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WOMEN IN THE BUILDING TRADES, 1600–1850: A PRELIMINARY LIST

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Mary Slade was not unique, but she was unusual nevertheless. Out of a sample of some 7,000 people engaged in the building industry between 1600 and 1850, no more than 69 were women, approximately 1%.¹

These women are listed below, but the limitations of the sample have to be noted. It is, first, a random sample, 7,000 names recorded in the course of researching other subjects – particular buildings, not particular issues nor particular persons. There are inevitable distortions in favour of certain times and certain places, not to mention the distortions caused by absence of primary evidence. The first half of the seventeenth century, for instance, is thinly represented, so are Scotland, Wales and large parts of southern and western England. However, these distortions are irrelevant for the present purpose since they favour and disfavour men and women equally. In order to maintain equality of distortion, there has been no systematic selection of women. The list could certainly be increased by adding all the women to be found in a London or provincial trade directory, for instance, or an index volume of the Middlesex Deeds Registry, but, in becoming more nearly comprehensive, it would become less nearly representative.

Secondly, it is not a study. It is no more than a list of female names, usually the names of recipients of payment for building work. No attempt has been made to investigate any of these women further, nor to confirm or deny any of the intriguing possibilities which the random survival of their names raise. Some could be answered by the usual genealogical means, wills, apprenticeship bindings, parish registers and

rate books, for instance, and the relationship between these women and male building tradesmen of the same name could be determined rather than merely speculated on, as here. Since most of these women's names come from accounts, that source would also furnish information about rates of pay and profit, and, occasionally, about employees, materials and transport. Insurance company records would provide information about stock and premises. The list may therefore provide a starting point for a proper study of the subject; such a study would not only illuminate women's history, but the history of the building trade as well.

Thirdly, the building trade is here defined as the provision of immovables, so providers of furniture, plate and easel paintings are excluded, although providers of trees, plants and seeds are not. It happens that cabinet makers, upholsterers, silversmiths and easel painters have been more studied than builders, because of the commercial value of doing so; so the names of women in these trades are easily recoverable from the secondary literature. It is, however, possible that there was a higher proportion of women in these as in other luxury trades; included, they might alter the analysis quite markedly.

The more luxurious and conspicuous parts of buildings also engaged the attention of women who were not in trade at all. Thus the list includes the names of six women who were by contemporary definition ladies, including a princess of the blood. Lady Diana Beauclerk, Mrs Creed, Miss Crewe, Mrs Damer, Princess Elizabeth and Mrs Steward were presumably not dependant on payment for decorative

painting (for five of them) or sculpture (for Mrs Damer); although, if Mrs Creed was responsible for the Painted Parlour at Canons Ashby, her work was not unlike that of a house painter's, and raises the possibility that she might have engaged in trade (though doubtless discreetly). A seventh woman, Mrs Fifield, evidently had a commercial background, but it is not clear that she traded on her own account. The six ladies are listed on the same basis as gentlemen amateurs included in Howard Colvin's *Biographical*

Dictionary of British Architects. Mrs Fifield is included lest subsequent research demonstrates that she was indeed in trade. But all seven are excluded from analysis, and do not contribute to the number, given above, of women in the building trades.

Finally three of the names on the list may not be women's at all. But a view had to be taken, and, on balance, Gregory Widow and Rockhead Lydia probably were women, and Ellin Withers perhaps was; so they all appear.

SARAH BACON and Sons. Plasterers. The Bacons were paid for work at the Trafalgar Block, Greenwich Hospital, Kent, in 1815–16 [London, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), ADM 68/885, *ex inf* Dr Michael Turner]. They were perhaps related to George Bacon, plasterer at Osterley House, Middlesex, in 1779–92 [Geoffrey Beard, *Craftsmen and Interior Decoration in England 1660–1820*, Edinburgh, 1981, 244; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, Furniture and Interior Design Department, red box no 1].

Mrs BARBER. Plumber. Mrs Barber was paid by the University of Cambridge for plumber's work at Bonner's House, Cambridge, in 1748 [Cambridge, University Library (hereafter CUL), University Accounts (hereafter UAc), 2(3)]. She was perhaps the widow of Thomas Barber, plumber, who was paid by the University for work on the vestry of Great St Mary's Church, Cambridge, in 1729 [CUL, UAc, Vice-Chancellor's Vouchers (hereafter VCV) 14(2)].

Lady DIANA BEAUCLERK (1734–1808). Decorative painter. She was the daughter of the 3rd Duke of Marlborough, and in 1757 married the 2nd Viscount Bolingbroke (from whom she was divorced in 1768); she married Topham Beauclerk, the bibliophile, in 1768 [Burke's *Peerage*, *svv* Marlborough,

Bolingbroke, St Albans]. She was obviously not a tradeswoman, but she painted the walls of her own houses, Devonshire Cottage, Richmond, Surrey, and Little Marble Hill, Twickenham, Middlesex, in an evidently professional manner in 1782 and 1785–6 [Edward Croft-Murray, *Decorative Painting in England*, II, London, 1962, 169–70 and 324].

ELIZABETH BENNETT. Smith. With her sons, Edward and Valentine, she was the smith at Blenheim Palace, Woodstock, Oxon, for the 1st Duke of Marlborough; their forge was in the ruins of Woodstock Palace [David Green, *Blenheim Palace*, London, 1951, 97, 247]. Elizabeth Bennett's will, describing her as a widow, of New Woodstock, was drawn up in July 1714 [Oxford, Bodleian Library, *ex inf* Mr Edward Saunders].

ELIZABETH BETTS. Painter. She was paid by the Office of Works for painting part of Queen Charlotte's Cottage, Kew, Surrey, in 1778 [PRO, WORK 5/66].

DOROTHY BLAND. Supplier of lime and bricks, perhaps a brick maker. She was paid for bricks and lime delivered to Studley Royal, Yorkshire, in 1717–8 [Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Vyner MSS 5619a (286)].

ELIZABETH BOOMER. Supplier of tar. She was paid by Edward Wortley Montagu for tar for the timbers of the east wing of Wortley Hall, Yorkshire, in 1758 [Richard Hewlings, ‘Wortley Hall’, *Archaeological Journal*, CXXVII, 1980, 398; Sheffield, Sheffield Archives, WhM 143].

