 162.
110. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 426.
111. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/851, Female Casebook F11, 226.
112. Ibid., 348.

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Notes

5. University College London Library (UCLL), UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 52.
9. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 27.
10. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 40.
13. West Yorkshire Record Office (WYRO), West Riding Pauper Lunatic Asylum (WRPLA), C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 44.
14. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 246.
17. Reports of the Special Assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the Employment of Women and Children in Agriculture, 1843 [510] XII, 183. Hereafter noted as Reports on Agriculture.
18. Ibid., 131.
19. Andrew August offers a brief discussion of the seasonality of London women’s work in Poor Women’s Lives, 94.
21. Ibid., f207.
25. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/45, Thomson, 245.
26. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 44.
27. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/16, Elliotson, 131.
28. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 141.
29. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 35.
30. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 228.
32. Ibid., m28.
33. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, c116.
34. RC Mines, part I, 220.
36. Ibid.
37. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 99.
38. Ibid., 271.
40. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/6, Thomson, 257.
41. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/1, Liston, 17.
42. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/13, Thomson, 29.
43. Chadwick papers, Box 37, Folder 3, #89, University College London. Emphasis in original.
44. Reports on Agriculture, 69.
45. For discussion of the ambiguous location of domestic servants, see Seleski, “Women, Work, and Cultural Change,” 144.
46. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/21, Carswell, 14.
47. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 19.
51. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 76.
52. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/41, Taylor, 271.
Did Not Ask for a Character,” 81–110.
55. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 280.
56. Second Report of the Royal Commission on the Employment of Children in
Factories, Minutes of Evidence, Reports of Medical Commissioners, 1833 (519) XXI,
54. Hereafter noted as RC Children’s Employment, Medical Reports, 1833.
57. Jan Lambertz. “Sexual Harassment in the Nineteenth Century English Cotton
58. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, p15.
59. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, b50.
60. RC Children’s Employment, 1833, Medical Reports, C3, 4.
62. Ibid., 12.
63. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, c107.
64. Reports of District Commissioners for the Royal Commission on the Employ-
ment of Children in Factories, 1833 (450) XX, 13. Hereafter noted as RC Children’s
Employment, 1833.
65. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, b60.
67. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, c9.
68. Ibid., c11.
69. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, 136.
71. Ibid., 148.
73. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/60, Liston, 110.
74. SC Children’s Employment, 150, 153.
75. RC Children’s Employment, 1833, Medical Reports, C3, 5.
76. RC Mines, part I, 845.
77. RC Mines, part II, 122.
78. Ibid., 232.
80. RC Children’s Employment, 1833, Medical Reports, C3, 6.
81. RC Mines, part I, 852.
82. Ibid., 845.
83. Ibid., 249.
84. Ibid., 258.
85. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, d21.
86. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, 125.
87. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, d24.
89. RC Trades and Manufactures, part II, q16.
90. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, c74.
91. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/56, Thomson, 112.
92. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 342.
93. UCLL, UCH/MR1/18, Thomson, 88.
94. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/24, Thomson, 104.
95. Ibid., 39.
96. West Sussex Record Office (WSRO), RWSH 164, Dodd, 221.
97. Ibid., 333.
98. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 430.
99. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/21, Carswell, 70.
101. Ibid., 124.
102. Reports on Agriculture, 134.
103. Ibid., 4.
104. Ibid., 10.
105. Ibid., 66.
106. Ibid., 68.
107. Ibid., 70.
109. WSRO, RWSH 123, Tyacke, 145.
110. WSRO, RWSH 183, Tyacke, 337.
111. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/848, Female Casebook F8, 470.
112. Reports on Agriculture, 6.
115. Ibid., 271.
116. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/22, Liston, 137.
117. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/849, Female Casebook F9, 62.
118. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 22.
119. Ibid., 62.
121. WYRO, WRPLA, C85/850, Female Casebook F10, 281.
123. WSRO, RWSH 185, Tyacke, 54.
124. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 15.
126. WSRO, RWSH 178, Forbes, 306.
127. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/56, Thomson, 128.
128. WSRO, RWSH 125, Tyacke, 282.
129. WSRO, RWSH 145, M’Carogher, 281.
130. WSRO, RWSH 90, Dodd, 301.
131. RC Trades and Manufactures, part I, f205.
132. Ibid., f205–206.
134. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/9, Elliotson, 42.
135. UCLL, UCH/MR/1/37, Taylor, 11.
Conclusion


8. Ibid., 140.