Ingenious Trade

Ingenious Trade recovers the intricate stories of the young women who came to London in the late seventeenth century to earn their own living, most often with the needle, and the mistresses who set up shops and supervised their apprenticeships. Tracking women through city archives, it reveals the extent and complexity of their contracts, training and skills, from adolescence to old age. In contrast to the informal, unstructured and marginalised aspects of women's work, this book uses legal records and guild archives to reconstruct women's negotiations with city regulations and bureaucracy. It shows single women, wives and widows establishing themselves in guilds both alongside and separate to men, in a network that extended from elites to paupers and around the country. Through an intensive and creative archival reconstruction, Laura Gowing recovers the significance of apprenticeship in the lives of girls and women, and puts women's work at the heart of the revolution in worldly goods.

Laura Gowing is Professor of Early Modern History at King's College London, specialising in the history of early modern women, gender, and the body. She is the author of *Domestic Dangers* (1996) and *Common Bodies* (2003) which won prizes from the Society for the Study of Early Modern Women and the American Historical Association (Joan Kelly prize) respectively. She is an editor of *History Workshop Journal*.

Ingenious Trade

Women and Work in Seventeenth-Century London

Laura Gowing King's College London





Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108707701

DOI: 10.1017/9781108639323

© Laura Gowing 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2022 First paperback edition 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

ISBN 978-1-108-48638-5 Hardback ISBN 978-1-108-70770-1 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Contents

	List of Figures	<i>page</i> vi
	List of Tables	vii
	Acknowledgements	viii
	Introduction	1
1	Bred in the Exchange: Seamstresses and Shopkeepers	11
2	Girls as Apprentices	55
3	Managing the Trade: Women as Mistresses	99
4	What Girls Learned	137
5	Making Havoc: Discipline, Demeanour and Resistance	178
6	Freedoms and Customs	209
	Conclusion	243
	Appendix: Who's Who Bibliography Index	251 254 269

v

Figures

1.1	Wenceslaus Hollar, Winter (1643–4)	page 15
1.2	Sites of the shopping galleries	17
1.3	Robert White, The Royal Exchange (1671)	19
1.4	Abraham Bosse, La Galerie du Palais (1637-38)	20
1.5	Detail of Ogilby and Morgan's 1676 map of London,	
	showing the Royal Exchange and Gresham College	24
1.6	Schematic plan of the layout of the first floor of the Royal	
	Exchange after the Fire	27
1.7	Women's connections in the Exchange	43
2.1	Ann Evans's indenture	56
2.2	Lucy Maes's indenture	70
2.3	Numbers of female apprenticeships	79
2.4	Characteristics of female apprentices, 1660–1700	85
2.5	Goldsmiths' Company Apprenticeship	86
3.1	Indenture of Mary Toft to Elizabeth Fazakerley	106
3.2	Richard Court's indenture	107
3.3	Mary and William Hull's apprentices	113
3.4	Elizabeth and Thomas Bromhall's apprentices	113
3.5	Frances and John Spillett's apprentices and children	116
3.6	Alice Guidot's apprentices	119
3.7	Rachel Erskine's apprentices	124
3.8	Elizabeth Kingsman's apprentices	125
4.1	Named occupations in girls' apprenticeships	144
5.1	F. Shepherd, Sir Paul Pindar's House (1812)	196
6.1	Patrimony form for Anne Allison	227
6.2	Mary Spark's petition	228

© in this web service Cambridge University Press & Assessment

Tables

2.1	Proportions of female apprentices	page 88
3.1	Mistresses of female apprentices, 1640–1700	111
3.2	Numbers of apprentices to married couples taking boys	
	and girls	111
3.3	Girls apprenticed to single women	123
3.4	Apprenticeships and their outcomes, 1640-1700	123
3.5	Mistresses and their female apprentices, 1640–1700	124
4.1	Gendered occupations	147
4.2	Valuing seamstresses	167
4.3	Costs of shop goods	167

Acknowledgements

This book has taken longer than an apprenticeship, for many reasons, and I'm very grateful to all the people and institutions who supported it. Research and writing were generously funded by a Leverhulme Trust Research Fellowship in 2016. At Johns Hopkins University, the stimulating luxury of a Hinkley Visiting Professorship in 2010 nurtured the start of the book. King's College London granted me two sabbatical terms at critical moments. Mark Merry, Olwen Myhill, Michael Scott and Patrick Wallis kindly shared the digitised guild and tax data which made it possible to find and count women in London's livery companies. My interest in the London Mayor's Court developed many years ago with a fortuitous dip into the card index of the old Corporation of London Record Office; since then I've benefitted greatly from the expertise of archivists at the London Metropolitan Archives, Guildhall Library and several City of London Companies, especially Jessica Collins, Penny Fussell, Jane Muncaster and Charlie Turpie. Many friends and colleagues have discussed ideas and answered odd questions. I want to thank in particular Sarah Bendall, Judith Bennett, Sarah Birt, Esther Brot, Kate Chedgzov, Molly Corlett, Hannah Dawson, James Davbell, James Fisher, Mary Fissell, Amy Froide, Anne Goldgar, Julie Hardwick, Karen Harvey, Cynthia Herrup, Tracey Hill, Kate Hodgkin, Ann Hughes, Margaret Hunt, Cathy McClive, Angela McShane, John Marshall, Jonah Miller, Hannah Murphy, Maggie Pelling, Sara Pennell, Sophie Pitman, Lyndal Roper, Isabella Rosner, Michael Scott, Pam Sharpe, Alex Shepard, Deb Simonton, Hilda Smith, Craig Spence, Naomi Tadmor, Alice Taylor, Barbara Todd, Sonia Tycko, Brodie Waddell, Tim Wales, Patrick Wallis, Rachel Weil, Evelyn Welch, Jane Whittle and Andy Wood. Seminar and conference audiences in Cambridge, Durham, Exeter, Kent, London, New York Uppsala and on Zoom all contributed to the work's final form. Working with King's students on the archives of early modern women has always raised new questions. Catherine Hinchliff and Mark Jenner thought of me when they found indentures, and Charlie Berry, Lucy Munro and

Acknowledgements

Tim Reinke-Williams kindly pinged other references into my inbox. Amy Erickson's acute comments have been an enormous help. At Cambridge University Press, I'm very grateful to Liz Friend-Smith, Atifa Jiwa and Melissa Ward for their enthusiastic support and to the anonymous readers for the Press. Deepest thanks, and no responsibility, go to the friends and colleagues who gave their time and expertise, at a time of great pressure, to comment so perceptively on sections of the manuscript: Hannah Dawson, Mary Fissell, Amy Froide, Julie Hardwick and Hannah Murphy. From picket line to pandemic, colleagues at King's have offered the best-humoured solidarity as well as intellectual companionship. And at home, Louise Gray's partnership and editorial eyes, enlivened by Nic, supported the project from start to finish: my heartfelt thanks.

Sections of Chapter 5 appeared in an earlier form in Laura Gowing, ""The Manner of Submission": Gender and Demeanour in Seventeenth-Century London' in *Cultural and Social History* ©The Social History Society, reprinted by permission of Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group, www.tandfonline.com on behalf of The Social History Society.