Mrs BOTTOMLEY. Mason. Mrs Bottomley was paid by Cambridge University for work at the Schools in 1758 (CUL, UAc 2(3)). She might have been the widow of Charles Bottomley, mason, who worked at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1752–53 [Robert Willis and John Willis Clark, *Architectural History of the University of Cambridge* (hereafter Willis and Clark), II, Cambridge, 1986]. He was presumably the Bottomley (whose Christian name is not recorded) who worked at several places for Cambridge University between 1747 and 1754 [CUL, UAc 2(3)], and for Trinity College in 1753–55 [Willis and Clark, II, 529]. He could have been the Bottomley from Bury St Edmunds who worked at Little Haugh Hall, Suffolk, in 1729–30 [Norman Scarfe, ‘Little Haugh Hall, Suffolk’, *Country Life*, CXXIII, June 5, 1958, 1239]. It may have been another Charles Bottomley who was paid for mason’s work in the new gardens at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, in 1782 [Holkham Hall MSS, Estate Cash Book, 1780–86].

ANNE BROWNE. Slater. She was paid by the executors of the 1st Duke of Buckingham for work at Buckingham House (now Buckingham Palace), London, in 1721 [Normanby (Lincs), Papers of Sir Reginald Sheffield, Bart, Bundle M]. In 1733 she was paid for work at the office of the Paymaster-General, No 36 Whitehall [PRO, T52/38, p.98].

MARY BUNTON. Plumber and glazier. She worked for the 2nd Lord Braybrooke at Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Suffolk, in 1797 and 1826 [Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Braybrooke Papers, DDBy 55 and 84]. She was perhaps the relict of John Bunton, glazier, who had worked there for

Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1775 [*Ibid*, DDBy 33], and was doubtless related to Robert Bunton, glazier, who worked there in 1809 [*Ibid*, DDBy 67]. (I am grateful to Mr Michael Sutherill for this information.)

Mrs MARY CARR. Slater. Mrs Carr worked as a slater for Sir Charles Monck, Bart, at Belsay Hall, Northumberland, in 1843–4 and 1848–50 [Newcastle, Northumberland Record Office, Middleton Papers (hereafter Middleton), B36/23]. She was presumably the widow of William Carr, who worked as a slater at Belsay in 1836–40, West Belsay in 1841–2, and Hetchesterlaw in 1842 [*Ibid*, B36/22–23]. Thomas Carr, probably a relation, was brickmaker at Belsay in 1847 and 1849 [*Idem*], and, although Carr is a common name in Northumberland, they may have been related to George Carr, who was a mason or bricklayer on the neighbouring estate of Capheaton in 1758 [Newcastle, Northumberland Record Office, Swinburne Papers, 451].

Mrs ELEANOR COADE (1733–1821).

Composition maker. Her career, always known as remarkable, is well documented in Alison Kelly, *Mrs Coade’s Stone*, Upton-on-Severn, 1990. She was unmarried, and the style ‘Mrs’ was an honorific.

JANE CONYERS. Glazier and painter. She worked for George Baker at Elemore Hall, Co Durham, in 1750 [John Gosden, ‘Elemore Hall transformed 1749–53’, *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham & Northumberland*, NS, VI, 1982]. It is possible that she was related to the Conyers who worked as a bricklayer for Sir John Hussey Delaval of Seaton Delaval, Northumberland, although this work may have been in London [Berwick-on-Tweed, Northumberland Record Office, Delaval MSS, 2 DE 4/7].

Mrs ELIZABETH CREED (?1644–1728).

Decorative painter. She was the daughter of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart, of Titchmarsh,

Northamptonshire, and she married John Creed of Oundle (Secretary to the Commissioners for Tangier from 1662) in 1668. She painted a wall monument to Dr Theophilus Pickering, her brother (d.1710), in Titchmarsh church, and another to Erasmus Dryden, her cousin, in the same place. She painted another wall monument to her daughter, Dorothy Creed (d.1714), in Barnwell church, Northamptonshire [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, I, 247]. The Painted Parlour at Canons Ashby House, Northamptonshire, executed for Edward Dryden, c.1717, has also been attributed to her [National Trust, *Canons Ashby*, London, 1984, 18]. She was the mother of Elizabeth Steward, *q.v* [Croft-Murray, *loc cit*; Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sydney Lee, *Dictionary of National Biography*, V, Oxford, since 1917, 68].

MARY CRIPS. Painter. She was paid by the Admiralty in 1723 for painting ships at Portsmouth and ‘Buildings in General’, presumably at the same place [PRO, ADM 20/142A].

The Hon EMMA CREWE (d.1850). Decorative painter. She was the daughter of 1st Lord Crewe, and married Foster Cunliffe-Offley in 1809. She was obviously not a tradeswoman, but she painted a room in her mother’s house in Richmond, Surrey, ‘in a very pretty manner’ c.1787, according to Horace Walpole [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, II, 196].

Mrs SUSANNA CROAD. Mason. Her company were the principal contractors of the magazines at Keyham, Devon, and of the two masonry redoubts on Maker Heights, Cornwall, built for the Board of Ordnance between 1787 and 1790. The company, which may have been quite substantial, employed a foreman called I Thomson, who managed her workforce at Maker; the Board dismissed one of the masons called John French for slandering him [David Evans, ‘The Redoubts on Maker Heights, Cornwall, 1770–1859’ *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 47, 54, 59].

The Hon Mrs DAMER (1748–1828). Sculptor. Anne, daughter of Field Marshall the Hon Henry Seymour Conway, married the Hon John Damer, elder son of the 1st Earl of Dorchester, in 1761 [Burke’s *Peerage*, *svv.* Hertford, Portarlington]. She was obviously not a tradeswoman. Her career is documented in Rupert Gunnis, *Dictionary of British Sculptors 1660–1851*, London, 1953, 120–21, to which should be added carved plaques at St Anne’s Well, Buxton, Derbyshire, in 1782–83 [Ivan Hall, *Georgian Buxton*, Chapel en le Frith, 1984, 23].

Widow DISON. Plumber. She was paid for work at Lord Fauconberg’s house in Soho Square, London, in 1694 [Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZDV V10, p.105].

Princess ELIZABETH (1770–1840). Decorative painter. She was the 3rd daughter of King George III and Queen Charlotte, and she married Prince Frederick of Hesse-Homburg in 1818. She was far from being a tradeswoman, but she painted the walls of three of her mother’s houses in a skilful manner, of which the survival of two of them allows attestation. The surviving work is at Frogmore House, Windsor, Berkshire (1797), and Queen Charlotte’s Cottage, Kew, Surrey (c.1805): a room which she painted in The Queen’s House, St James’s Park (now Buckingham Palace), London, does not survive [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, II, 204].

Mrs MARY ELLIOT. Pantile supplier. She was paid for supplying pantiles to Sir Charles Monck, Bart, of Belsay Castle, Northumberland, in 1807; but, as he paid a carter called Joseph Elliot in 1815, the possibility that she too was only a carter has to be considered [Middleton, B36/19, 20].

Mrs FIFIELD. No payments for building work to Mrs Fifield are known, but she was the executor of the carpenter, John Smallwell, senior, in 1718, and her own executor was the bricklayer, Thomas Churchill,

so it is possible that she was also in the building trade. She was dead by February 1726 [Vanbrugh's account book, as printed in Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh*, London, 1977, 232]. She was perhaps related to David Fifield, plasterer, who worked at the Clarendon Building, Oxford, in 1712 [Beard, *op cit*, 259].

Mrs FISHER. Plant supplier. Mrs Fisher sold 200 elm trees to Christopher Crowe of Kiplin Hall, Yorkshire in 1743, and more trees in 1745, 1746 and 1747 [Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZBL/IV/3/1/22, 24 and 29]. She was presumably the widow of a plantsman called Fisher from Ripon, who had sold garden trees to Crowe in 1743 [*Ibid*, ZBL/IV/3/1/19]. He may have been William Fisher, gardener at Studley Royal, Yorkshire, in 1728 and 1733 [Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive Service, Vyner MSS, 5619a (286); Thomas Gent, *History of . . . Ripon*, York, 1733, which is dedicated to William Fisher, 'Gardener in Chief To the Right Honourable John Aislabie Esq'].

The Fisher family of Ripon may have included Richard Fisher, the carver, who worked at Studley Royal in 1717–20, 1733–34, 1748–49 and 1753 [Geoffrey Beard, 'A magnificent landscape', *Country Life*, CXXX, August 10, 1961, 286; Vyner MSS, *loc cit*], at Wolterton Hall, Norfolk, in 1737 [Gordon Nares, 'Wolterton Hall, Norfolk – II', *Country Life*, CXXII, July 25, 1957, 168] and at Temple Newsam, Yorkshire, in 1738–47 [Derek Linstrum, *West Yorkshire: Architects and Architecture*, London, 1978, 71, n.71]. They were also presumably related to the Fishers of York, statuaries, whose careers are documented in Gunnis, *op cit*, 145–46.

Mrs FOSTER. Nurserywoman. She supplied plants for the 2nd Duke of Grafton at Wakefield Lodge, Potterspurty, Northamptonshire, in 1755 [Richard Hewlings, 'Wakefield Lodge and other buildings of the 2nd Duke of Grafton,' *Georgian Group Journal*, III, 1993, 48].

Mrs MARY GORDON. Carpenter. She was paid by the Governors of the Foundling Hospital for some small jobs in 1742 [London, London Metropolitan Archives, A/FH/A/3/2/1, fols 483, 511 and 525], and unsuccessfully tendered for the main carpentry contract at the Foundling Hospital, London, in 1743 [*Ibid*, fol 543].

MARY GREEN. Smith. She provided blacksmith's work for the brick kilns at Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Essex, for the 3rd Lord Braybrooke in 1830 [Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Braybrooke Papers, DDBY 230, *ex inf* Mr Michael Sutherland].

Widow GREGORY. Bricklayer. 'Gregory Widow' was paid in 1761 for work for the 2nd Duke of Grafton at his house in Piccadilly, London; the work had been carried out before the Duke's death in 1757 [Hewlings, 'Wakefield Lodge', *cit*, 54].

MARY GRIMES. Painter. She painted St Michael, Bassishaw, City of London, possibly including the altarpiece, before 1679 [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, I, 221; *Wren Society*, X, 1933, 36, 51].

MARY GRISSON of Billiter Lane, London. Bricklayer. In 1774 she insured two houses under construction for £800 [David Barnett, *London, Hub of the Industrial Revolution*, London, 1998, 118].

Widow HALSAUL. Carpenter. Her husband, Richard Halsaul, had executed carpenter's work at the Geffrye Almshouses, Kingsland Road, Shoreditch, London in 1713–14, but died before the almshouses were complete. In August 1715, over a year after his death, Geffrye's Charity Committee contracted with his widow to add two more staircases. Widow Halsaul therefore clearly kept the business in being, rather than merely completing his outstanding contracts [Neil Burton, *The Geffrye Almshouses*, London, 1979, 22, 27 (bis)].

Mrs HARRISON. Brickmaker. Mrs Harrison and Daniel Harrison appear independently as brickmakers in the Minutes of the Governors of the Foundling Hospital, London, in 1743, so it seems unlikely that she was his wife [London, London Metropolitan Archives, A/FH/A/3/2/1].

ELIZABETH HARRISON of Drury Lane, London. Carpenter. In 1771 she took out a fire insurance policy to cover 34 houses built by her and valued at £2,340, adding a further nine houses for £1,660 in 1772. She insured her workshop for £20 and her stock for £50 [Barnett, *oc cit*].

Mrs JANE HILL. Painter. She was described in 1717 as ‘Paintress’ to the Board of Ordnance [O.F.G Hogg, *The Royal Arsenal*, London, 1963, I, 258], and was paid for work at Woolwich Arsenal, Kent, in 1717 and again in 1727–28 [*Ibid*, 283]. A man called John Hill was paid by the Board for measuring at Woolwich in 1676 [*Ibid*, 199, 205], his trade is not specified, and they need not have been related. Another John Hill worked as a joiner at the Navy Office in 1723 [PRO, ADM 20/142A]; as the Navy was a different arm of government he is still less likely to have been Jane Hill’s relation, but it remains a possibility.

MARGARET HILL. Supplier of dishes. She was paid by Edward Wortley Montagu in 1758 for supplying water dishes for bricklayers working on the east wing of Wortley Hall, Yorkshire [Hewlings, ‘Wortley Hall’, *cit*, 398; Sheffield, Sheffield Archives, WhM 143].

ELIZABETH HILLMAN of Brentford. Plumber and glazier. She worked for King George III at Kew Palace, Surrey, probably on the dairy, in 1772 [John Harris, *Sir William Chambers*, London, 1970, 39, n.28].

SARAH HOLMES of Brentford. Statuary. She is known only from memorial tablets with her signature: to Herbert Swyer at Isleworth (1811), to John Howard at Brentford (1818), to Thomas Smith at Ealing (1823),

to George Engleheart at East Bedfont (1833), all in Middlesex, and to Viscount Falkland at Rudby, Yorkshire (1827) [Gunnis, *op cit*, 208, *ex inf* Mr Stephen Priestley].

Mrs JOHNSON. Joiner. Mrs Johnson was paid by Cambridge University for work at Bonner’s House, Cambridge, and at Great St Mary’s church in 1755 [CUL, UAc 2(3)]. She was perhaps the widow of a joiner called Johnson, who was paid by the University for work at the Schools in 1753 [*Idem*].

ANN JOHNSON. Bricklayer. She was paid by the Board of Works for work at Mr Wilde’s house in the Exchequer, Westminster, in 1819; she identified James Firth as her assignee [PRO, WORK 1/13, pp.241–42].

MARY KELLY. Stone sawyer. She worked at Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, between 1717 and 1731 [Ivan and Elisabeth Hall, *Historic Beverley*, York, 1973, 26].

Mrs MARY KERTON. Smith. She was paid by the 3rd Earl of Burlington ‘for her husband’ for smith’s work either at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London, or at Chiswick House, Middlesex, between 1719 and 1722, and again in 1726 [Chatsworth, Devonshire Papers]. She was presumably related to Thomas Kerton of Chiswick, a smith who had worked for Lord Fauconberg at Sutton Court, Chiswick, from 1695 to 1700 [Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZDV. V10, *passim*]. In view of the time lapse it is unlikely that he was her husband, but Lord Burlington paid another Thomas Kerton for unspecified work in 1732 [Chatsworth, *loc cit*].

APOLLONIA KICKIUS. Decorative painter. She was the daughter of Edward Kickius, a Dutch painter, who executed the perspective work behind the altar in St Paul’s Church, Covent Garden, London, in 1668–69. Between 1677 and 1684 Edward Kickius lived in Edinburgh and was employed by

James Smith, Surveyor of the Scottish Royal Works on various small jobs [John G Dunbar, ‘Lowlanders in the Highlands’, *Country Life*, CLVI, August 8, 1974, 376], having moved to Scotland to work for the 1st Duke of Lauderdale at Thirlestane Castle, Berwickshire, and Lethington (now Lennoxlove), East Lothian, in 1677–79 [J.G. Dunbar, ‘The Building-activities of the Duke and Duchess of Lauderdale, 1670–82’, *Archaeological Journal*, CXXXII, 1975]. Edward Kickius had returned to London by 1687 [*Idem*], but Apollonia remained in (or returned to) Scotland, where she worked at Castle Huntly, Longforgan, Perthshire; she died in 1695, aged 26, and there is a monument to her in Longforgan church, [Dunbar, in *Country Life*, *loc cit*].

MARY LACY, alias Mary Slade (1740–95).

Carpenter. Her life as a carpenter is documented in Peter Guillery, ‘The Further Adventures of Mary Lacy’ in this volume, and her earlier life is documented by her autobiography (Mary Slade, *The History of the Female Shipwright* . . ., London, 1773) and by Suzanne J Stark, *Female Tars: Women Aboard Ship in the Age of Sail*, London, 1998.

Mrs LEACH. Glazier and painter. She was paid by the Board of Works for work in the apartment which was decorated for the visiting foreign princes in Newmarket Palace, Cambridgeshire, in 1814–19 [PRO, WORK 1/14, fol 130]. M Leach, glazier, who worked there in 1826, may have been related. It is possible that she was also related to Thomas Leach, who worked as a plumber and glazier at the University Library, Schools and Theatre in Cambridge between 1731 and 1733 [CUL, UAc, VCV 14(4) and (5)].

Mrs LONG. Marble stainer. Described as ‘the wife of Mr Long, stonecutter’, she carried on a marble-staining business at Bow Bridge, Essex, in 1747, performing it ‘in a very curious manner’ [*Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1747, 599 cited in Gunnis, *op cit*, 242, and drawn to my attention by Mr Stephen Priestley].

Mrs MEADLEY. Stone sawyer. She worked at Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, between 1717 and 1731. She was the wife of Richard Meadley, a bricklayer, so it was evidently not her husband’s trade that she was pursuing. [Ivan and Elisabeth Hall, *Historic Beverley*, York, 1973, 26].

MARY MELTON and Son. Bricklayers. They were paid by the 3rd Earl of Mansfield for work on glass houses at Kenwood House, St Pancras, Middlesex, in 1804–05 [Scone (Perthshire), Mansfield Papers, 2nd series, bundle 1063 (A/6)]. They were probably the M and J Melton, who were paid for further work at Kenwood in 1815–17 [*Ibid*, bundle 975(3)]. Mary Melton may have been the relict of Thomas Melton, bricklayer and plasterer, who worked for the 1st Earl of Mansfield at Kenwood in 1792 [*Ibid*, Bundle 94(18)], and who executed the brickwork of the north wings of Kenwood House, and the dairy, farm and piggeries there, for the 2nd Earl between 1793 and 1797 [*Ibid*, bundle 974(8, 9, 13–18, 20, 22–4, 26, 29, 32, 39, 44, 47 and 53)].

JANE MORGAN. Ironmonger. She supplied bolts, padlocks and screws to Sir John Griffin Griffin for work at Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Essex, in 1769, and at houses on his estate at Littlebury, Essex, in 1771, 1773 and 1774 [Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Braybrooke Papers, DDBY 31 and 32, *ex inf* Mr Michael Sutherill].

MARY MOSER (1744–1819). Decorative painter. She was really an easel painter, but she decorated one room at Frogmore House, Windsor, Berkshire, for Queen Charlotte, c.1795 [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, II, 247].

Mrs NEWLING. Joiner. Mrs Newling was paid by Cambridge University for unspecified joiner’s work in 1754, and for work at Trumpington Ford in 1755 [CUL, UAc, 2(3)]. She was presumably related to (probably the wife of) one of two, or possibly three carpenters of this name who worked in Cambridge.

These were, first, John Newling, who was paid by the University for carpentry at their property in Barton, Cambridgeshire, in 1723, 1728 and 1730, at the Schools in Cambridge in 1728, and at the bridge at the end of Christ's Piece 'for the King's coach to go over' on George II's visit to Cambridge in 1728 [CUL, UAc, VCV 13(2); 14(1), (2) and (3)]. It was John Newling who built the Shire Hall, Market Hill, Cambridge for the County in 1746–48, with his partner Thomas Pretlove [Cambridge, Cambridge Record Office, Q505, Quarter Sessions Order Book, 1738–58].

The second was William Newling, who carried out carpenter's work in the construction of the University's crane in 1723 [CUL, UAc, VCV 13(1)] and acted as a surveyor for the University in 1724 [*Ibid.*, VCV 13(2)]; it was therefore presumably William, described as Alderman Newling, who performed some measuring work on the site of the Senate House in 1721 and 1723, as well as fencing it, clearing and levelling it in 1722 [CUL, UAc, Misc Coll 20].

The carpenter simply called Newling who was paid by the University for work at various properties between 1744 and 1759 [CUL, UAc 2(3)], and by Magdalene College for work on its combination room in 1757 [Willis and Clark, *op cit.*, II, 382, n.1] could have been either of them or another.

Both or either could have been active for a long time, but the Trustees of Dr Addenbrooke's Hospital paid a surveyor called Newling as late as 1766, suggesting the existence of a third male member of the family [Cambridge, Addenbrooke's Hospital NHS Trust, Addenbrookes Hospital Minutes 1766–1772].

Mrs JOHANNE ORAM. Tree and seed supplier. Mrs Oram supplied trees and seeds to Benjamin Hoare at Boreham House, Essex, between 1726 and 1733 [accounts at Hoare's Bank, London, *ex inf* Mr H.P.R. Hoare]. She was presumably related to (and perhaps the widow of) William Oram, a nurseryman who supplied plants for the 1st Earl of Bristol at Ickworth, Suffolk, in 1717, and Aswarby, Lincolnshire, in 1718

[SHAH (ed.), *The Diary of John Hervey, First Earl of Bristol . . .*, London, 1894].

REBECCA PAGET. Mason. She was paid by the executors of the 1st Duke of Buckingham for work at Buckingham House (now Buckingham Palace), London, in 1725 [Normanby (Lincs), Papers of Sir Reginald Sheffield, Bart, Bundle M].

ANN PALMER. Smith. She was the daughter of William and Martha Palmer, for whom see Martha Palmer, *infra*. She succeeded Martha Palmer as Master Smith at the Tower of London in 1801 [PRO, WORK 5/90, *ex inf* Mr Stephen Priestley].

MARTHA PALMER. Smith. She was Master Smith at the Tower of London from 1779 to 1800, providing, for instance, dead locks and knob locks for the Record Office, and bars for the Lion Office, both in 1780 [PRO, WORK 5/68, 89, *ex inf* Mr Stephen Priestley]. Outside the Tower, she worked at Somerset House, London, for the Board of Works in 1794–95 [H.M. Colvin (ed.), *History of the King's Works*, V, London, 1976, 467]. Outside the Office of Works, she worked for the 3rd Duke of Bridgewater at Cleveland House, St James's, London [*Survey of London*, XXX, London, 1960, 494; Hertford, Hertfordshire Record Office, AH.1732.88, *ex inf* Mr Edward Saunders]. She was succeeded as Master Smith at the Tower by her daughter Ann Palmer, *q.v.*, and had herself succeeded her husband William Palmer (died 1779), who had also worked at Somerset House for the Board of Works in 1776–79 [*Kings Works, loc cit*]. He may have been the Palmer who supplied the stove grate to Sir James Wright for use at Ray House, Essex, in 1773–78 [Julia King, 'An Ambassador's House in Essex', *Georgian Group Journal*, VI, 1997, 123].

Indeed the Palmer dynasty of smiths may have numbered more than three. John Palmer, blacksmith, worked for Henry and Thomas Pelham at Stanmer Park, Sussex, in 1722–27 [Lewes, East Sussex Record Office, Chichester Papers, A/4600/7, *ex inf* Dr Richard

Morrice]. William Palmer, mechanic, supplied a new water engine for Thomas Duncombe at Duncombe Park, Yorkshire, in 1724 [Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZEW/IV/7/24]. And Thomas Palmer, described as engineer, worked for the Chelsea Waterworks Company in 1732 [London, London Metropolitan Archives, Acc 2558/CH/1/6, *ex inf* Mr Andrew Skelton].

No relationship is presently known between these three and Martha Palmer, but her husband, William, was the nephew and heir of a smith called James Palmer, whose brothers included both a William (dead by 1769) and a Thomas, described as ‘of London’; his other brothers, Richard, Francis and Henry, were ‘of Bristol’ [PRO, PROB 11/1772, *ex inf* Mr Edward Saunders]. James Palmer was baptised at Epsom, Surrey in 1708; his father, also James, was a gardener, and he was apprenticed to John Hopkins, blacksmith and citizen of London, in 1723 [London, Guildhall Library, Apprentice Bindings, MS 2886, Vol 4, *ex inf* Mr Saunders]. In 1749 he lived in Church Passage, St James’s, Piccadilly; in 1768 he had moved to Air Street, Piccadilly [Beard, *op cit*, 274]. He worked for the 2nd Duke of Cleveland at No 19 St James’s Square, London in 1754–60 [Accounts at Raby Castle, Co Durham, *ex inf* Mr Edward Saunders]. Between 1760 and 1762 he worked for Earl Cowper at his house in George St, Hanover Square, London [Hertford, Hertfordshire Record Office, D/EPT 4217/288], *ex inf* Mr Saunders]. In 1761 he was appointed smith at Kensington Palace [PRO, WORK 4/12]. In 1766 he worked for the 4th Earl of Scarborough at his house in South Audley Street, London [Accounts at Sandbeck Park, Yorkshire, *ex inf* Mr Saunders], and in the same year he provided gilt metal door furniture for Paul Methuen at Corsham Court, Wiltshire [Beard, *Craftsmen*, 274]. He also made steel razors for a Chippendale dressing table at Nostell Priory, Yorkshire [*Idem*]. James Palmer made his will in 1769, leaving his houses in Air St, Church Passage and elsewhere in Piccadilly, with all his stock in trade, to his nephew William, Martha Palmer’s husband; he died in 1772.

MARGARET PIERCE. Painter. She was paid for painting the City churches of St Bartholomew, Exchange (between 1674 and 1686), St Lawrence, Jewry (between 1670 and 1686), and St Nicholas, Cole Abbey (between 1671 and 1681) [*Wren Society*, X, 1933, 47, 49 and 51].

Mrs PINDAR. Plumber and glazier. She was paid by Cambridge University for work at the Schools in 1741, 1757 and 1758, at the King’s Library in 1741, and at Great St Mary’s church in 1757 [CUL, UAc, 2(3)]. Another plumber and glazier called Pindar was also paid by the University between 1744 and 1759, but for work on different buildings (unspecified buildings in 1744–45, 1747 and 1751, the Rustat Library in 1748, the Public Schools in 1748–50, 1752–53, 1755–57 and 1759, the Press in 1748 and 1753–59, the Senate House in 1748 and 1750, Barker’s House in 1750, Bonner’s House in 1752, and Great St Mary’s church in 1755 [*Idem*]). They either traded separately, or, if together, either may have received payment for work done jointly. They could have been husband and wife, or mother and son; if the latter, Mrs Pindar could have been the widow of Jonathan Pindar, who had been Clerk of Works at the University Library and Schools in 1723 [CUL, UAc, VCV 13(1)] and the Senate House in 1723–25 [*Idem*; and *ibid*, Misc Coll 20]. In any case, they were doubtless related.

Widow PRIDGEON. Nail supplier. She supplied nails to the 1st Lord Middleton for Stapleford House, Lincolnshire, in 1714, when she was described as of Carlton, presumably Carlton-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire [Nottingham, University of Nottingham, Hallward Library, Middleton MSS, Mi Da 179].

ANN PRICKETT. Carpenter. She worked as a carpenter for the 2nd and 3rd Earls of Mansfield at Kenwood, St Pancras, Middlesex, between 1792 and 1806, both in Kenwood House and on various garden buildings, in particular the Hermitage built in 1804–06 [Scone (Perthshire), Mansfield Papers, bundle 94

(5, 19–23); *ibid*, 2nd series, bundle 1063 (A/12–15)]. She was dead by 23 January 1806, when her bill was receipted John Prickett, her executor, evidently a surveyor, since he drew a plan of the 3rd Earl's estate at Kenwood in 1803 [*Ibid*, bundle 42(2)].

LYDIA ROCKHEAD. Stonemason. A payment in 1761 by the executors of the 2nd Duke of Grafton to someone with the unusual name of Rockhead Lydia for work either at Euston Hall, Suffolk, or Wakefield Lodge, Potterspurty, Northamptonshire [Hewlings, 'Wakefield Lodge', *cit*, 55], may more plausibly be to a woman called Lydia Rockhead. If so, she could have been related to the mason and architect Alexander Routhead (died 1776), whose career is described in Howard Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600–1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 835–36.

It is possible that there were two Alexander Roucheads, as a mason of that name worked at Wimpole Hall, Cambridgeshire, in 1713–22 [Terry Friedman, *James Gibbs*, New Haven and London, 1984, 295], and at No 4 St James's Square, London, in 1726–28 [*Survey of London*, XXIX, London, 1960, 90–91 (addendum)], and he presumably cannot be the Alexander Routhead who became free of the Masons' Company of London by redemption on 27 May 1728 [London, Guildhall Library, Masons' Company, Quarteredge Book, MS 5313, fol 64]. Payments from the account of the architect Roger Morris at Hoare's Bank, beginning in 1724, may therefore have been made to the elder Alexander Routhead [Steven Parissien, 'The Careers of Roger and Robert Morris', D Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1989, 142]. Mason's work at Taymouth Castle, Perthshire, for the 2nd Earl of Breadalbane in 1747 [*Ibid*, 332], and purchase of materials at the demolition sale of Cannons House, Middlesex, in the same year [*ex inf* Mr John Harris] might have been by either Alexander Routhead.

If there were two masons of that name, Lydia could have been the wife of either, paid in 1761 either

as a widow carrying on the first Alexander's business, or on behalf the second, still living.

MARY ROWARD. Stone sawyer. She worked at Beverley Minster, Yorkshire, between 1717 and 1731 [Ivan and Elisabeth Hall, *Historic Beverley*, York, 1973, 26].

RACHAEL SANDERS. Mason. She was paid by the architect John Soane for work on No 11 (then No 12) Downing Street, London, then belonging to the Hon John Eliot, in 1797 [Richard Hewlings, 'No 11 Downing St, John Soane's work for John Eliot', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, XXXIX, 1995, 53].

A number of other building tradesmen called Sanders are known, although none were masons. In the event of a possible relationship to Rachael Sanders they can be recorded as follows: John Sanders (1768–1826), the architect, who was Soane's pupil from 1784 to 1790 [Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit*, 844–45; James Douet, *British Barracks 1600–1914*, London, 1998, 74, 76–7, 106, 125]; Francis Sanders, plasterer, who worked for the 1st Earl of Bristol at No 6 St James's Square, London, in 1731 [SHAH (ed), *op cit*], and who may have been the Sanders who plastered the Long Room at Stowe House, Buckinghamshire, in 1747 [San Marino (Ca), Henry E Huntington Library, Stowe MSS, 693/4, *ex inf* Mr George Clarke]; two carpenters called David Sanders from Warwick, of whom the elder worked at the Shire Hall, Warwick, in 1754, and the younger at Warwick Castle from 1780 [A.C Wood, 'The Shire Hall, Warwick', *Warwickshire Local History Society*, 1983]; and a glazier called Robert Sanders who worked at Kiplin Hall, Yorkshire, in 1736, 1739 and 1747 [Northallerton, North Yorkshire Record Office, ZBL/IV/3/1/4, 11 and 29].

RACHEL SKEAT. Smith. She was the widow of John Skeat, smith, who was dead by 31 Aug 1724, when a memorial from her husband's occasional partner, John Cleave, to the Commissioners for the

Fifty New Churches revealed that she had ‘a desire to continue in that part of the smith’s work in which her late husband was concerned in partnership with me under a former contract with the Commission’. Her desire was frustrated by Hawksmoor who ‘employed another smith’ [London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 2723, *ex inf* Mr Edward Saunders]. John Skeat had worked at St Mary Woolnoth, City of London, in 1717–24 [Sally Jeffery, ‘The work of John James’, PhD dissertation, University of London, 1986, cat no 19]. The John Skeat who worked at Deptford Rectory, Kent, in 1728–9 [Paul Jeffery, ‘Thomas Archer’s Deptford Rectory: a reconstruction’, *Georgian Group Journal*, III, 1993, 40] must have been another, perhaps their son.

MARY SLADE. See Mary Lacy.

SARAH SPICER. Smith. She worked for the 2nd Lord Braybrooke at Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Essex, in 1809 [Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Braybrooke Papers, DDBY 69]. She was perhaps the relict of Thomas Spicer, smith, who had worked there in 1799, 1800 and 1802 [*Ibid*, DDBY 57, 58 and 60]. Richard Spicer, smith, who provided iron railings for the iron bridge in the park at Audley End House in 1820, and ironwork for the Cambridge Lodge there for the 3rd Lord in 1846 [*Ibid*, DDBY 78 and 231], was presumably a relation. (I am grateful to Mr Michael Sutherill for this information.)

Widow STANHOPP. Decorative painter. She worked at Theobalds Palace, Hertfordshire, for Queen Anne in 1625–6. She may have been the mother of Richard Stanhopp or Stanhope, also a painter, who worked at Theobalds for King Charles I in 1627–33 [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, I, 209].

Mrs ELIZABETH STEWARD (1672–1743). Decorative painter. She was the eldest daughter of John and Elizabeth Creed, *q.v.*, and she married Elmer Steward of Cotterstock Hall, Northamptonshire,

where she painted the hall, allegedly in fresco [Croft-Murray, *op cit*, I, 259].

Mrs STEWART. Painter and gilder. She worked at No 6 St James’s Square, London, for the 5th Earl of Bristol, in 1819–21 [*Survey of London*, XXIX, London, 1960, 108].

SUSANNA STURDY. Joiner. She worked at Clifton Castle, Yorkshire, for Timothy Hutton, in 1809–10, together with Paul and Stephen Sturdy, and in succession to William Sturdy [Giles Worsley, ‘Clifton Castle, Yorkshire’, *Country Life*, CLXXXII, September 22, 1988, 163].

ANN TYSON. Slater. She worked for the Board of Admiralty on the First Lord’s residence (Admiralty House), Whitehall, London, from 1786 to 1791 [PRO, ADM 17/1]. She was presumably related to (or perhaps the same as) the Tyson who covered the greenhouse at Audley End House, Essex, Saffron Walden, with ‘welch ragg slating’ for Sir John Griffin Griffin in 1776 [Michael Sutherill, ‘John Hobcraft and James Essex at Audley End House’, *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 17], and the Tyson of Tyson and Sharp, slaters, who worked for the 1st Earl of St Germans at No 33 St James’s Square, London, in 1805–07 [*Survey of London*, XXIX, London, 1960, 207]. Although Cumberland might normally seem too distant to propose a valid connection with a London tradesman, the fact that Tyson is a Cumbrian name and slate a Cumbrian product might indicate a relationship between Ann Tyson and Norman Tyson (occasionally ‘Towson’), the slater at Unerigg Hall, Cumberland, in 1778 and 1783 [Blake Tyson, ‘Unerigg (Ewanrigg) Hall, Maryport, Cumbria’, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, NS XXVI, 1982, 80], and thence with Joseph Tyson (or Towson) of Maryport, glazier and plumber at Unerigg Hall in 1778 and 1782–83 [*Ibid*, 81].

ANN VINCENT. Plumber. She was paid for plumber's work at the Bank of England in 1734 [London, Bank of England MSS, ADM 7/11, TV A8/3]. She might have been related to Francis Vincent, blacksmith, who worked at St Mary's church, Twickenham, Middlesex, in 1714–15 [Sally Jeffery, *op cit*, cat no 27].

JANE WALTON. Slate and flag supplier. She supplied these materials to Sir John Swinburne for use at Capheaton Hall, Northumberland, in 1757–58 [Newcastle, Northumberland Record Office, Swinburne Papers, ZSW 451]. She was presumably related to the slater called Walton who worked for Sir Charles Middleton (later Monck), Bart, at the neighbouring estate of Belsay in 1791–93 [Middleton, B36/15/].

ELIZABETH WARD. Bricklayer. She was regularly employed by the 2nd Lord Braybrooke at Audley End House, Saffron Walden, Essex, between 1809 and 1822 [Chelmsford, Essex Record Office, Braybrooke Papers, DDBY 67, 68 and 80, *inter alia*]. She was probably the relict of Richard Ward, who had worked there as a bricklayer between 1763 and 1808 [*Ibid*, DDBY 30, 62 and 66, *inter alia*; Michael Sutherill, 'The Garden Buildings at Audley End', *Georgian Group Journal*, VI, 1996, 105; *ibid*, 'John Hobcraft and James Essex at Audley End House', *Georgian Group Journal*, IX, 1999, 17, 19], and whose name and trade are recorded on a stone plaque set into the walls of the kitchen garden. Joseph Ward, who executed brickwork at the aviary at Audley End in 1821 and 1824, was presumably a relation [*Ibid*, DDBY 79 and 82], as may William Ward, who was paid for mason's work there in 1821 and 1825 [*Ibid*, DDBY 79 and 83]. (I am grateful to Mr Michael Sutherill for this information.)

JEANE WEISEY. Chalk cutter. She worked for Henry and Thomas Pelham at Stanmer Park, Sussex, in 1722–27 [Lewes, East Sussex Record Office,

Chichester Papers, A/4600/7, *ex inf* Dr Richard Morrice].

MARY WHORLTON. Smith. She was paid by the Board of Admiralty for work at the Admiralty Office, Whitehall, London, in 1728 [Nottingham, University of Nottingham, Hallward Library, Galway MSS, 12862/3].

ANN WIGGLESWORTH. Supplier of tar. She was paid by Edward Wortley Montagu for tar to the timbers of the east wing of Wortley Hall, Yorkshire, in 1758 [Hewlings, 'Wortley Hall', *cit*, 398; Sheffield, Sheffield Archives, WhM 143].

ELLIN WITHERS. Seed supplier. Ellin may have been a man's name, but someone of that name supplied seeds to Sir Charles Hotham, Bart, at South Dalton Hall, Yorkshire, in 1726 [Giles Worsley, 'Rococo survival', *Country Life*, CLXXXIV, May 17, 1990, 200].

SARAH WYATT. Joiner. She made the sash windows in the Castle Secretary's office at Windsor Castle, Berkshire, in 1686–88 [W St John Hope, *Windsor Castle*, London, 1913, I, 329, *ex inf* Mr Stephen Priestley].

Mrs YEOMANS. Bricklayer. She was paid by Vanbrugh for bricklayer's work at the Haymarket Opera House, London, in 1718 [Vanbrugh's account book, printed in Kerry Downes, *Vanbrugh*, London, 1977, 185, 191, 195]. She was the widow of Thomas Yeomans, who died in 1716, having also executed bricklayer's work at the Haymarket Opera House in that same year [*Idem*]. Furthermore Thomas Yeomans had been Vanbrugh's partner, together with Richard Billingshurst, in the Haymarket Opera House project as early as 1704 [*Survey of London*, XXIX, London, 1960, 224]. The Yeomans's were presumably related to John Yeomans, bricklayer, tiler and architect, whose career, c.1699–1708, is documented in Colvin, *Biographical Dictionary*, *cit*, 1134.

This list has only been designed to determine, roughly, how rare was Mary Lacy. But it incidentally offers more, for instance, the distribution of women among trades. Painters and gilders account for the largest number on the list (9). This would be reduced if the three decorative painters (Apollonia Kickius, Mary Moser and Widow Stanhopp) were held to be in a different category. But if the line between decorative painting and easel painting is fine, so is that between decorative painting and house painting; the Painted Parlour at Canons Ashby might be classified as either, and Margaret Pierce seems to have undertaken both types of work. So all types of painter are grouped together here. Smiths form the next largest group (8), which is surprising in view of the heavy nature of the work, and suggests that a woman paid for carrying out a particular trade may routinely have been able to delegate it. Plumbers and glaziers form a group of the same size (8). Jane Conyers and Mrs Leach were glaziers, but also painters, so they could be transferred to swell the larger ranks of the latter trade. There are six bricklayers, five masons and five carpenters, trades which also require heavy manual work. The four joiners are less surprising. There are three slaters and a single plasterer, unless Eleanor Coade, composition maker, is included in the latter trade. Sarah Holmes, statuary, could perhaps have been added to the masons. Mrs Long, marble stainer, also presents a classificatory problem: her work might be closer to a painter's, yet marriage to a stone cutter suggests greater familiarity with mason's work than painter's. Among suppliers, five women provided stone, three (all at Beverley Minster) as stone sawyers, and one, at Stanmer Park in the South Downs, as a chalk cutter. Four women provided trees, plants or seeds. Two were ironmongers. Two provided bricks, and might perhaps have been brickmakers, and one provided pantiles. Two provided tar for timbers and one provided dishes for bricklayers.

Information in the list will reveal awareness of the most important question; but it will not provide an answer. How did these women enter these trades?

Apprenticeship was unavailable to them, and there were legal impediments to independent trading which could be circumvented, but not always². Inheritance from a husband, father or brother was one means, so information about males of the same name is also included. Yet a surprisingly small number are explicitly identified as widows. Widows Bennett, Dison, Gregory, Pridgeon and Stanhopp need not necessarily have been the widows of building tradesmen. But Widow Halsaul, Martha Palmer, Rachel Skeat, and Mrs Yeomans certainly were; and Apollonia Kickius and Anne Palmer were their parents' heiresses. Another nine probably inherited their trades from deceased husbands (Mrs Carr, Mrs Fisher, Mary Melton, Mrs Newling, Mrs Pindar, Lydia Rockhead, Sarah Spicer, Susanna Sturdy and Elizabeth Ward). A further six perhaps did so (Mrs Barber, Mrs Bottomley, Mrs Johnson, Mrs Kerton, Mrs Oram and Ann Vincent). Mrs Kerton, paid 'for her husband', may have been little more than his manager or book-keeper. But that still leaves 40 without any indication of having inherited their trade, although absence of such evidence does not mean that they did not do so. Mary Lacy is among them.

On another issue, a subject of debate in the 1970s, the list is quite useless. This issue is whether, as proposed by Alice Clark in the first stage of feminist historiography, the working life of women changed during the Industrial Revolution from being home-based and co-operative to being out-located wage slavery³. Discernment of change over time requires accurate and abundant chronological information, and, although the list provides this, an attempt to plot it immediately revealed the sample's most serious defect; compiled largely from the documentation of buildings which have, at random, required investigation, or (worse) taken my interest for other reasons, its chronological spread and density is capricious. If the history of women in the building industry can help to resolve this question, a technique will be required which is more systematic than that which identifies the rarity of Mary Lacy.

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NOTES

- 1 This might be compared with the 6% of traders recorded in Elizabeth Raffeld's *Manchester Directory* of 1772, and 11.5% of all shopkeepers insured by Royal Exchange Assurance between 1775 and 1787 [Margaret R Hunt, *The Middling Sort*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1996, 129 and 132].
- 2 Peter Earle, *The Making of the English Middle Class*, London, 1989, 158–60.
- 3 Alice Clark, *The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century*, London, 1919. The more recent debate is summarised in Olwen Hufton, 'Women in History', *Past and Present*, CI, 1983, 126; J Bennett, 'History that stands still', *Feminist Studies*, XIV, 1988, 269–83; and Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect Before Her*, I, London, 1995, 1–5.